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THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
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HALL'S

CHRONICLE;

CONTAINING

THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

DURING

THE REIGN OF HENRY THE FOURTH,

AND THE

SUCCEEDING MONARCHS,

TO THE

END OF THE REIGN OF HENRY THE EIGHTH,

IN WHICH ARE PARTICULARLY DESCRIBED THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

OF THOSE PERIODS.

CAREFULLY COLLATED WITH THE EDITIONS OF 1548 AND 1550.

30960

LONDON:

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1809.

[*Original Title.*]

THE VNION

OF THE

TWO NOBLE AND ILLUSTRE FAMELIES

LANCASTRE & YORKE,

BEEYNG LONG IN CONTINUAL DISCENSION FOR THE CROUNE OF THIS NOBLE REALME,

WITH ALL THE

ACTES DONE IN BOTHE THE TYMES OF THE PRINCES,

BOTHE OF THE ONE LINAGE AND OF THE OTHER,

BEGINNYNG AT THE TYME OF KYNG HENRY THE FOWERTH,

THE FIRST AUCTHOR OF THIS DEUISION,

AND SO SUCCESSIUELY PROCEADYNG TO THE REIGNE OF THE HIGH AND PRUDENT PRINCE

KYNG HENRY THE EIGHT,

THE VNDUBITATE FLOWER AND VERY HEIRE OF BOTH THE SAYD LINAGES.

1548.

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¶ TO THE

MOST MIGHTIE, VERTEOUS AND EXCELLENT PRINCE

EDWARD THE SIXT,

BY THE GRACE OF GOD,

KYNG OF ENGLAND, FRAUNCE AND IRELAND,

DEFENDOR OF THE CATHOLIKE FAITH, AND VNDER GOD SUPREME HED, OF THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND. YOUR MOSTE HUMBEE SUBIECT EDWARD HALLE, WISSHETH HEALTH, HONOR, AND FELICITIE.

OBLIUION the cancard enemie to Fame and renoune the suckyng serpēt of auncient memory, the dedly darte to the glory of princes, and the defacer of all conquestes and notable actes, so muche bare rule in the firste and seconde age of the worlde, that nothyng was set out to mennes knowledge ether how the world was made either howe man and beastes wer created, or how the worlde was destroyed by water til father Moses had by deuine inspiracīo in the third age, inuented letters, the treasure of memorie, and set furth fiue notable bokes, to the greate comfort of all people liuyng at this daie. Likewise Mercurie in Egipte inuented letters and writyng, whiche Cadmus after brought into Grece. So euery nacīo was desirous to enhaunce lady Fame, and to suppresse that dedly beast Obliuiō. For what diuersitie is betwene a noble prince & a poore begger, ye a reasonable man and a brute beast, if after their death there be left of theim no remembrance or token. So that euidently it appereth that Fame is the triumphe of glory, and memory by litterature is the verie dilator and setter furth of Fame. How muche therfore are princes, gouernoures, and noble menne bounde to theim whiche haue so liuely set furth the liues and actes of their parentes, that all though thei bee ded by mortall death, yet thei by writyng and Fame liue and bee continually present. If no man had written the goodnesse of noble Augustus, nor the pitie of merciful Traian, how shoulde their successours haue folowed ther steppes in vertue and princely qualities: on the contrarie parte, if the cruelties of Nero, the vngracious life of Caligula had not beene put in remembrance, young Princes and fraile gouernors might likewise haue fallen in a like pit, but by redyng their Vices and seyng their mischeueous

ueous ende, thei bee compelled to leaue their euill wāies, and embrace the goo[illegible] qualities of notable princes and prudent gouernours: Thus, writyng is the keye to enduce vertue, and represse vice: Thus memorie maketh menne ded many a thousande yere still to liue as though thei wer present; Thus Fame triumpheth vpon death, and renoune vpon Obliuion, and all by reason of writyng and historie.

Alas my soueraigne Lorde, my herte lamenteth to knowe and remembre what rule this tyrante Obliuion bare in this realme, in the tyme of the Britons. For from the first habitacion of this land, no man of the Britons either set furthe historie of their begynnyng, or wrote the hole liues of their princes & kynges, excepte Gildas whiche inueighed against the euill doynges of a fewe tyrantes and euill gouernours. In so muche that Cesar writeth, that when he was in this realme, the people could not tel their linage, nor their begynnyng. But one Geffrey of Monmothe a thousand yere and more after Iulius Cesar, translated a certayn Britishe or Welshe boke, conteinyng the commyng of Brute with the sequele of his linage, till the tyme of Cadwalader, whiche Britishe boke if it had slept a litle lenger, Brute with al his posteritie had ben buried in the poke of Obliuion, for lacke of writyng.

The strong Saxons, after thei had gayned this lande, set vp the bāner of Fame, and had their liues notably writtē by diuerse and sundery famous clerkes, euen from their firste entery into this lande, till the firste Monarchy, and so successyuely. In the Normans tyme, many notable woorkes hath been set furthe, some of one prince perticulerly, & some of mo: So that in fine, all the stories of kynges, from kyng Willyam the firste, to kyng Edward the third, bee set furthe at length by diuerse authours in the Latin toungue, as by Matthewe of Paris sometyme religious in saincte Albons and other. After whome Iohn Frossart wrote the liues of kyng Edward the third, and kyng Richard the seconde, so compendeously and so largely, that if there were not so many thynges spoken of in his long woorkes, I might beleue all written in his greate volumes to bee as trewe as the Gospell.[k] But I haue redde an olde Prouerbe, whiche saithe, that in many woordes, a lye or twayne sone maie scape. Sithe the ende of Frossarte whiche endeth at the begynnyng of kyng Henry the fourthe, no man in the Englishe toungue, hath either set furth their honors accordyng to their desertes, nor yet declared many notable actes worthy of memorie dooen in the tyme of seuen Kynges, whiche after kyng Richarde succeded: Excepte Robert Fabian and one with out name, whiche wrote the common English Chronicle, men worthy to be praysed for their diligence, but farre shotyng wide from the butte of an historie.

Wherefore moste drad and benigne souereigne Lord, lest cancarde Obliuion should

should deface the glory of these seuen Princes, to whom you be of all sides lineall heire and very inheritour, I haue compiled and gathered (and not made) out of diuerse writers, as well forayn as Englishe, this simple treatise whiche I haue named the vnion of the noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke, conioyned together by the godly mariage of your moste noble graundfather, and your verteous grandmother. For as kyng henry the fourthe was the beginnyng and rote of the great discord and deuision: so was the godly matrimony, the final ende of all discencions, titles and debates.

Besechyng your highe Majestie, to take this my simple and rude woorke, accordyng to your accustomed goodnesse in good part, not regardyng the thyng, but my good will to my natiue countree, whose fame for lacke of writyng may muche be darkened and defaced, and thus I pray to the celestiall Lorde to send you victorie ouer your enemies, Peace with your confederates, loue of your subiectes: and in conclusion, perpetuall ioye & eternall felicitee.

RICHARD GRAFTON TO THE READER.

I must craue of the most gentle reader, charitably to iudge of me the imprinter of this worke, if ought herin shalbe sene vnto the of purpose to bee omitted either not sufficiently delated and set furth, or elles somethyng to playnly spoken, in the which *might* be noted affeccion, that thou wilt excuse me therin, for I professe that I haue as nere as in me lay, nether altered nor added any thyng of my selfe in the whole woorke, otherwise thē the aucthor writ the same. But this is to be noted, that the Aucthor therof, who though not to al mē, yet to many very wel knowē, was a man in the later tyme of his lyfe not so paynfull and studious as before he had ben: wherfore he perfited and writt this historie no farther then to the foure and twentie yere of kyng Henry the eight: the rest he left noted in diuers and many pamphletes and papers, whych so diligently & truly as I coulde, I gathered the same together, & haue in suchewise compiled them, as may after thesaied yeres, apere in this woorke: but vtterly without any addicion of myne. Therfore my request and desyr as aforesaied is, that thou wilt truly and charitably iudge me: And so sone as my leasure will serue, for thine ease & ready fyndyng of any thyng herein conteyned I purpose to gather an exact table of the whole woorke.

¶ The

¶ The names of the aucthors aswell Latin as other, out of the whiche this worke was first gathered, and after compiled and conioyned.

LATIN AUCTHORS.	FRENCHE AUCTHORS.
Polichronicon.	Enguerant de Munstrellet.
Cronica Cronicarum.	Iean Buchet.
Nauclerus.	Iean Mayer de Belges.
Polidorus.	Argenton.
Paulus Æmilius.	La Mere dez Histories.
Volaterranus.	Les annales de Fraunce.
Gauguinus.	Les annales de Aquitayne.
Albertus Krantz.	Les Croniq; de Britayne.
Michael Ricius.	Giles Corozett.
Hector Boetius.	Les Croniques de Normandi.
Ioannes Maior.	Le Rosarie.
Abbas Wyssenbergensis.	Le genolagie des Roys
Carion.	
Supplementum Cronicarum.	
Gesta Tholosanorum.	
Cronica Brabancie.	

ENGLISHE WRITERS.	
Treuisa.	Ihon Hardyng.
Fabian.	The Chronicles of London.
Sir Thomas Moore.	Ihon Basset.
Caxton.	Balantyne.

And out of other diuers Pamphlettes, the names of whom are to moste menne vnknowen.

The names of the histories cõteigned in this Volume.

An introduccion into the deuision of the two houses of Lancastre and Yorke.

i. The vnquiet tyme of kyng Hẽry the Fowerth.
ii. The victorious actes of kyng Henry the v.
iii. The troubleous season of kyng Henry the vi.
iiij. The prosperous reigne of kyng Edward the iiij.
v. The pitifull life of kyng Edward the v.
vi. The tragicall doynges of kyng Richard the iij.
vii. The politike gouernaunce of kyng Henry the vij.
viii. The triumphant reigne of king Henry the viij.

FINIS.

¶ An

AN INTRODUCCION

INTO THE HISTORY OF

KYNG HENRY THE FOURTHE.

WHAT mischefe hath insurged in realmes by intestine deuision, what depopulacion hath ensued in countries by ciuill discenciō, what detestable murder hath been comitted in cities by seperate faccions, and what calamitee hath ensued in famous regiōs by domestical discord & vnnaturall controuersy: Rome hath felt, Italy can testifie, Fraunce can bere witnes, Beame can tell, Scotlande maie write, Denmarke can shewe, and especially this noble realme of Englande can apparantly declare and make demonstracion. For who abhorreth not to expresse the beynous factes comitted in Rome, by the ciuill war betwene Julius Cesar and hardy Pōpey by whose discorde the bright glory of the triūphant Rome was eclipsed & shadowed? Who can reherce what mischefes and what plages the pleasant countree of Italy hath tasted and suffered by the sedicious faccions of the Guelphes and Gebelynes? Who can reporte the misery that daiely hath ensued in Fraunce, by the discorde of the houses of Burgoyne and Orliens: Or in Scotland betwene the brother and brother, the vncle and the nephew? Who can curiously endite the manifolde battailles that were fought in the realme of Beame, betwene the catholikes and the pestiferous sectes of the Adamites and others? What damage discencion hath dooen in Germany and Denmarke, all christians at this daie can well declare. And the Turke can bere good testimony, whiche by the discord of christen princes hath amplified greatly his seigniory and dominion. But what miserie, what murder, and what execrable plagues this famous region hath suffered by the deuision and discencion of the renoumed houses of Lancastre and Yorke, my witte cannot comprehende nor my toung declare nether yet my penne fully set furthe.

FOR what noble man liueth at this daie, or what gentleman of any auncient stocke or progeny is clere, whose linage hath not ben infested and plaged with this vnnaturall deuision. All the other discordes, sectes and faccions almoste liuely florishe and continue at this presente tyme, to the greate displesure and preiudice of all the christian publike welth. But the olde deuided controuersie betwene the fornamed families of Lācastre and Yorke, by the vnion of Matrimony celebrate and consummate betwene the high and mighty Prince Kyng Henry the seuenth and the lady Elizabeth his moste worthy Quene, the one beeyng indubitate heire of the hous of Lancastre, and the other of Yorke was suspended and appalled in the person of their moste noble, puissāt and mighty heire kyng Henry the eight, and by hym clerely buried and perpetually extinct. So that all men (more clerer then the

sonne) maie apparantly perceiue, that as by discord greate thynges decaie and fall to ruine, so the same by concord be reuiued and erected. In likewise also all regions whiche by deuisiō and discencion be vexed, molested and troubled, bee by vnion and agrement releued pacified and enriched.

BY vnion of the Godhed to the manhod, manne was ioyned to God whiche before by the temptacion of the subtle serpente, was from hym segregate and deuided. By the vnion of the catholike churche and the outworne sinagoge, not only the hard ceremonies and dedly peines of the Mosaicall law wer clerely abholished and made frustrate, but also christian libertie is inferred and Christes religion stablished & erected. By the vnion of man & woman in the holy Sacrament of Matrimony the generacion is blessed, and the synne of the body clene extincte & put awaie. By the vnion of mariage, peace betwene realme and realme is exalted, and loue betwene countree and countree is norished. By coniunciō of matrimony, malice is extinct, amitie is embraced, and indissoluble aliance and consanguinite is procured. What profite, what cōmfort, what ioy succeded in the realme of England by the vnion of the fornamed two noble familics, you shall apparantly perceiue by the sequele of this rude and vnlearned history. And because there can be no vnion or agrement but in respect of a diuision, it is consequent to resō that I manifest to you not onely the originall cause and foūtain of the same, but also declare the calamities, troubles & miseries whiche happened and chaunced duryng the tyme of the said contencious discencion.

FOR the whiche you shall vnderstande (accordyng as it is in an Acte of Parliamente made in the firste yere of the reigne of Kyng Edwarde the fourthe specified and declared.) The lyne of Kyng Henry the third. That the highe and mightie Prince kyng Henry the third of that name, had issue Edward his firste begotten sonne borne at Westminster the eleuenth Kalendes of Iuly in the vigile of Saincte Marke and Marcilian in the yere of our Lorde a thousande twoo hundrd. xxix. And Edmonde his seconde begotten sonne borne on the daye of saincte Marcell in the yere of our Lorde a thousande twoo hundred. xlv. Whiche Edwarde after the death of king Henry his father, was entitled and called kyng Edward the first, and had issue his first begotten sonne entitled and called after the death of kyng Edward his father, kyng Edward the second, which had issue the right noble and honorable prince kyng Edward the third whiche kyng Edward had issue Edwarde his first begotten sōne prince of Wales, Willyā of Hatfeld the second begotten sonne, Lionell duke of Clarence the. iij. begotten sonne, Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lancaster the. iiij. begotten sonne, Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the. v. begotten sonne, Thomas of Wodstocke duke of Glocestre the. vj. begotten sonne, and Willyam of Wynsor the. vij. begotten sonne. The saied prince Edward died in ỹ life of his father kyng Edward the. iij. & had issue Richard borne at Burdeaux, whiche after the death of kyng Edward the. iij. as cosin and heire to hym, that is to saie sonne to the saied Edwarde prince of Wales sonne to the saied kyng Edward the thirde succeded hym in royall estate and dignitee, lawfully entitled and called kyng Richarde the seconde and died without issue, Lionell duke of Clarence the third begotten sonne of the saied kyng Edward the third, had issue Philippe his only doughter whiche was maried to Edmond Mortymer erle of Marche and had issue Roger Mortymer erle of Marche: whiche Roger had issue Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, Anne and Elienor, whiche Edmond and Elianor died without issue. And the saied Anne was maried to Richard erle of Cambrige sonne to Edmond of Langley duke of Yorke the fifth begotten sonne of the said kyng Edwarde the thirde whiche Richarde had issue thee famous prince Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke whiche had issue that noble prince kyng Edward the fourth father to Quene Elizabeth vnited in matrimony to the high and sage prince kyng Henry the. vij.

¶ Ihon duke of Lancastre had issue Henry erle of Darby, and Ihon erle of Somersette. This Henry erle of Darby had issue, kyng Henry the fifth father to kyng Henry the sixte whiche begat prince Edwarde that was slayne at Tewkesbury, and diseased without issue. Ihon the erle of Somersette before named, sonne to Ihon duke of Lancastre, engendered Ihon duke of Somersette father to the lady Margarete Countes of Richemonde mother to the noble

noble and haute Prince Kyng Henry the seuenth whiche espoused lady Elizabeth the heire of the illustre family of Yorke, by the whiche mariage the deuise or badge of the haus of Lancastre whiche was the redde Rose, was vnite and ioyned with the white Rose, whiche was the cognisance and ensigne of the noble progeny of Yorke, as by the genealogy conteigned in the ende of this woorke more plainly shall appere.

¶ This aforenamed Henry erle of Darby beeyng created alitle before duke of Herfforde, aprudente and politike persone, but not more politike then welbeloued, and yet not so welbeloued of all, as of some highly disdayned, began to consider with hymself how that kyng Richarde his cosyn germaine was now brought to that trade of liuyng that he litle or nothyng regarded the counsaill of his vncles, nor of other graue and sadde persones, but did all thyng at his pleasure, settyng his will and appetite in stede of lawe and reason. Wherefore on a daie beeyng in the compaigny of Thomas Mowbrey firste duke of Norffolke and erle Marshall, beganne to breake his mynde to hym more for dolour and lamentacion, then for malice or displeasure; rehersyng howe that kyng Richarde litle esteemed and lesse regartied the nobles and Princes of his realme, and as muche as laie in hym soughte occasions, inuented causes and practised priuely howe to destroye the more part of theim: to some thretenyng death, to other manacyng exile and banishment, forgettyng and not remembryng what blotte it was to his honor, and what detrimente and damage it was to the publike wealthe, to suffre his realme to lose the aunciente fame and pristinate renoume by his slouth and negligence, and that all thynges bothe in the tyme of peace, and also of warre, aswell in the realme as without, waxed worsse and worsse, and had neuer prosperous successe nor fortunate conclusion. And because noble menne murmured, and the comon people grudged, and all menne wondered at his vnprincely doynges, he desired the duke of Norffolke, whiche was one of the kynges priuy counsaill and well heard with hym, to aduise the kyng to turne the lefe and to take a better lesson. When the Duke of Norffolke had heard fully his deuise, he toke it not in good parte, but rekened ẏ he had gotten a praie by the whiche he should obtayne greater fauor of the kyng then euer he had, and so he at that tyme dissimuled the matter (as he was in deede bothe a depe dissimuler and a pleasaunte flaterer.) And after when he had oportunite and sawe his tyme, was very glad (as tell tales and scicophantes bee, when thei haue any thyng to instill in to the eares and heddes of Princes) to declare to the kyng what he had heard, and to agrauate and make the offence the greater, he muche more added but nothyng diminished.

¶ This matter somewhat quickened and more tikeled the wauerynge mynd of kyng Richard, and brought hym into a great fury. But when the water of fumitory was well disgested in his stomacke, he determined to here bothe the parties indifferently, and called to hym the duke of Lancastre and his counsaill, and also the dukes of Herfforde and Norffolk, & caused the accusor to report opẽly the wordes to him declared, whiche rehersed theim again as he had before related to the kyng. When Duke Henry heard the tale otherwise reported then he ether thought or saied, somewhat vnquieted for the noueltie of the thyng, or troubled with anger for the vntruth of the matter, stode stil & paused a good while lokyng stedfastly vpõ the king. And after ẏ takyng a good corage to hym, makyng low obeisãce, besought his highnes to cõceiue no mistrust in hym til he had seen & herd more. Then turnyng hymself to his accuser, declared worde by worde what he had said shewyng the cause & occasion why he so spake, deniyng fiersly al the other new inuẽcions alleged & proponed to his charge: affirmyng ẏ if the kyng would permit & suffre hym he would proue his acusor vntrue, vniust & afalse forger of lies & sedicious tales by the stroke of a spere & dẽt of a swerd. The duke of Norffolke affirmed constantly his saiyng to be true & refused not the cõbate. The kyng demaunded of them if thei would agre betwene themselfes, whiche thei both denied and threw doune their gages, by my truth qth the kyng, if you of yourselfes will not agre I will not study how to agre you: and then he graũted the battaill & assigned the place to be at the citee of Couentree in the moneth of August next ensuyng, where he caused a sũpteous theatre and listes royal gorgeously to be prepared.

At the day apointed the. ij. valiant dukes cā to Couentre, accōpanied with the nobles & gentiles of their linages whiche theim encoraged & hertened to the vtmoste. At the day of the cōbate and fight, the duke of Aumarle that daie high counstable, and the duke of Surrey that daie high Marshall of England entred into the listes with a great cōpany of men apareled in silke sendall embrodered with siluer both richely and curiously, euery man hauyng a tipped staffe to kepe the feld in order. About the tyme of prime came to the barriers of the listes, the duke of Herfford mounted on a white corser barbed with blewe and grene veluet embrodered sumpteously with Swannes and Antelopes of goldsmithes worke, armed at all poinctes. The Constable and Marshall came to the barriers, demaundyng of hym what he was, he answered: I am Henry of Lancastre duke of Herfford, whiche am come hether to doo my deuoyre against Thomas Mowbrey duke of Norffolke as a traytor vntrew to God, the kyng, his realme and me. Then incontinent he sware vpō the holy Euangelistes that his quarel was trewe and iust, and vpon that poynete he desired to entre into the listes. Then he put vp his swearde whiche before he helde naked in his hande, and put doune his viser, made a crosse on his forhed, and with spere in hand entered into the listes, and discended from his horsse and set hym doune in a chayer of grene veluete whiche was set in a trauers of grene and blewe veluet at the one ende of the listes, and there reposed hymself expectyng and abydyng the commyng of his aduersye. Sone after hym entered into the felde with greate pompe Kyng Richard accompaignied with all the peeres of his realme, and in his compaignie was therle of sent Paule, which was come out of Fraūce in post to se this chalenge performed. The kyng had aboue ten thousand persones in harnesse, least some fraie or tumultie might spryng emongst his nobles by parttakyng or quarellyng. When the kyng was set on his stage whiche was richely hanged and pleasantly adorned. A Kyng at Armes made open proclamacion, prohibityng all menne in the name of the kyng and the high Constable and Marshall to enterprise or attempte to approche or touche any parte of the listes vpon payne of death, except such as were apoyncted to ordre and marshall the felde. The proclamacion ended, another Herald cried: behold here Henry of Lancastre duke of Herefford appellant, whiche is entered into the listes royall to dooe his deuoyre against Thomas Mowbray duke of Norffolke defendante, vpon payne to bee proued falce and recreant. The duke of Norffolke houered on horsebacke at the entery of the listes, his horse beyng barbed with crimosen veluet embrodered richely with Lions of siluer and Mulbery trees, and when he had made his othe before the Constable and Marshall that his quarell was iust and trewe, he entered the felde manfully saiyng alloude, God aide hym that hath the righte, and then he departed from his horse & satte doune in his chayer whiche was Crimosen Veluet, cortened aboute with white and redde Damaske. The lorde Marshall vewed their speres to see that thei were of egall length, and deliuered the one spere hymself to the duke of Herfforde, and sente the other spere to the duke of Norffolke by a knighte. Then the Heraulte proclaymed that the trauerses and chayers of the Champions should bee remoued, commaundyng theim on the Kynges behalfe to mounte on horssebacke and adresse themselfes to the battaill and combate. The duke of Herfforde was quickely horssed and closed his bauier and caste his spere into the rest & when the trūpet sōuded, set forward coragiously toward his enemy. vj. or. vij. paces. The duke of Norffolke was not fully set forward whē the kyng cast doune his warder & the heraultes cried ho, ho. Then the kyng caused their speres to be taken from them, and commaunded them to repaire again to their chayers, where thei remained two long houres, while the kyng and his counsaill deliberatly consulted what waie was best to bee taken in so waighty a cause. Then the Heraltes cried silence and sir Ihon Borcy secretary to the kyng red the sentence and determinacion of the kyng and his counsaill in a long rolle, pronounsyng it after this maner. My lordes and masters I intimate and notify to you by the kyng & his counsail, that Hēry of Lancastre duke of Herfforde appellante: and Thomas duke of Norffolke defendante, haue honorably and valiantly apered here within the listes royal this daie, & haue been redy to darraine the batteill like two valiant knightes and hardy chāpions,

but

but because the matter is greate and weighty betwene these two greate princes, this is the ordre of the kyng and his counsaill, that Henry duke of Herfford for diuerse consideracions and because he hath displeased the kyng, shall within. xv. daies departe out of the realme for terme of ten yeres, without returnyng excepte by the kyng he be repealed again and that vpon pain of death. When the people whiche hertely loued the duke of Herfford heard this crie, thei wer not a litle amased, & marueled muche that he which had doen his deuor to the performance of his chalenge should be thus banished and exiled. Then the herault cried again oyes, & the secretary declared that Thomas Mowbrey duke of Norffolke by the ordinãce of the kyng and his counsaill because that he had sowen sedicion in this realme by his wordes wherof he can make no proffe, shall a voide the realme of England and dwel in Hũgery, Beame, Pruce or where he list, & to neuer returne again into Englande nor approche the cõfines nor borders of the same vpon pain of death, and that the kyng would staie the profites and reuenewes of his landes in his handes till he had receiued such somes of money as the duke had taken vp of the kynges treasorer for the wages of the garison of Caleis whiche wer still vnpaied. When these iudgemẽtes wer thus deuulged, the kyng called before him the two exiles and made thẽ swere that the one should neuer come into the place wher the other was (willyngly) nor kepe company together in any forren region, whiche oth thei receiued humbly and departed from the listes. It was supposed that the kyng mistrusted that if thei two should ioyne in one again, and conspire to be reuenged against him, that thei and their frendes might woorke hym greate trouble and calamitee, and for that cause to haue deuised this othe. The duke of Norffolke whiche supposed to haue been borne out by the kyng, was sore repentant of his enterprise, and departed sorowfully out of the realme into Almaine, and at the laste came to Uenice where he for thoughte and Melancoly deceassed. The duke of Herfforde tooke his leaue of ỹ kyng, at Eltha, whiche there released foure yeres of his banishemente. And so he tooke his iourney & came to Caleies, & so into Fraunce, wher he continued a while.

Woudrefull it is to write, and more straunge to here, what nombre of people ranne in euery towne & strete, lamentyng and bewaylyng his departure. As who saie that when he departed, the onely shelde, defence & comfort of the cõmen people was vadid and gone, as though the sunne had fallẽ out of the spere, or the moone had lapsed frõ her propre epicicle.

When he was arriued in Fraunce, kyng Charles heryng the cause of his banishemente, whiche he estemed verie small and lighte, receaued hym gently, & hym honorably entreteyned. In somuche that he had by fauour obteinẽd the mariage of the only doughter of Iho duke of Berry vncle to the Frenche kyng, if kyng Richard had not cast a stoppe in his waie: For he well considered howe the comminaltie loued the duke, and how desirous thei were of his returne into Englande, and then forseyng that if he should bee ioyned with so great an affinite as the blood of the house of Berry was in Fraunce, & afterward sodeinly to returne into Englande, it might fortune to redounde to his more displeasoure then pleasoure, wherfore he letted the mariage to his owne distruccion.

Duryng ỹ first yere of this dukes exile, his father Iho of Gaũt duke of Lancastre deceassed, & is buried on the northside of the high aulter of ỹ cathedral churche of seint Paull in Londõ. The death of this duke abbreuiated the life of king Richard, for he notwithstãdyng ỹ the duchy of Lancastre was to this duke Henry lawfully dissended, not onely ceazed without right or title all the goodes of duke Ihon his parent, but also defrauded his heire of his laufull inheritaunce, receauyng the rentes and reuenues of all his patrimony, & geuyng to other that whiche was not his, distributed the dukes landes to his parasites and flatterering foloers. This facte was adiudged of all the nobilitee to bee vnlawfull, vniust and vngodly, to depriue a man beyng banished out of the realme without deserte, without culpe, and without cause, of his inheritaunce and patrimony. But Edmund duke of Yorke vncle to Henry now lawfully duke of Lancastre, was sore moued with this chaunce, to see the kyng breake and violate all lawes, all iustice and equitie, and after the murther of

of his brother the duke of Glocestre, to spoyle and robbe the soonne of his other brother. For he before this tyme asmuche as his pacience could beare, did tollerate and suffre the deathe of his brother, the exile of his nephiew, and an hondred mo iniuries, whiche for the leuitie and youth of the kyng, he remitted and sepulted in oblivion. And therefore considering that the glorye of the publique wealthe of his natiue countree was like to apall by reason that the kyng was not moste ingenious, & had no manne nere hym that would boldely admonishe hym of his office & duetie, thought it the acte of a wise man in tyme to get hym to a restyng place, and to leaue ỹ foloyng of suche a doubtfull capitain whiche with a leadē swerde would cut his owne throte bolle. Wherfore he with the duke of Aumarle his soonne went to his house at Langley reioysyng that there was nothyng in the common wealthe mishappened either by his deuice or concent, daiely employyng aide of almightye God to deuerte from kyng Richarde the darke clowde whiche he sawe dependyng ouer his hed.

In this ceason kyng Richard sailed into Irelande as diuers authores testifie, but what he did there is no parte of my processe, whiche dependeth on the sequele of this deuisiō. While king Richard was in Irelande, the graue persones of the nobilitee, the sage prelates of the clergy ỹ sad magestrates & rulers of the cities, townes & comminaltie perceauyng daily more & more the realme to fall into ruyne and desolacion (in maner irrecuperable as long as kyng Richard either liued or reigned,) after long deliberacion, wrote into Fraunce to duke Henry, whom thei nowe called (as he was in deede) duke of Lancastre and Herford, solicityng and requiryng hym with all diligente celeritee to conueighe hym self into Englande, promisyng hym all their aide, power and assistence, if he expellyng kyng Richard as a manne not mete nor conueniente for so princely an office and degree, would take vpon hym the sceptre rule and diademe of his natiue countree and firste nutritiue soyle. And for that cause thei sente the reuerent father Thomas Arundell archebisshop of Cauntorbury with certein lordes and citezens of diuerse cities and boroghes in habite palliate and dissimuled, into the citee of Paris, some goyng one waie and some another, but all assemblyng together at the house of Clugny where the duke then soiourned. When he sawe the archebisshop his especiall frend and looked on other his fautoures and louers, if he thanked God, no manne oughte to maruell, if he welcommed these ambassadors no creature can woudre; but if he reioyced and applauded not at their accesse and commyng, wise menne maie thynke folie & fooles maie laugh hym to skorne. When he was of them saluted, and thei of hym not onely resaluted but heartely welcommed & frendely enterteyned. The archebisshop desiryng the duke to absent all other persons than suche as wer his cōpanions, saied these or like wordes to hym.

An oracion made by Thomas Arundell archebishoppe of Cauntorbury to Henry duke of Lancaster.

When your louyng and naturall kynsmen and patricians moste noble and mightie prince, had muche and long tyme considred and debated with theiselues of their affaires and busines in this tempesteous world and ceason (in the whiche no manne of our nacion is sure of his life, nor enioyeth his landes and seigniories withoute dreade nor possedeth his mouables without terrour or feare, whiche outragious dooynges many yeres occupied hath brought the publique wealthe of our aboundāt countree almoste to wrecke and vtter exterminion) their last ankerholde refuge and conforte was to studye and inuestigate howe to haue a gouernour and ruler whiche should excell and florishe in wisedome, policie and iustice aboue all other. By whiche reason a greate nombre of the nobilitee and in maner all the comminaltie, beyng led and persuaded (whē thei had well cast their iyes and marked all the peres and nobles of the realme of Englande) thei could fynde no duke, nor marques, no erle nor other potentate within all the realme, to whose empire and authoritye thei would bee subiect and vassalls so gladly as to yours. For this I assure you (and you knowe it aswell as I) that wee miserable subiectes haue so long borne the yoke of wāton vnwitty kyng Richard, and haue paciently tollerate the pernicious persecucion of his gredy and auaricious councellers, and haue wynked at the pollyng and extorcion of his vnmeasurable officiers, that oure backes bee so galde that we can no more suffre, and our chynne

bones so weake that wee can no lenger cary. And therfore necessitee and not will, reason and not affeccion, constancy and not leuytie enforceth vs to implore and desire youre aide and comforte, to whom wee bee sent by the moste part of the nobilitee and also of the more parte of the vniuersall comminaltie, to desire and require you to take vpon you the high power, gouernaunce and sceptre of your natiue countree and paternall inheritaunce, and the same to gouerne, rule and defende accordyng to your approued wisedome and long experimẽted pollecie, whom wee haue euer knowen to bee of that iustice, of that prudence and of that integritee that you will commaunde, admonishe or attempt eny thyng whiche shall not bee iust, honest and laudable. Whiche request if you well considre and diligently pondre preuely with yourself, you shall facilye perceaue that nothyng more profitable, more honest, or more glorious can by eny waies happen or chaunce to you then to accepte and concorde to the same. For what can you more expectẽ and wishe, then to commaũde and dooe all thynges accordyng to right, reason and honestie? Wee offre not to you golde, siluer, perle or precious stone, but our countree, our bodies, goodes and vs all to vse as youres and not as oures, desiryng you to geue to vs in recompence, indifferẽcy quietnes and peace, and to restore to her seate and trone again, the lady iustice, whiche hath so long been banished out of our nacion, to thentent that wise, sage and good persones (whose desire and appetite is euer to liue well) maie honour, loue and embrace you as a gouernour and kyng sent from God, and that malicious and obstinate persones (whose conscience is grudged with daily offences, and whom the feare of iustice and ponishement dooth continually vexe and perturbe, fearyng you as the skourge and plague of their facinorus dooynges and mischeueous actes) maie either soue amende, or shortely auoyde your countree and region. Nowe occacion is offred, refuse it not, by the whiche your wisedome, pollecie and valiantnes shall apere to the vniuersall worlde, by the whiche you shall not onely bryng vs into an vnitie and monacord, but also represse all sedicion and caucard dissimulacion: then the noble men shall triumphe, the riche men shall liue without feare, the poore and nedy persones shall not bee oppressed nor confounded, and you for your so doyng, shall obtein thankes of your creatour, loue of your people, fauour of your neighboures, fame and honoure sempiternall. Whẽ the bishop had ended, the duke pawsed awhile, and then put of his hood and saied.

The answer of Henry duke of Lancaster to Thomas Arundel bishop of Cãterbury.

My lorde of Cauntourbury and you my other frendes and louers, your commyng to vs is verie pleasaunt, but more ioyous is your message, for wee of our owne naturall disposicion for the good will and synguler affeccion that you haue euer borne to vs, haue loued, embraced and highly estemed you and all your dooynges. Surely we would you knewe with what sorowe and agony of mynde wee haue borne your vexacions, calamities and oppressions (as for the manifest iniuries and opprobrious offences dooen and committed against vs as you knowe well inough, wee wolle not speake at this tyme) of the whiche wee estemed oure selfe a partener, as a thyng common betwene vs. For as it is heard that the hed shall not feele when the hand or eny other membre is greued or sicke, so it is vnlike that eny displeasure or discommoditee should happen to you with whiche wee should not taste in parte, suche vicinetie is emong membres, and suche communitie is emong frendes. Wherfore, neither for ambicion of worldly honour, nor for desire of Empire or rule, or for affeccion of worldly riches and mucke of the worlde, we wolle agree to your peticiõ, but onely to relieue your miserable calamitie, to restore iustice to her auncient rome & preheminence, & to defend the poore innocẽt people from the extorte powre of the gredy cormerãtes & rauenous oppressours, requiryng you to ioyne with vs & we with you in aduaũcyng forward this our incepted purpose & pretẽsed entreprice.

When the duke was condiscended to the bishoppes request, the bisshop and his complices departed into Englande, makyng relacion to their confederates of the dukes agrerẽt and pleasure, exhortyng euery manne to be prest and ready at his arryuall.

After their departure, the duke fayned to the Frenche kyng that he would go into Brytein to visite his frende duke Ihon of Brytein. The Frenche kyng thynkyng him to

meane

meane inwardly as he outwardly dissimuled, sent to the duke of Brytein letters of commendacion in fauour of the duke of Lancastre. But if he had knowen that his enteut was to transfret into Englande and depose his soonne in lawe kyng Richard, he would surely haue stopped hym a tyde, and let his purpose and passage. What should I saie? that whiche shalbee, shalbe. The duke passed into Brytein and there conducted and waged certeyne menne of warre and shippes, and with good wynde and better spede sailed into Englād and landed at Rauēspurre in holdrenes as moste wryters affirme. But some saie that he landed at Plymmoth, and other at Portesmouth, but where soener he arryued, sure it is that he tooke lande peaceably without any againsaie or interrupcion. I will not bee tedyous to you in rehersyng howe the erles of Northumbrelande and Westmerlande, the lordes Percy, Rose, Willoughby and other resorted to hym, and taking an othe of hym that he should not dooe to kyng Richard any bodelye harme, and made to hym homage and became his liege men. I omit howe children applauded, howe women reioyced, and howe menne cryed oute for ioye in euery toune and village where he passed. I relinquishe farther the concourse of people, the number of horses, whiche occurred to hym as he iourneyed toward London, reioysyng at his repaire and commyng to the Citie. I wil not speake of the procession and singing of the Cleargie, nor of the pleasant salutacions nor eloquent oracions made to hym by the Prelacie, nor of the presentes, welcommynges, laudes, gratificacions made to hym by the citiesens and comminaltee of the citie of London, but I wil go to the purpose. Whē he was come to London he consulted with his frendes diuers dayes, to whome came Thomas Earle of Arundell sōne to Richard of Arundell, by kyng Richard a litell afore put to deathe, whiche had lately escaped out of prison. When the Duke had perceaued the fauour of the Nobilitie, the affection of the Cleargie and the sincere loue of the comminalte towarde hym and his procedynges, he marched foreward with a greate company toward the West countrey, and in passyng by the waie, the people assembled in great and houge multitudes (as the nature of the common people is, euer desirous of newe changes) callyng him their kyng, deprauyng and railyng on kyng Richard, as an innocent a dastarde, a meicocke and not worthy to beare the name of a kyng. When he had assembled together a conuenient nomber of people for his purpose and was clerely determyned to depose kynge Rycharde from his rule and dignitie, he proclaimed open warre agaynst hym and all his partakers fautours and frendes. Kyng Richarde beyng in Irelande was certified of the Dukes arriuall, from whence (when he had pacified the sauage and wilde people) he retourned agayne into England, entending to resiste and defend the eminent peril and apparant ieopardy, and for the more tuicīō and safegard entred into the strong castel of Flute in North Wales. x. myles distaunt from Chester. When kyng Richard perceaued that the people by plumpes fled from him to Duke Henry, he was amased and doubted what councell sodeinlie to take, for on the one part he sawe his title iust, trewe, and vnfallible, and beside that he had no small truste in the Welshemen, his conscience to be cleane pure immaculate without spot or enuy: on the other side, he sawe the puissaunce of his aduersaries, the sodaine departyng of them that he mooste trusted, and all thynges turned vpsydoune, with these thinges he beyng more abashed then encouraged, compelled by necessitie, determined to kepe hym selfe in that castell till he myghte see the worlde stable and in more suretie. For nowe he euidentely espied and manifestly perceaued that he was lefte, lowted and forsaken of theym by whom in tyme he myght haue bene ayded and relieued, and whiche nowe was to late and to farre ouerpassed: and this thing is worthy to be noted with a whitestone, of al princes rulers and men set in auctoritee and rule, that this Duke Henry of Lancastre shoulde be thus called to the kyngdome and haue the healpe and assistence all most of all the whole realme, whiche perchaunce neuer thereof once thoughte or yet dreamed: and that kyng Richard shuld thus be lefte desolate void and desperate of all hope and comforte, in whom if there were any offence, it ought more to be imputed to the frailtee of his wanton youth then to the malice of his heart or cankerdnesse of his stomacke, but suche is the frayle iudgement of mortall men

men whiche vilependyng and not regardyng thynges presente before their eies, do euer thincke all thynges that are to come to haue a prosperous successe and a delectable sequele. When the Duke of Lancastre knewe that king Richarde was come to the castel of Flinte, whiche a man maye call the dolorous Castell, because there king Richarde declined from his dignitie and lost the tipe of his glorie and preheminence, he assembled together a great armie in small space lest he myght geue his enemies time to preuent his purpose and so to lose the good occasion of victory to him geuen, came to the towne of Bristowe where he apprehended Willyam lord Scrope the kinges treasurer sir Ihō Busshe and sir Henri Grene knyghtes, and caused their heddes to be striken of, and from thence toke his iourneie directly to Chester. When Thomas Percy Earle of Worceter and great Master or lord Stuard of the kynges houshold beyng brother to the Earle of Northumberland hard tell of the dukes approch, bering displeasure to the king because he had proclaimed his brother a traiter, brake before al the kinges houshold his white staffe, which is the ensigne and token of his office and without delay went to duke Henry. Whē the kinges familier seruitours perceiued this, they dispersed them selfes some into one countrey and some into another.

¶ The Duke came toward the castell of Flinte wherof king Richard beyng aduertised by councell of Ihon Pallet and Richarde Seimer his assured seruauntes departed out of the castell and toke the sandes by the ryuer of Dee trusting to escape to Chester and there to haue refuge and succoure, but or he had farre passed he was forelayed and taken and brought to the Duke, which sent hym secretly to the Towre of London. When the Duke had thus possessed his longe desyred praye, he came to London in solempne estate and there called a Parliament in the kynges name, to the whiche many of the kynges frendes, but more of his there appeared. There was declared howe vnprofitable kyng Richarde had bene to the realme durynge his reigne, howe he subuerted the lawes, polled the people and ministred Iustice to no man but to suche as pleased hym. And to the entent that the commons should bee perswaded that he was an vniust and vnprofitable Prince and a tiraunte ouer his subiectes, and worthy to bee deposed. There were set forthe. xxxv. solempne articles very héynous to the eares of men, and to some almost vncredible: The very effecte of whiche articles I will truely reporte hereafter accordyng to my copie.

¶ Fyrst that kyng Richard wastfully spent the treasure of the realme and had geuen the possessions of the Croune to men unworthy, by reason wherof daily newe charges more and more were layd in the neckes of the poore comminaltie. And where diuerse lordes as well spiritual as temporall, were appointed by the highe court of Parliament to cōmon and treate of diuers matters concernyng the common wealth of the same, which beyng busie about the same commission, he with other of his affinitie went about to empeach of treson, and by force and menace compelled the Iustices of the realme at Shrewsburie to condiscend to his opinion, for the destruction of the said Lordes: in so muche that he began to reise war against Ihon duke of Lancastre, Thomas Erle of Arundell, Richarde Erle of Warwicke, and other lordes contrary to his honour and promyse. 1. 2. 3.

¶ Item that he caused his vncle the Duke of Glocester to be arrested without lawe, and sent him to Caleis, and there without iudgemente murdered hym. And although the Erle of Arundell vpon his arainement pleaded his charter of pardon, he could not be heard, but was in most vile and shamefull maner sodainly put to death. 4.

¶ Item he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire mēn to the entent to make warre on the foresaid Lordes, and suffered them to robbe and pill without correction or repreſe. 5.

¶ Item although the king flateringly and with great dissimulacion made proclamacion throughout the realme, that the lordes before named were not attached for any crime of treason, but onely for extorcions and oppressions done in this realme, yet he laied to theym in the parliament, rebellion and manifest treason. 6.

¶ Item he hath compelled diuers of the saied lordes seruauntes and frendes by menace & extreme paimentes, to make great fines to theyr vtter vndoyng. And notwithstandyng his pardon to theim graunted yet he made them fine of newe. 7.

8. ¶ Item where diuers were appointed to comon of the estate of the realme, and the common welthe of the same. The same king caused al the rolles and recordes to be kept from them, contrary to his promise made in the parliament, to his open dishonour.
9. ¶ Item he vncharitably cōmaunded that no man vpon paine of losse of life and goodes should once entreate him for the retourne of Henry nowe duke of Lancastre.
10. ¶ Item where this realme is holden of God, and not of the Pope or other prince, the said kyng Richard after he had obteined diuers actes of parliament for his owne peculier profite and pleasure, then he obteined Bulles and extreme censures from Rome, to compell al menne straightely to kepe the same, contrary to the honour and auncient priuileges of this realme.
11. ¶ Item although the duke of Lancastre had done his deuoir against Thomas duke of Norffolke in profe of his quarel, yet the saied kyng without reason or ground banished him the realme for ten yeres contrary to all equitee.
12. ¶ Item before the dukes departure, he vnder his brode seale licenced him to make attourneis to prosecute and defend his causes: The saied kyng after his departure wold suffre none attourney to apere for him but did with his at his pleasure.
13. ¶ Item the same kyng put oute diuers shriues lawefully elected and put in their romes, diuers other of his owne minions subuertyng the lawe contrary to his othe and honour.
14. ¶ Item he borowed great sōmes of money, and bound him vnder his letters pattentes for the repaimēt of the same, & yet not one peny paid.
15. ¶ Itē he taxed men at the wil of him & his vnhappy councel, & the same treasure spent in folie, not paiyng pore men for their vitail & viande.
16. ¶ Item he said that the lawes of the realme were in his head, and som time in his brest, by reason of whiche fantasticall opinion, he destroied noble men and empouerished the pore commons.
17. ¶ Item the parliament settyng and enacting diuers notable statutes for the profite and aduauncement of the common welth, he by his priuie frendes and soliciters caused to be enacted that no acte then enacted shuld be more preiudiciall to him than it was to any of his predecessors, through whiche Prouiso he did often as he liste and not as the lawe ment.
18. ¶ Itē for to serue his purpose he wold suffer the Shrefes of the shire to remaine aboue one yere or two.
19. ¶ Item at the sommons of the parliament when knightes and burgesses should be electe that the election had bene full proceded, he put out diuers persones elected, and put in other in their places to serue his wyll and appetite.
20. ¶ Item he had priuie espialles in every shire, to here who had of him any communicacion, and if he commoned of his lasciuious liuyng or outragious doyng, he streighte waies was apprehended and made a greuous fine.
21. ¶ Item the spiritualtie alledged againste hym that he at his goyng into Ireland exacted many notable sōmes of money, beside plate & iuels, without law or custome, contrary to his oth takē at his coronaciō.
22. ¶ Item when diuers lordes and Iustices were sworne to say the truthe of diuers thinges to them committed in charge both for the honor of the realme and profite of the kyng, the said kyng so menaced theym with sore thretenynges, that no man wold or durste saie the ryght.
23. ¶ Item that with out the assent of the nobilitee, he caried the iewels and plate and treasure ouer the see into Irelande, to the great empouerishyng of the realme. And al the good recordes for the cōmon welthe and against his extorcions, he caused priuely to be embesiled and conueied away.
24. ¶ Item in all leages and letters to bee concluded or sent to the see of Rome or other regions: His writyng was so subtill and so darke, that no other prince durst once beleue him, nor yet his owne subiectes.

¶ Item

¶ Item he mooste tirannously and vnprincely said that the liues and goodes of al his subiectes were in the princes hãds & at his disposicio. 25.

¶ Item that he contrary to the great Charter of England caused dyuers lustie men to appele diuers olde men, vpon matters determinable at the common law, in the court marcial, because that in that court is no triall but onely by battaile: Whervpon the said aged personnes fearyng the sequele of the matter submitted theym selfes to his mercy whom he fined and raunsomed vnreasonably at his pleasure. 26.

¶ Item he craftely deuised certain priuie othes contrary to the lawe, & caused diuers of his subiectes first to be sworne to obserue the same and after bounde them in bondes for former keping of the same, to the great vndoyng of many honest men. 27.

¶ Item where the Chauncellour accordyng to the lawe woulde in no wise graunt a prohibicion to a certain person: the king graunted it vnto the same person vnder his priuie seale with greate thretnynges if it shuld be disobeied. 28.

¶ Item he banyshed the bishop of Canterbury without cause or iudgement and kept him in the parliament chamber with men of Armes. 29.

¶ Item the bishops goodes he graunted to his successour vpon condicion that he shuld mainteine al his statutes made at Shrewsburie, Anno. xxi. and the statutes made. Anno. xxii. at Couentree. 30.

¶ Item vpon the accusacion of the Archbishop, the king craftely perswaded the saied byshop to make no answere, for he would be his warrant, and aduised him not to come to the parliament. And so withoute answere he was condemned and exiled, and his goodes seazed. 31.

These bee the articles of any effecte whiche were laied against him, sauyng fowre concernyng the bishoppe of Caunterbury, whiche onely touched hi, but his workyng vnwrought king Richard frõ his croũe.

AND for as much as these articles, and other heinous and detestable accusacions were laied against him in the open parliament, it was thought by the most parte that kyng Richard was worthy to be deposed of al honor, rule and Pryncely gouernance. And instrumentes autentike and solempne to depose, and other instrumentes were made to certain persons for them, and all homagers of the realme to resigne to hym all the homages and fealties dewe to him as kyng & soueraigne.

But or this deposicion was executed in tyme, he came to Westminster and called a great councell of all the nobilitie and commons to the entente to conclude and make expedicion of all thynges whiche before were purposed and set forward.

¶ In the meane season diuerse of king Richardes seruauntes which by licence had accesse to his person, comforted, animated and encouraged him beyng for sorowe withered, broken and in maner halfe deade, aduertisyng and exhortyng him to regard his welthe and to saue his lyfe. And firste they aduised him willyngly to suffer him self to be deposed bothe of his dignitie, & depriued of his riches: so that the duke of Lancastre might without murdre or battail obteine the scepter and Diademe, after the whiche they well perceiued he gaped and thrusted by the mene wherof they thought he shuld be in perfit assurance of his life long to continue, & therfore might commit him selfe to good hope, which is the best felowe & companiõ that a man in aduersitie can associat or ioyne him self withal. Surely this councel was both good and honeste in so great an extremitie, but yet the full effect folowed not as the sequele of the thyng sheweth and apparantely declareth. What profite, what honoure, what suretie had it bene to kyng Richarde, if he when he myght, whiche professed the name and title of a kyng, whiche is as much to saie, the ruler or keper of people, had excogitate or remẽbred to haue bene a keper of his owne hedde and lyfe, whiche nowe beyng forsaken, reiect and abandoned of al such as he, being an euil sheperd or herdeman, before time did not plie, kepe and diligently ouerse was easily reduced and brought into the hãdes of his enemies. Nowe it was no mastery to perswade a man beyng desperate pensife and ful of dolour, to abdicate him selfe from his empire and imperiall preheminence: so that

in onlie hope of his life and sauegard, he agreed to al thynges that of hym were demanded, and desired his kepers to shewe and declare to the duke, that if he wold vouchsafe to accord and come to hym, he wolde declare secretely thynges to hym both profitable and pleasant. His kepers sent word of all his saiynges to the duke, whiche incontinent repaired to his chamber. There kyng Richard cõmoned with him of many thinges, and amongest all other affirmed those accusacions to be to muche trewe whiche the comminaltie of the realme alledged against him: that is to say, that he had euel gouerned his dominion and kingdome, and therfore he desyred to be disburdoned of so great a charge and so heauy a burdein, besechyng the Duke to grant to him the safegarde of his lyfe, and to haue compassion of hym, nowe as he before that time had bene to him bountifull and magnificent.

¶ The duke biddyng him to be of good comfort and out of fear warranted him his lyfe, so that he wold resigne to him his scepter croune & dignitie: also nether to procure nor consent to any thyng or act whiche myght be hurtfull or preiudiciall to his person or succession, to the whiche demaundes he graunted and frely condiscended and agreed.

THE Duke of Lancastre the nexte daie declared al kyng Richardes hole mind to the coũcel, but especially to his vncle Edmunde duke of Yorke (whose helpe he much vsed) whiche hearyng al thynges to be in a broyle, a fewe daies before was come to London. The nobles and commons were well pleased that kyng Richard shoulde frankely and frely of his owne mere mocion, whiche they much desired (lest it shuld he noysed and reported that he therevnto were inforced and by violence constrained) resigne his croune and depart from his regalitee.

Not long after he caused a great assemble to be apointed at the Towre of London, where kyng Richard appareled in vesture and robe royall the diademe on his head, & the scepter in his hand, came personally before the cõgregacion and said these wordes in effecte. I Richard king of England Duke of Fraunce, Aquitaine, and Lorde of Ireland, confesse and say before you my lordes and other our subiectes, that by the hole space of. xxii. yere in the whiche I haue obteined and possessed the rule and regiment of this famous realme of England, partely ruled and misaused by the euell & sinister councell of peruerse & flatteryng persons: and partely led by the frailtie of young waueryng and wanton youth, and with delectacion of worldly and volupteous appetite, haue omitted and not executed my royall office and bounden dutie accordyng as I oughte to haue dooen, in ministeryng iustice and prefermente of the comon wealthe, whiche negligence I more than any of you as I thynke my selfe, doo sore repente and bewayle, and specially because I am brought to this poynct, that I knowledge and confesse my self, not worthy longer to reigne nor to haue any farther rule. So that now I can nother amende my misdedees, nor correcte my offences whiche suerly I entended to dooe, and especially in my olde age, in the whiche euill thynges be accustomed to be amended, and the fautes and offences of youth, to be corrected and reformed. For what young man comonly can be founde indued with so muche vertue and so good qualities, whiche agitate & pricked with the heate of youth, shall not turne and decline from the right pathe and direct waie, and yet when he cometh to the more ripenes of yeres and greate grauitie, doth not amend and change into better his olde errates and wanton actes, for experience teacheth, that of a rugged colte, commeth a good horse, and of a shreude boye, proueth a good man. But sithe Fortune doth not permit and suffre me so to do, to thentent that the publike welth of this realme maie bee holpen and auanced by my meane, and after this not like again to declyne and decaye. And to the intent that it shall bee lefull to you, to elect and chose my cosyn germayne, Henry duke of Lancastre, a man mete for a realme, and a prince apt for a kyngdom, to your kyng and souereigne lorde. I of my owne mere mocion and frewill, do putte and depose my self out of all royall dignitie, preheminence and sofferaignitee, and resign the possession, title and vse of this realme, with all rightes there vnto apperteigyng, into his handes and possession. And then with a lamentable voyce and a sorowfull countenance, deliuered his sceptre and croune to the duke of Lancastre, requiryng euery persone seuerally by their names, to graunte and assente that he might liue

liue a priuate and a solitarie life, with the swetnesse whereof, he would be so well pleased, that it should be a paine and punishement to hym to go abrode, and deliuered all the goodes that he had, to the some of three hundred thousande pounde in coyne, beside plate and iuels, as a pledge and satisfaccion, for the iniuries and wronges by hym committed and dooen. But what soeuer was promised, he was disceiued. For shortly after his resignacion he was conueighed to the castell of Ledes in Kent, & from thence to Pomffret wher he departed out of this miserable life, as you shall heare herafter.

¶ THE VNQUIETE TYME OF KYNG HENRY THE FOURTHE.

WHEN the fame was dispersed abrode that Kyng Rycharde had putte hymselfe from his dignitee royall, and resigned his scepter and diademe imperiall, Henry Plantagenet borne at Bolyngbroke in the Countie of Lyncolne, duke of Lancastre and Herfford erle of Derby, Lecester and Lyncolne sonne to Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lancastre, with one voyce bothe of the nobles and comons, was published, proclaymed & declared kyng of England and of Fraunce, and lorde of Irelãde, and on the daie of saincte Edward the confessor, was at Westminster with great solemnitee and royal pompe, sacred, enoynted and crouned king by the name of kyng Henry the fourth. But who so euer reioysed at this coronacion, or whosoeuer delighted at his high promocio, suer it is that Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche whiche was heire to Lionell duke of Clarence, the thirde begotten sonne of kyng Edwarde the third as you before haue heard, and Richard erle of Cãbrige the some to Edmond duke of Yorke, whiche had maried Anne sister to the same Edmonde, wer with these doynges neither pleased nor contente. In so muche that nowe the diuisiõ once beyng begon, the one linage persecuted the other, and neuer ceased till the heires males of bothe the lines wer by battaill murdered or by sedicion clerely extincte and destroyed. The. i. yere.

At the daie of the coronacion, to thentent that he should not seme to take vpon hym the croune and scepter royall without title or lawfull clayme but by extorte power and iniurious intrusion, he was aduised to make his title as heire to Edmonde, surnamed or vntruly fayned Crouchebacke, sonne to kyng Heury the third, and to saie that the said Edmond was elder brother to kyng Edward the first, and for his deformitee repudiat and put by from the croune royall to whom by his mother Blanche doughter and sole heire to Henry duke of Lancastre, he was next of bloud and vndoubtfull heire. But because not onely his frẽdes but also his priuy enemies knewe, that was but a title and that this title was by inuentors of mischief fayned, imagened & published and wer surely enformed not only that the said Edmond was younger sonne to kyng Henry the third accordyng as it is declared in the act of Parliament before recited. Also hauyng true knowledge that Edmõd was nether Crokebacked nor a deformed persone, but a goodly gentil man and a valiante capitain, and so muche fauored of his louyng father, that he to preferre hym to the mariage of the Quene dowager of Nauerne hauyng a greate liuelode, gaue to hym the countie palãtyne of Lancastre with many notable honours, high seigniories and large priuileges. Therefore thei

aduised hym to make some other clayme to the newe obteined regiment, and so caused it to be proclaimed and published that he chalenged the realme not onely by conquest, but also because he was by kyng Richard adopted as heire, & declared successor & of hym by resignacion had accepted the croune and scepter, & also that he was the next heire male of the bloud royall to kyng Richard.

After that he was crouned, he created his eldest sonne lorde Henry, Prince of Wales, duke of Cornwale, and erle of Chester, then beeyng of the age of. xij. yeres. This solēnite finished, he called his high court of parliament, in the whiche it was demaunded by the kynges frendes what should be doen with kyng Richard. The bishop of Carleile whiche was a man both wel lerned & well stomacked rose vp and said. My lordes I require you take hede what answere you make to this question. For I thynke there is none of you worthy or mete to geue iudgemente on so noble a Prince as kyng Richard is, whom we haue taken for our souereigne and leige lorde by the space of. xxij. yeres, and I assure you, there is not so ranke a traytor, nor so arrante a thiefe, nor so cruell a murderer, whiche is apprehended and deteigned in prisone for his offence, but he shall bee brought before the iustice to heare his iudgemente, and yet you will proceade to the iudgemente of an anoynted kyng, and here nother his answere nor excuse. And I saie that the duke of Lancastre whom you call kyng, hath more offended & more trespassed to kyng Richard and this realme, then the kyng hath other doen to hym or to vs. For it is manifestly knowen that the duke was banished the realme by kyng Richard and his counsaill, and by the iudgemente of his owne father, for the space of tenne yeres, for what cause all you knowe, and yet without license of Kyng Richarde he is returned again into the realme, ye and that is worse, hath taken vpon hym the name, title and prehemiēce of a kyng. And therefore I say and affirme that you do apparantly wrong, and manifest iniury to procede in any thyng against kyng Richard, without callyng him opēly to his answer and defence. When the bishop had ended, he was incontinent by therle Marshall attached & committed to ward in the Abbey of. S. Albones.

¶ And then it was concluded, that kyng Richard should continew in a large prisone, and should bee plentifully serued of all thynges necessarie bothe for viande and apparell, and that if any persones would presume to rere warre or congregate a multitude to releue or deliuer hym out of prisone, that then he should bee the first that should dye for that sedicious commocion. In this Parliamente the Lorde Fitzwater appeled the duke of Aumarle of high treason, and offered to fight with hym in listes royall. Likewise the lorde Morley appeled therle of Salisbury, and there were more then. xx. appellantes which waged battaill in this parliamente. But the kyng pardoned all their offences sauyng the fautes of the lorde Morley and therle of Salisbury, whom he comitted to ward, and after at the request of their frēdes, their offences wer remitted & thei deliuered. He punished also extremely all suche as were priuie and doers of the homecide of Thomas his vncle late duke of Glocester, whiche was shamefully murdered before the toune of Caleis. Besides this, he auanced his frendes, and called out of exile Richard erle of Warwike, and restored the exile of Arundelles sonne to his owne possession and dignite, and many other. He toke into his speciall fauor Thon Hollande duke of Exceter and erle of Huntyngdone halfe brother to king Richard, whiche had espoused the lady Elizabeth his owne sister. And beeyng before capitain of Caleis, greatly moued and inwardly greued that Kyng Richarde his brother was amoued out of the seate royall, began to reyse and stirre vp newe mocions and sedicious faccions within the realme. Werfore to aduoyde suche pestiferus dangers, the newe kyng recōciled hym to his fauor, and made hym as he surely coniectured his perfite frende, where in deede he was inwardly his dedly enemie. In this parliament wer adnichilate al the actes passed in the parliament holden by kyng Richard in the. xxj. yere of his reigne, whiche was called the euill parliament for the nobilitee, the worse for the menaltie, but worste of all for the cōmanaltee. For in that parliament, will ruled for reason, men aliue were condemned without examinacion, men dedde and put to execucīō by priuy murder wer adiudged openly to die, the hie prelate of the realme without answere was banished:

An erle arraigned could not be suffered to plede his pardon, and consequently one counsailer did al thyng, and all counsailers did nothyng, affirmyng the saiyng of Esope, whiche hearyng his felow to saie that he could do all thynges, saied he could do nothyng. When he had thus reconciled his nobilite, and gat the fauor of *the spiritualte and wonder*fully pleased the comonaltee, but not so muche pleasyng them, as the possessyng of the croune pleased hymself and his frendes, he of them and by the fauor of them bothe, for the auoydance of al claimes, titles and ambiguitees to be made vnto the croune and diademe of the realme had his dignitee ligne and succession enacted, confirmed and entayled by the assent of the high courte of Parliamente as foloweth worde by worde.

" At the request and peticion aswell of the nobilitie as of the comons in this parliamente assembled, it is ordaigned and established that the enheritance of the crounes and realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, and of all other lordshippes to the kyng our souereigne lorde, aswel on this side the seas as beyond apperteignyng with their appurtenāces, shall bee vnited and remain in the persone of our souereigne lorde the kyng, and in the heires of his body lawfully begotten. And especially at the request and assent aforsaid, it is ordeigned, established, pronounced, enacted, writen and declared, that my lorde Prince, Henry eldest sonne to our soueraigne lorde the kyng, shall bee heire apparante and successor to our saied souereigne lorde in the said croune, realmes & seigniories, to haue & enioy them with al their appurtenaunces after the discease of our saied soūeraigne to hym and the heires of his body begotten. And if he die without heires of his body begottē, that then the saied crounes, realmes and seigniories with their appurtenances shal remain to the lorde Thomas, secōd sonne to our said soueraigne lorde and to the heires of his body begotten, and if he departe without issue of his body begotten, all the premisses to remaigne to lorde Ihon his third sonne and to the heires of his body begotten. And if he dye without issue, then the crounes, realmes, & seigniories aforesaied with their appurtenances shal remain to the lorde Humfrey the. iiij. sonne to our said souereigne lorde, and to the heires of his body lawfully begotten."

After whiche acte passed, he thought neuer to bee by any of his subiectes molested or troubled. But O Lord, what is the mutabilitee of fortune? O God what is the chaunge of worldely safetie? O Christe what stablenes consisteth in mannes prouision? Or what ferme suerty hath a prince in his throne and degree? Considryng this kyng hauyng the possession of the croune and realme, and that in open parliament, agreed to by the princes, condiscended to by the Clerkes, ratified by the commons, and enacted by the three estates of the realme, was when he thought hymself surely mortised in a ferme rocke & immouable foundacion, sodainly with a trimbelyng quickesande & vnstedfast grounde like to haue sonke or been ouerthrowen. For diuerse lordes whiche wer kyng Richardes frendes, outwardly dissimuled that whiche thei inwardly conspired and determined, to confounde this kyng Henry to whom thei had bothe sworne allegeance and doen homage, and to erect again and set vp their old lorde and frend kyng Richard the second.

In this case there lacked only an orgaine and conueighance bothe how secretly to serche and knowe the myndes of the nobilitee, as all so to bryng them to an assemble and counsail, where thei might consult and comen together, how to bryng to efficacite and effect, their long desired purpose and secrete enterprise. Se how the the deuill is as ready to set furth mischief, as the good angell is to auance vertue. At this time was an Abbot in Westminster, a man of aparant vertues, professyng openly Christ, christian Charitee, and due subieccion and obeisaunce to his prince: whiche Abbot hearyng kyng Henry once saie when he was but, erle of Darby and of no mature age or growen grauitee, that princes had to litle, and religeons had to muche, imagined in hymself that he now obteinyng the croune of the realme, if he wer therin a long continuer, would remoue the greate beame that then greued his iyes and pricked his conscience. For you muste vnderstande that these monasticall persones, lerned and vnliterate, better fed then taught, toke on thē *to write* & regester in the boke of fame, the noble actes, the wise dooynges, and politike gouernances of kynges and princes

princes, in whiche cronographie, if a kyng gaue to them possessions or graunted them liberties or exalted them to honor & worldly dignitee, he was called a saincte he was praised without any deserte aboue the Moone, his geanelogie was written, and not one iote that might exalt his fame, was ether forgotten or omitted. But if a christian prince had touched their liberties or claimed any part iustly of their possessions, or would haue intermitted in their holy franchcses, or desired aide of thē against his and their comon enemies. Then tonges talked and pennes wrote, that he was a tirant, a depresser of holy religion, an enemie to Christes Churche and his holy flocke, and a damned and accursed persone with Dathan and Abiron to the depe pitte of helle. Wherof the prouerbe begā, geue and be blessed, take awaie and bee accursed. Thus the feare of lesyng their possessions, made them pay yerely annates to the Romish bishop: thus the feare of correccion and honest restraint of libertee, made them from their ordinaries, yea almoste from obedience of their princes to sue dispensacions, exempcions and immunitees.

THIS Abbot that I spake of whiche could not well forgette the saiyng of kyng Henry, and beyng before in greate fauor and high estimacion with kyng Richard called to his hous on a daie in the terme season al suche lordes & other persones whiche he ether knewe or thought to be as affeccionate to kyng Richarde, and enuious to the estate and auancement of kyng Henry, whose names wer, Ihon Hollande duke of Exceter and erle of Huntyngdon, Thomas Hollande duke of Surrey and erle of Kent, Edward duke of Aumarle and erle of Rutland sonne to the duke of Yorke, Ihō Montagew erle of Salisbury, Hugh Spēser erle of Glocester, Ihon the bishop of Carleill, sir Thomas Blount and Magdalen one of kyng Richardes chapell, a man as like to hym in stature and proporcion in all liniamentes of his body, as vnlike in birthe dignitee or condicions. This Abbot highly fested these greate lordes and his speciall frendes, and when thei had well dined, thei all withdrew themselfes into a secrete chamber and sat doune to counsail, when thei wer set, Ihon Hollande duke of Exceter whose rage of reuengyng ỹ iniury doen to kyng Richard was nothyng mitigate nor mollified, but rather encreased and blossomed, declared to theim their allegeance promised, and by othe confirmed to kyng Richard his brother, forgettyng not the high promocions and notable dignities whiche he and all other there present had obteigned by the high fauor and munificent liberalitee of his saied brother, by the whiche thei wer not onely by othe and allegeance bounde, and also by kindnes and vrbanitee insensed & moued to take part with hym and his frendes, but also bound to be reuenged for hym and his cause, on his mortall enemies and dedly foes, in whiche doyng he thought policie more meter to be vsed then force, and some wittie practise rather to be experimented then manifest hostilitee or open warre. And for the expedicion of this enterprise he deuised a solempne iustes to be enterprised betwene *hym* and. xx. *on his* parte, and the erle of Salisbury and. xx. on his part at Oxforde: to the whiche triumphe, Kyng *Henry should be inuited* and desired, and when he were moste busely regardyng the marciall playe and warly disporte, he sodainly should bee slain and destroyed. And by this meanes kyng Richard whiche was yet a liue, should be restored to his libertie and repossessed of his croune and kyngdome, and appointed farther who should assemble the people, the numbre and persones, whiche should accomplishe and performe this inuented assaie and policie.

THIS deuise so much pleased the sedicious congregacion, that thei not onely made an indenture sextipartite sealed with their seales and signed with their handes in the whiche eche bounde hym selfe to other to endeuoure theim selfes both for the destruction of Kyng Henry and the creacion of King Richard, but also sware on the holy Euangelistes the one to be trewe and secrete to the other, euen to the houre and point of death. When all thynges were thus apoisted and concluded the Duke of Exceter came to the kyng to Windsore, requiryng hym for the loue that he bare to the noble actes of chiualrie, that he woulde vouchesafe not onely to repaire to Oxford to see and behold their manlie feates, and warlike pastime: but also to be the discouerer and indifferente iudge (if any ambiguitee should arise) of their couragious actes and royall triumphe. The kyng seeyng hymself so effectuously desired, and that of his brother

brother in lawe, and nothing lesse imagenyng thē that which was pretended, gentelly graunted and frendly condiscended to his request. Which thing obteined, all the lordes of this cōspiracie departed to their houses (as thei noised) to set armorers on work for trimmyng of their harneis against the solemne iustes. Some had the helme the visere the two bauiers & the two plackardes of the same curiously graue and conningly costed: Some had their collers fretted and other had them set with gilte bullions, one company had the plackard, the rest, the port the burley, the tasses, the lamboys, the backpece the tapull, and the border of the curace all gylte: And another bande had them all enameled Azure. One sorte had the vambrases the pacegardes the grandgardes the poldren, the pollettes, parted with golde and azure: And another flocke had theym siluer and sable: Some had the mainferres, the close gantlettes, the guissettes the flancardes droped & gutted with red, and other had thē spekeled with grene: one sorte had the quishes, the greues, the surlettes, ỹ sockettes on the right side and on the left side siluer. Some had the spere, the burre, the cronet al yelowe, and other had them of diuers colours. One band had the scafferon the cranet, the bard of the horse all white, and other had them all gilte. Some had their armyng swerdes freshly burnyshed and some had thē conningly vernished. Some spurres wer white, some gilt, and some cole blacke. One parte had their Plumes all white, another had them all redde, and the third had them of seuerall colours. One ware on his headpece his Ladies sleue, and another bare on his helme the gloue of his dearlyng: But to declare the costly Bases, the riche bardes, the pleasant trappers bothe of goldesmithes worke and embrawdery, no lesse sumptuously then curiously wrought, it would aske a long time to declare, for euerye man after his appetite deuised his fantasy vērifiyng the olde Prouerbe, so many heades, so many wittes.

The duke of Exceter came to his house & raised men on euery side and prepared horse and harneis, mete and apte for his compassed purpose. When the Duches his wife which was sister to kyng Henry perceiued this, she no lesse trouble coniectured to be prepared against her brother thē was in dede eminent & at hand, wherfore she wept & made great lamentacion. When the duke perceued her dolour, he said, what Besse, how chaunseth this, when my brother king Richard was deposed of his dignitie, and committed to harde and sharpe prison whiche had bene kyng and ruled this realme noblie by the space of xxii. yeres and your brother was exalted to the throne and dignitie imperiall of the same, then my hearte was heauie, my life stoode in ieopardie and my combe was clerely cut, but you then reioysed laughed and triumphed, wherfore I pray you be contente that I may aswell reioyce and haue pleasure at the deliueryng and restoryng of my brother iustly to his dignite, as you were iocond and pleasaunt when your brother vniustly and vntrulie depriued and dis-seazed my brother of the same. For of this I am sure, that yf my brother prosper, you and I shal not fall nor decline: but if your brother continue in his estate and magnificēce I doubte not your decay nor ruine, but I suspecte the losse of my life, beside the forfeyture of my landes and goodes. When he had sayd, he kissed his Lady whiche was sorowful and pensife, and he departed toward Oxforde with a greate company bothe of Archers and horsemen, and when he came there, he founde ready al his mates and confederates wel apointed for their purpose, except the Duke of Aumerle Erle of Rutland, for whom they sent messengers in great haste. This duke of Aumerle went before from Westminster to se his father the duke of Yorke, and sittyng at diner had his counterpaine of the endenture of the confederacie wherof I spake before in his bosome.

The father espied it and demaunded what it was, his sonne lowely and beningly answered that it myght not bee sene, and that it touched not him. By saint George quod the father I will see it, and so by force toke it out of his bosome, when he perceaued the content and the sixe signes and seales sette and fixed to the same, whereof the seale of his sonne was one, he sodainlie rose from the table, cōmaundyng his horses to be sadeled, and in a greate furie saied to his sonne, thou trayter thefe, thou hast bene a traitour to kyng Richard, and wilt thou nowe be falce to thy cosen kyng Henry? thou knowest wel inough that I am thy

pledge borowe and mayneperner, body for body, and land for goodes in open parliament, and goest thou about to seke my death and destruction? by the holy rode I had leauer see the strangeled on a gibbet. And so the duke of Yorke mouted on horsbacke to ride toward Windsor to the kyng and to declare the hole effecte of his sõne and his adherentes & partakers. The duke of Aumerle seyng in what case he stode toke his horse and rode another way to Windsor, riding in post thither (whiche his father being an olde man could not do.) And when he was alighted at the castel gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saying that he must nedes deliuer the keies to the kyng. When he came before the kynges presence he kneled downe on his knees, beseechyng him of mercy and forgeuenes: The kyng demanded the cause: then he declared to him plainely the hole confederacie and entier coniuracion in manner and forme as you haue harde: Well saied the kyng, if this be trewe we pardon you, if it bee fained at your extreme perill bee it. While the kyng and the duke talked together, the duke of Yorke knocked at the castel gate, whom the kyng caused to be let in, and there he delyuered the endenture whiche before was taken from his sonne, into the kynges handes. Which writyng when he had redde, and sene, perceiuyng the signes and seales of the confederates, he chaunged his former purpose. For the daie before he heryng say that the chalengers were al ready and that the defenders were come to do their deuoir, purposed to haue departed towarde the triumphe the next day, but by his prudent and forecastyng councel, somwhat staied till he myght se the ayre clere and no dareke cloude nere to the place where the listes were. And nowe beyng aduertised of the truthe and veritie, howe his destruction and deathe was compassed, was not a litell vexed, but with a great and meruelous agonie perturbed and vnquieted, and therefore determined there to make his abode not hauyng time to loke and gase on lustes and tourneis, but to take hede howe to kepe and conserue his lyfe and dignitie, and in that place taried tyll he knewe what way his enemies would set forward. And shortly wrote to the Earle of Northumberland his high Cõstable, and to the erle of Westmerland his high Marshal, and to other his assured frendes of al the douteful daunger and perelous icopardie. The coniuratoures perceiuyng by the lacke of the duke of Aumerles cõming, and also seyng no preparacion made there for the kynges commyng, imagined with them selfes that their enterpryse was intimate and published to the kyng: Wherfore that thyng whiche they attempted priuilie to do, nowe openly with speare & shilde they determined with all diligent celeritie to set forth and aduaunce. And so they adorned Magdalene, a man resemblyng muche kyng Richard in roiall and princely vesture, callyng him kyng Richard, affirming that he by fauour of his kepers was deliuered out of prison and set at libertie, and they followed in a quadrat array to the entent to destroy king Henry as the most pernicious & venemus enemy to thẽ and his owne naturall countrey. While the confederates with this newe publyshed Idole accompanied with a puissant armie of men, toke the directe way and passage toward Windsor: Kyng Henry beyng admonished of their approchyng, with a fewe horse in the night, came to the Tower of London about. xii. of the clocke, where he in the mornynge caused the Maire of the citie to apparell in armure the beste and moste couragious persons of the citie: which brought to him. iii. M. archers and. iii. M. bill men, beside them that were deputed to defend the citie.

The Lordes of the confederacie entered the castel of Windsor, where they findyng not their praie, determined with all spede to passe forthe to London: But in the waie, changyng their purpose they returned to the towne of Colbroke and there taried. These Lordes had much people folowyng them, what for feare and what for entreatie surely beleuyng that kyng Richard was there present and in company. King Hẽry issued out of London with twentye M. men and came to Hounsloe Heath, where he pitched his campe, abidyng the commyng of his enemies: but when they were aduertised of the kynges puissaunce, or els amased with feare, or forthinkyng and repentyng their begonne busines, or mistrustyng their owne company and felowes, departed from thence to Barkamstede and so to Aucester, and there the Lordes toke their lodgyng: The duke of Surrey erle of Kent and the erle of

Salisbury in one ynne, and the duke of Exceter and the earle of Glocester in another, and al the hoste laie in the feldes. The Baily of the towne with fowre score archers set on the house wher the duke of Surrey and other laie: the house was mannely assaulted and strongely defended a great space: The Duke of Exceter beyng in another inne with the erle of Glocester set fier on diuers howses in the towne, thinkyng that the assailantes would leue their assault and rescue their goodes, which thing they nothyng regarded. The host liyng without bearyng noise and seyng fire in the towne, beleuyng that the kyng was come thyther with his puissaunce, fledde without measure to saue them selfes. The duke of Exceter and his company seyng the force of the townes men more & more encreace, fled out of the backeside entendyng to repaire to the armie, whiche they found dispersed and retired. Then the duke seing no hope of cõfort, fled into Essex, and the erle of Glocester goyng toward Wales was taken and beheaded at Bristowe. Magdalene fliyng into Scotland was apprehẽded and brought to the Tower. The lordes whiche fought still in the towne of Chichester wer woũded to deth and taken and their heades striken of and sent to London: and there were taken sir Bennet Shelley or Cell, and sir barnard Brokas and. xxix. other Lordes Knyghtes and Esquiers & sent to Oxford, where the kyng then soiourned, where sir Thomas Blonte and all the other prysoners were executed. Whẽ the Duke of Exceter heard that his complices wer taken, and his councellers apprehended, and his frendes and alies put in execucion, he lamented his owne chaunce, and bewepte the misfortune of his frendes, but most of all bewailed the fatall end of his brother kyng Richard, whose death he saw as in a mirrour by his vnhappy sedition and malicious attempte to approche, and so wanderynge lurkyng and hidyng him selfe in priuy places, was attached in Essex, and in the lordshippe of Plasshey a towne of the Duches of Glocester and there made shorter by the hed, and in that place especially because that he in the same Lordship seduced & falsely betrayed Thomas duke of Glocester, and was the very inward auctour and open dissimuler of his death and destruction. So the cõmon Prouerbe was verified, as you haue done, so shall you fele. Oh Lord I would wishe that this example, of many highlye promoted to rule, might be had in memorie, the which mete and measure their owne iniquitie and il doinges, with force auctoritie and power, to the entent that they by these examples shoulde auerte their myndes from ill doynges, and such vngodly and execrable offences. After this Magdalein that represented the person of kyng Richard amõgest the rebels, and diuerse other were put in execucion, and all the heades of the chefe conspiratoures sette on polles on London bridge, to the feare of other whiche were disposed to commit like offence. The Abbot of Westminster in whose house this traiterous confederacy was conspired, hearyng that the chefetains of his felowshippe, were espied, taken and executed, going betwene his monastery and mancion, for thoughte fell in a sodaine palsey, and shortely after without any speche ended his life: after whome the Byshop of Carlile more for feare then sickenes, rendred his spirite to God, as one rather desiryng to die by deathes darte, then temporall swearde. But nowe was come the time when all the confederates and compaignions of this vnhappye sedicion, had tasted accordyng to their desertes, the painfull penaunce of their pleasante pastime, or rather pestiferus obstinacy, that an innocent with a nocẽt, a man vngilty with a gilty, was pondered in an egall balaunce. For pore king Richard ignorant of all this coniuracion kept in miserable captiuitie, knowyng nothyng but that he sawe in his chamber, was by king Henry adiudged to die, because that he beyng singed and tickeled with the laste craftie policie of his enemies, would deliuer himself out of all inward feare and discorde, and cleane put away the very ground wherof suche frutes of displeasure mighte by any waie be attempted againste him, so that no man hereafter shoulde ether faine or resemble to represente the persone of king Richarde: wherfore some saye he commaunded, other talke that he condiscended, many write that he knewe not tyll it was done and then it confirmed. But howe so euer it was, kyng Richarde dyed of a violent death, without any infection or naturall disease of the body.

The common fame is that he was euery daye serued at the table with costely meate like a kyng, to the entent that no creature shuld suspecte any thing done contrary to the order taken in the parliament, and when the meate was set before him, he was forbidden that he shuld not once touch it, ye not to smel to it, and so died of famin: which kynd of death is the most miserable, most vnnatural, ye and most detestable that can be, for it is ten times more painefull then death (whiche of all extremities is the most terrible) to die for thirst standyng in the riuer, or starue for hunger, besette with twentie deintie disshes. One writer whiche semed to haue muche knowledge of kyng Rychardes affaires, saieth that kyng Henry sittyng at his table sore sighyng said, haue I no faithefull frende whiche will deliuer me of him whose life will be my deth, and whose death will be the preseruacion of my life. This saiyng was muche noted of them whiche were present and especially of one called sir Piers of Exton. This knight incontinently departed frō the court with eight strong persons and came to Pomfret, commaundyng that the esquier whiche was accustomed to sewe and take the assaye before kyng Richard, shuld no more vse that maner of seruice, saiyng, let him eate wel nowe, for he shall not long eate. Kyng Richard sate downe to dyner and was serued without curtesie or assay, he muche mervailyng at the sodaine mutacion of the thyng, demaunded of the Esquier why he did not his duety? sir, said he, I am otherwise cōmaunded by sir Pyers of Exton, which is newely come from king Henry. When he heard that worde, be toke the caruyng knife in his hand and strake the esquier on the head saiyng, the deuell take Henry of Lancastre and the together: and with that worde sir Piers entered into the chamber wel armed with. viii. tall men in harneis, euery man hauing a bill in his hād. Kyng Richarde perceuyng them armed, knewe well that they came to his confusion, and puttyng the table from him, valiantly toke the bill out of the first mannes hand, and manly defended himselfe, and slewe fowre of them in a short space. Sir Piers being sōwhat dismaied with his resistyng, lepte into the chaire where kyng Richard was wonte to sitte, while the other fowre persons assailed and chased him aboute the chamber, whiche beyng vnarmed defended him against his enemies beyng armed, (whiche was a valiaunt acte) but in conclusion chasyng and trauersing frō the one side to the other, he came by the chaire wher sir Piers stode, whiche with a stroke of his Pollax felled hym to the ground, and then shortely he was rid out of the worlde, without ether confession or receit of sacrament. When this knight perceiued that he was deade, he sobbed, wept, and rent his heare criyng, Oh Lord, what haue we done, we haue murthered hym whom by the space of. xxii. yeres we haue obeied as king, and honored as our soueraigne lord, now all noble men will abhorre vs, all honest persons will disdaine vs, and all pore people will rayle and crie out vpon vs, so that duryng our naturall liues, we shal be poincted with the finger, and our posterite shal be reproued as children of Homecides, ye of Regicides & prince quellers. Thus haue I declared to you the diuersities of opinions concernyng the deathe of this infortunate prince, remittyng to your iudgement whiche you thinke most trewe, but the very trouthe is that he died of a violent death, and not by the darte of naturall infirmitie.

When Atropos had cut the line of his lyfe, his body was embaulmed and seared and couered with lead al saue his face (to the entent that all men might perceiue that he was departed out of this mortal lyfe) and was conueighed to London, where in the cathedrall churche of saincte Paule he had a solempne obsequie, and from thence conueighed to Lāgley in Buckyngham shire, where he was enterred, and after by kyng Henry the. v. remoued to Westminster, and there intombed honorably with quene Anne his wife, although the Scottes vntreuly write that he escaped out of prisone, and led a verteous and solitary life in Scotlande, and there died and is buried in the blacke Friers at Sterlyng. What trust is in this worlde, what suretie man hath of his life, & what constancie is in the mutable comonaltie, all men maie apparantly perceiue by the ruyne of this noble prince, whiche beeyng an vndubitate kyng, crouned and anoynted by the spiritualtie, honored and exalted by the nobilitee, obeyed and worshipped

worshipped of the comon people, was sodainly disceiued by theim whiche he moste trusted, betraied by theim whom he had preferred, & slain by theim whom he had brought vp and norished: so that all menne maie perceiue and see, that fortune wayeth princes and pore men all in one balance.

WHEN newes of kyng Richardes deposyng were reported into Fraũce, kyng Charles and all his court wondered, detested & abhorred suche an iniurie to bee doen to an anoynted kyng, to a crouned prince, & to the hed of a realme: but in especial Waleram erle of sent Paule whiche had maried kyng Richardes halfe sister, moued with high disdain against kyng Henry, ceased not to stirre and prouoke ỹ Frenche kyng and his counsaill to make sharpe warre in Englande, to reuenge the iniurie and dishonor comitted and doen to his sonne in lawe kyng Richard, & he hymself sent letters of defiance to England. Whiche thyng was sone agreed to, and an armie royall appoyncted with all spede, to inuade England. But the Frenche kyng so stomacked this high displesure, & so inwardly cõceiued this infortunate chance in his minde, that he fell into his old disease of the frensy, hat he had nede accordyng to the old prouerbe, to saile into the Isle of * Anticyra, to purge his melãcholie humor, but by the meanes of his phisicions, he was somwhat releued & brought to knowledge of hymself. This armie was come doune into Picardy, redy to be trãsported into Englãd, but whẽ it was certainly certified that kyng Richard was ded, & that their enterprise of his deliuerãce was frustrate & voyd, tharmie scattred & departed a sonder.

* Anticyra is an Isle in Asia, where in groweth an Herbe yᵗ purgeth Melãcoly, & therof cã the prouerbe, go saile to Anticira, as who saieth, goo purge youre Melancoly.

BUT when the certaintie of kyng Richardes death was declared to the Aquitaynes and Gascons, the moste parte of the wisest men of the countree, fell into a greate bodely feare, and into a dedly dreade. For some lamentyng the instabilitee of the Englishe people, iudged theim to be spotted with perpetuall infamie, and brought to dishonor & losse of their auncient fame and glory, for comittyng so heynous a cryme and detestable an offence against their king & soueraigne lorde. The memorie wherof, thei thought would neuer be buried or extincted. Other fered the losse of their goodes and liberties, because they imagined that by this ciuill discencion and intestine deuision, the realme of England should so bee vexed and troubled, that their countree (if the Frenchemenne should inuade it) should bee destitute and lefte voide of all aide and succor of the Englishe nacion. But the citezens of Burdeaux toke this matter very sore at ỹ stomacke, because kyng Richard was borne and brought vp in their citee, lamentyng and cryyng out, that sithe the beginnyng of the worlde, there was neuer a more detestable, a more vilanous nor a more heynous acte committed: whiche beyng sad with sorowe and enflamed with malencolie, saied that vntrue, vnnaturall and vnmercifull people had betrayed and slain, contrary to all law and iustice and honestie, a good man, a iuste prince and politike gouernor. Besechyng God deuoutly on their knees, to be the reuenger and punisher of that detestable offence and notorius crime.

WHEN the Frenchmen, whiche haue iyes of the wakyng serpent, perceiued the dolor and agony that the Aquitaynes and Gascons wer in for the death of their prince, duke and countrymanne, they reioysed and aplauded in marueious maners, thynkyng with theimselfes that (the Gascons nowe abhorryng and detestyng the Englishe men more than a Dogge or an Adder) they verie easely mighte obtain the whole countree and douchie of Aquitaine, with the membersand territories there to apperteignyng, if they would ether by entreatie or by inuasion moue the people beyng now amased and comfortles, as shepe without a shepeherd, or beastes without an herdman. Wherfore in greate haste and slowe spede, Lewes duke of Burbon was sent to Angiers, & wrote to diuerse citees and tounes on the confynes of Aquitain and Gascon, exhortyng them with large promises and flateryng wordes, to reuolte and turne from the Englishe subieccion, and become vassals to the croune of Fraunce. But all his glosyng wordes serued litle, and all his faire promises profited muche lesse. For the people knewe that the Englishe yoke was but a fether, & the yoke of Fraunce was more ponderus then lede, seyng daily how the French men vexed and molested ther miserable people with extreme exaccios and intollerable tallages, rasyng their skinne to the very bone, and their purses

purses to the very botome wherfore they determined rather to abide in their old subiection and obedience, then for a displeasure irrecurable to auenture themselfes on a newe chance and a doubtfull parell.

KING Henry beeyng aduertised of all the Frenche attemptes and couert conueighances, sent the lorde Thomas Percy erle of Worceter with a goodly crewe of souldiours into Aquitain, to aide and assist sir Robert Knolles his leuetenante there, and to perswade and exorte the people to continewe in their ancient libertie and dewe obeysance. The erle arriued there, and so wisely entreated the noble men, so grauously perswaded the magestrates of the citees and townes, and so gently and familiarly vsed and tracted the vulgare people, that he not onely appeased their furie and malice, but brought them to a louyng and vniforme obeysance, receiuyng of them othes of obedience and loyall fealtie, whiche done he retourned againe into England with great thankes. When kyng Charles of Fraunce perceiued that his purpose and attempte was frustrate and came to no good conclusion in Aquitayne and that kyng Richard being deade, his enterprise into England was of no value and of small purpose, he determined with him selfe to inuent some way howe to haue the Lady Isabell his doughter, sometime espoused to kyng Richard restored to him again: and for that purpose sent a solemne ambassade into England to kyng Henry, whiche gentely receiued them, and gaue in answere that he would send his commissioners shortely to Calcis, whiche shoulde farther common and cōclude with them, not onely that request, but diuers other matters of gret effecte and efficacie. And shortley after their departyng he sent Edward duke of Yorke, before called duke of Aumerle, whiche succeded in the said duchie his father Edmond duke of Yorke, a littell before disseased and Henry erle of Northumberland into the countrei of Guisnes. The commissioners assembled at diuers places at sondry times. The duke of Borbon aboue al thynges required in the name of the French king his master, to haue quene Isabell to him deliuered. The Englishmen that to do continually did deny, requiryng to haue her maried to Henry Prince of Wales, a man bothe in blud and age to her in all thinges equall. But the Frenche kyng that mariage vtterly refused, saiyng he wolde neuer ioyne affinitie after with the Englishe nacion, because that the aliance had so vnfortunate successe.

Then they began to entreate a continuall peace, whiche request the Frenchemen refused, and in conclusion they agreed that the truce whiche was taken betwene them and kyng Richarde, for the terme of. xxx. yeres, was renouate and confirmed. Some authors affirm that there was a newe leage concluded and confirmed betwene both the realmes duryng the liues of bothe the princes, whiche semeth to haue a certein colour of veritie. For the kyng sent shortly after the foresaid Lady Isabell vnder the conducte of the Lord Thomas Percy erle of Worceter, associate with many noble and honourable personages, as well of women as men, hauyng with her al the Iewells ornamentes & plate (with a great surplusage geuen to hir by the kyng whiche she brought into England) was sente in solemne estate to Caleis, and there deliuered to Waleran erle of saincte Paule Lieuetenant for the French king in Picardie, and so conueighed to her father, whiche gaue her in mariage to Charles sōne to Lewes duke of Orleaunce. The Frenchmen often times required king Henry to assigne to her a dower, but al was in vaine, for the Englishemen answered that the matrimony was neuer consummate, by reason wherof she was not dowable, by the very treatie of the mariage concluded, and so this matter seased, and was no more moued. As the old prouerbe saith, after winde commeth rain, & after one euil comōly ensueth another, so duryng the time that kyng Henry was vexed and vnquieted, bothe within the realme & without.

OWEN Glendor a squire of Wales, perceiuyng the realme to be vnquieted, and the kyng not yet to be placed in a sure and vnmouable seate, entēdyng to vsurpe and take vpon hym the principalitie of Wales, and the name and preheminence of the same, what with faire flatteryng wordes and with large promises, so enuegled entised and allured the wilde and vndiscrite Welshmen, that they toke hym as their prince and made to hym an othe of allegeance and subieccion. By whose supportacion, he beyng elated and set vp in aucthorite, to the intent

intent to bee out of all doubte of his neighbors, made sharpe warre on Reignolde lorde Grey of Rithen and toke hym prisoner, promisyng hym libertee and dischargyng his raunsome, if he would espouse and marie his doughter, thynkyng by that affinitie, to haue greate aide and muche power in Wales. The lorde Grey beeyng not very riche nether of substance nor of frendes, considerying this offer to be the onely waie of his releffe and deliuerance, assented to his pleasure and maried the damosell. But this false father in lawe, this vntrew, vnhonest and periured persone, kept hym with his wife still in captiuitee till he died. And not content with this heynous offence, made warre on lorde Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche, and in his owne lordship of Wigmore, where in a conflict he slewe many of therles men and toke hym prisoner, and feterynge hym in chaynes, cast hym in a depe and miserable dongeon. The kyng was required to purchase his deliuerance by diuerse of the nobilitie, but he could not heare on that side, rather he would and wished al his linage in heuen. For then his title had been out of all doubt & question, and so vpon this cause as you heare, after ensued great sedicion.

THUS Owen Glendor glorifiyng hymself in these twoo victories, inuaded the Marches of Wales on the West side of Seuerne, robbed vilages, brent tounes and slewe the people, and laden with praies and bloudy handes returned again into Wales, neuer desistyng to do euil till the next yere, that the kyng reised a greate armie and puissance to resist and defende his malicious attemptes and sedicious inuasions, as after shall be declared. It was not sufficiēt in this first yere of kyng Henry, this realme to be troubled with domestical sedicion, vexed with the craftie practices and inuencions of the Frenche men, and inuaded and infested with the frantike wauerynge Welshemen, but also fortune hauyng enuy at the glory and fortunate procedyng of this man, muste in his saied firste yere also, arme the Scottes with spere and shelde against hym and his realme, wherof the occasion shall bee to you declared accordyng to the Scotticall histories. A litle before this tyme, George of Dunbar erle of the Marches of the realme, made meanes to kyng Robert of Scotlande, that Dauid his eldest sonne might marie and espouse the erles doughter called Elizabeth, and deliuered for the performance of the same mariage, into the kynges handes a greate some of money. When Archebaulde erle Douglas heard of this conclucion, disdainyng therle of the Marches blud to be auaunced before his stocke, wherfore ether by faire wordes, or els by disbursyng a greter some of money, he so enuegeled Kyng Roberte of Scotlande, that Dauid his heire refusyng the first damosell, espoused Mariell the erle Douglas doughter. Therle of Marche desired restitucion of his money, to whom the kyng gaue many friuolus and trifelyng aunswers, wherfore he disdainyng so to bee mocked & deluded of his money, with his wife and family, fled into England, to Henry erle of Northumberlande, entendyng with dent of swerd to reuenge the iniury & displesure to hym by the kyng comitted & doen, & so with the help of the borderers brent diuerse tounes, & slew many persons in the realme of Scotland.

KING Robert beeyng thereof aduertised, firste deprived the Erle George of all his dignitees and possessions, and caused his goodes to bee confiscate, and after wrote to the Kyng of Englande, instantly requiryng hym, if he would the truce any longer to continew ether to deliuer into his possession the Erle of Marche, and other traitors and rebelles to his persone and realme, or els to banishe and exile theim out of his realme, territories and dominions. Kyng Henry discrētly answered the herault of Scotland, that the worde of a prince ought to bee kepte, and his writyng and seale ought to bee inuiolate, and considerying that he had graunted a saue conduite to the erle and his compaigny, he would nether without cause resonable breake his promise, nor yet deface his honor. Whiche answer declared to the kyng of Scottes, he incontinente did proclaime and intimate open warre, against the kyng of England, with bloud fire and sweard. Kyng Henry perceiuyng, that policie preuenteth chance, gathred and assembled together a greate armie, and entered into Scotlande, burnyng townes villages and castles, sparyng nothyng but religious houses and churches, and brent a greate parte of the tounes of Edenbrough and Lithe and beseged the castle

castle of Maidens in Edenbrough, in thende of September, whereof was capitain, Dauid duke of Rothsay and prince of the realme, and Archibalde erle Douglas, with many hardy men. Roberte duke of Albanie, beyng appoyncted gouernor of the realme, because the kyng was sicke and vnapt to rule, sent vnto kyng Henry an harrold, assuryng hym on his honour that if he woulde abide and tary his coming and repaire, whiche should be within sixe daies at the most he would geue hym battaill, and remoue the siege, or els die for it.

The kyng beeyng glad of these ioyous good newes, rewarded the herault with a goune of silke and a chayne of gold, promisyng hym in the worde of a prince, not to depart thence but abide there, the comyng of the gouernor. The sixe daies passed, ye sixe and sixtene to, the gouernor nether apered nor sent worde, the winter waxed cold, vitaile failed, men died of the flixe, it rained euery daie so habundantly, that hunger and colde caused the kyng to breke vp his siege, and to departe out of Scotland, without battaill or skirmish offered. Duryng whiche tyme bothe the Wardens of the Marches beyng with the kyng, the Scottes made a rode into Northumberlande, and burned diuerse townes in Bamborough shere, and shortly returned again, or els thei had been trapped & come to late home. When the kyng of England had dismissed his souldiers, and discharged his army, the Scottes entendyng to bee reuenged of their greate domages to theim by the Englishe nacio doen and committed by therle Douglas, appoyncted twoo armyes to inuade Englande. Of the first was chieftain, sir Thomas Haliburton of Dirlton, and Patrike Hebburne of Hales, whiche made a rode into Englande, and returned with litle losse and no greate gain. After this the forsaid sir Patrike Hebburne, encoraged & boldened with the prosperous successe of this first iorney, with a greate armie of the people of Lowdian inuaded Northumberlande, robbyng and spoylyng the coūtree and departed homeward, not without greate gain of beastes and captiues. But in the returne he was encoūtered with therle of Northumberlandes vicewarden, & other gentilmen of the borders at a toune in Northumberlande called Nesbit, and there the Englishemen sore assailed, and the Scottes valiantly resisted, but after a long fight, the victory fell on the Englishe parte, and as Ihon Mayer the Scot writeth, there wer slain the flower of all Loughdean, and especially sir Patricke Hebburne with many of his linage. There wer apprehended sir Ihon and Willyam Cockeburne, sir Robert of Bas, Ihon and Thomas Hablincton esquiers, and a greate nomber of the comon people. The erle Douglas sore beyng greued with the losse of his nacion and frendes, entendyng a requitement if it were possible of the same, by the consente of the gouernour of Scotlande, did gather a houge armie of twentie thousande talle menne and more.

In the whiche armie was Lord Mordake earle of Fife sonne to the gouernour of Scotland, the erle of Angus, and many other erles and barons of the nobilitie of Scotland. These valiaunte capitayns and couragious souldioures entered into Northumberlande with banners displayed like menne either apte or thynkyng theim selfes able to destroy the townes and spoyle the countrey and Marches of Northumberlande. When they were entered into England thinkyng no puissaunce able to encounter with their force, out of a valey beside a toune called Homeldon issued sodainly the Lorde Henry Percie, whom the Scottes for his haut and valiant corage called sir Henry hotspur, and in his company the Lorde George of Dunbar erle of Marche before banished Scotlande, as you haue heard, with all the gentill menne of Northumberland, and eight thousande men on horsebacke and on fote. The encounter was sharpe, the fight was daungerous, the long continuaunce was doubtfull, for some were felled and rescued, some in rescuyng other were slaine, other gredy of praye more then of strokes fled to se what baggages were kept emongest the Pages. Thus with pure fightyng of the Englishemen, and fainte hertes of the bragging Scottes, the brighte beame of victory shone on sainct Georges crosse, and there were slaine of men of great renoune and estimacion sir Ihō Swinton, sir Adam Gordon, sir Ihon Leuiston, sir Alexander Ransey of Dalehowse, and. xxiii. knightes moo, whose names ether for ignorance or for feare of reproche, Hector Boece the Scottish archechronocler kepeth in silence and dothe omitte, beside. x. M. cōmons. But there wer taken prisoners, Mordacke erle of Fife, Archebald

erle Douglas, whiche in the combat loste one of his eyes, Thomas erle of Murrey, Robert erle of Angus, and as other writers affirme, the erls of Athell and Mentethe with v. C. other.

When the Lord Percy had thus obtained this glorious victory, he sent his prisoners into diuerse fortresses, and determined to subdue or destroy all the countreis of Lowdene and Marche, whose heades and Gouernours ether he had slain or by force taken captiues. And so with a gret power entered into Tiuedale wastyng any destroiyng the hole countrey, and they beseged the castell of Cokelaues, whereof was capitain sir Ihon Grenlowe, which seyng that his castel was not long able to be defended cõpounded with the Englishmen that yf the castel wern ot suckered within. iii. monthes, that then he would deliuer it into the Englishe mennes handes. The capitaine thereof wrote vnto the Gouernour, whiche callyng a great councell, the moste parte aduised hym rather frankely and frely to yeld the castel, than to put in ieopardie and caste in hasard the remnaunt of the florishyng nobilitie of the realme. So muche was their courages abated and their fumishe crakes refrigerat with the remembraunce of the last conflicte and batail. But the gouernour rebukyng their timerous heartes, and Feminine audacitie (whether he thought so or no was a questiõ) sware that if no man wold folowe of the nobilitie he woulde do his deuoire to reskewe the castell at the day. But his othe was nether kept nor broken, for he litell preparyng and lesse entendyng the oth whiche he solemply made neuer set fote forward duryng the first. ii. monethes, for the reising of the seige or reskewe of the castel. But the Englishe men beyng sent for to go with the kyng into Wales, raised their siege and departed leauyng the noble men prisoners styll with the earle of Northumberland and the Lord Percie his sonne, which by the kyng were commaunded to kepe them to his vse, and not to deliuer them without his assent.

KYNG Henry forgat not his enterprise into Wales, but made prouision for menne, mu- The second yere.
nicions and artillary mete and conuenient for so great a businesse, whereof the Frenche kyng beyng aduertised, sente priuilie Lorde Iames of Burbone earle of Marche and his two brethren Ihon and Lewes, with xii. C. knightes and esquiers to aide Owen Glendor against the inuasions of kyng Henry, he toke shippyng with. xxx. saile at the mouthe of Seine, and the wynd was not fauourable to his purpose for he coulde neuer approche the coaste of Wales but came before the towne of Plimmouthe in Deuonshire, and there leauyng his great shippes liyng at ancre, in the nyghte toke land and brent, spoiled and destroied diuers small villages, and poore cotages, and robbed. v. or vi. littel Craiers and fisher botes laden with fysshe and corne. But while he and his companie like gredy wolfes were sekyng after their praie, the winde rose highe and a great tempesteous rage and furious storme sodainely flushed and drowned. xii. of his great shippes whiche laie in the mouth of the hauen for his safegard and defence. Whereof when the erle was aduertised, and perceuyng by the firyng of the beacons that the people began to assemble in plumpes to encounter with him, and also seyng his power sore diminished as well by the slaughter of suche as ranged abrode in hope of spoyle and praye, as by the furious rage of the vnmercifull see and hydeous tempest, with muche paine and great labour toke his shippes againe, and was not without ieopardie of his lyfe driuen on the coast of Britaine and landed at sainct Malos. The French kyng perceiuyng that this chãce had il successe; appointed one of his Marshals called Memorancie, and the master of his Crosbowes with. xii. M. men, to saile into Wales, which toke shippyng at Brest and had the winde to them so prosperous that they landed at Milford hauen, and leauing the castel of Penbroke vnassaulted, because it was well fortified, manned, and vitailed, besieged the towne of Harforde West whiche was so well defended by the erle of Arundell and his power that they much more lost then gained. And from thence they departed towarde Owen Glendor whome they nominated prince of Wales, and founde him at the towne of Denbigh abidyng their cõmyng with ten thousand men. They wer of him louingly receiued, and gentelly entertained, and when all thynges were prepared, they passed by Glamorgan shire toward Worcester and there brent the suburbes, but hearyng of

the kynges approchyng sodainly returned into Wales. The king with a great puissaunce followed and founde them embattailed on a highe mountaine, and a gret valey betwene bothe the armies, so that eche armie plainely perceiued other, and euery hoste loked to be assauted of his aduersary, and of the groud to take the most aduantage: thus they cōtinued eight daies frō mornyng to nyght ready to abide but not to geue battaile. There wer many fearee skirmishes and many proprefeates of armes daily done, whiche the French Croniclers more then the Englishe writers can reporte. For there were slaine the Lorde Patrioles of Tries, brother to the Marshall of France, the Lord Mattelone and the Lord Vale and the bastarde of Burbon, with v. hundred gentelmen.

The Frenche men and Welshe men were sore trobeled and afflicted with famine, that their hertes were appalled and their corages sore abated, for the kyng had so stopped the passages that nether vitayl nor succour could by any way be conueighed to thē. Wherfore of very necessitie they were compelled eyther to fyghte or flee: And so by the aduisement and councell of the Marshall of Fraunce, whiche put not to muche confidence in the wauerynge Welshemen, the hole hoste departed theight day at midnight in the most secretes maner that they could deuise. The Frenche men with littel rewardes and no gaine returned into Britayne makyng small boast of their painfull iourney.

THE kyng seyng them departed, folowed thē into Wales, and chasing them from hilles to dales, from dales to woddes, from woddes to marishes, and yet could neuer haue them at any aduauntage. A world it was to see his quotidiane remouyng, his painfull and busy wanderyng, his troblesome and vncertaine abidyng, his continual mocion, his daily peregrinacion in the desert, felles and craggy mountains of that bareine vnfertile and depopulate countrey. And thus beyng tossed from countrey to countrey, from hill to vale, from marishe to wod, from noughte to worsse, without gaine or profite, withoute vitayle or succour, he was of necessitie cōpelled to retire his armie and retourne againe to Worcester, in whiche retournyng the Welshemen knowing the passages of the countrey, toke certaine cariages of his laden with vitayle to his great displeasure, and their great comforte. When he came to Worcester perceiuyng winter to approche which season of the yere is not conuenient and proper for men of warre to lie in the feldes, and specially in suche a barraine and hilly countrey as Wales is, dispersed his armie for that time and returned to London. In the meane time while the kyng was thus occupied in Wales, certain malicious and cruel persons enuiyng and maligniyng in their heartes that king Henry contrary to the opinion of many, but against the will of mo had so shortely obteigned and possessed the realme and regalitie, blased abrode & noised daily amongest the vulgare people that kyng Richard (whiche was openly sene dead) was yet liuyng and desired aide of the common people to repossesse his realme and roiall dignitie. And to the furtheraunce of this fantasticall inuencion partly moued with indignacion, partely incensed with furious melancolie, set vpon postes and caste aboute the stretes railyng rimes, malicious meters and tauntyng verses against kyng Henry and his proceedynges. He beyng netteled with these vncurteous ye vnuertuous prickes & thornes, serched out the authours, and amongest other were found culpable of this offence and crime, sir Roger Claryngdon knight, and eight gray Friers whiche according to their merites and desertes were strangeled at Tibórne and there put in execution. I may not here forget to shewe you howe that kyng Henry sekyng nowe affinitie and frendshippe in Germanie sent this yere his eldest doughter Blaunche accompanied with the Erle of Sommerset, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Lord Clifforde, and other noble personages into Almaine, whiche brought her to Coleyne, and there with great triumphe she was maried to Willyam Duke of Bauier, sonne and heire to Lewes of Bauier the Emperour, in whiche yere also died Lady Katherine Swinsford the thyrde wife of Ihon of Gaunt duke of Lancastre father to this kyng Henry, & was buried at Lincolne. In the same yere kyng Henry maried Iane Duches of Britaine late wife to Ihon duke of Britaine at the citie of Winchester and with triumphal pompe conueighed her thorow the citie of London to Westminster, and there she was crowned Quene.

While

While these thynges were thus doyng in England Waleran Erle of sainct Paule whiche had maried the halfe sister of Richard, hauyng a malicious heart and a deadly hatred to kyng Henry, assẽbled a great number of men of warre to the numbẽr of. xvi. or. xviii. C. whereof the greatest parte were noble men, and made great prouisiõ of all thinges necessary for his feate and enterprise. And on sainct Nicholas day entered into his shippes at Harflete and landed in the Isle of Wight, and when he sawe no apperaunce of defence, he burned two poore villages and. iiii. simple cottages, and for great triumphe of this noble acte he made iiii. knightes: but sodainly when he was aduertysed by his espials that the people of the Isle wer assembled and approched to fight with hym. He with al haste possible toke his shippes and retourned home againe, wherwith the noble men of his company were much discontente and displeased, consideryng that his prouision was great and his gaine small or none. And in the same very season thon Erle of Cleremount sonne to the Duke of Burbone, wonne in Gascoigne the castelles of sainct Peter, saincte Marie and the newe castell, and the Lord Delabrethe wonne the castell of Carlaffin, whiche was no small losse to the Englishe nacion: Duryng which time died Philippe duke of Burgoin, and duke Albert of Bauier Erle of Henault.

¶ THE THIRDE YERE.

IN this yere appered a comete or blasyng Starre of a houge quantitie by a long season which as the Astronomers affirmed, signified great effusion of mannes blud, which iudgement was not frustrate as you shall perceiue. For Henry erle of Northumberland and Thomas erle of Worcester his brodher, and his sonne Lord Henry Percy called hotspur, which were to king Henry in the beginnyng of his reigne bothe fautours frendes and aiders, perceiuing nowe that he had pacified all domesticall sedicion and repressed his enemies, and reduced his realm to a conuenient quietnes, began somwhat to enuie the glory of hym, and grudged againste his welthe and felicitie. And specially greued, because the kyng demaunded of the Earle and his sonne suche Scottishe prisoners as they had taken at the conflictes fought at Homeldon and Nesbit as you before haue heard. For of all the captiues whiche were there taken, ther was deliuered to the kynges possession onely Mordake earle of Fife sonne to the duke of Albanie Gouernour of Scotland, for the king them diuerse and sondry times of therle and his sonne required. But the Percies affirmyng them to be their owne propre prisoners and their peculiar praies, and to deliuer theym vtterly denaied, in so muche that the kyng openly saied that if they wolde not deliuer them, he woulde take them without deliuerance. Wherwith they beyng sore discõtent, by the councell of Lord Thomas Percy erle of Worcester, whose study was euer to procure malice, and to set al thynges in broile and vncerteintie, fainyng a cause to proue and tempte the kyng, came to him to Wyndsor, requiryng him by raunsome or otherwise to cause to bee deliuered out of prison Edmond Mortimer erle of Marche their cosyn germain whome (as they reported) Owen Glendor kept in filthy prison shakeled with yrons, onely for that cause that he toke his parte, and was to hym faithful and trewe. The kyng began not a litell to muse on this request, and not without a cause, for in dede it touched him as nere as his sherte, as you well may perceiue by the Genealogy rehersed in the beginnyng of this story. For this Edmond was sonne to Earle Roger whiche was sonne to Lady Philip doughter to Lionell Duke of Clarence, the third sonne to kyng Edward the third, whiche Edmonde at kyng Richardes going into Ireland, was proclaimed heire apparant to the croune and realme, whose Aunt called Elinor this Lord Henry Percie had Maried. And therfore the kyng litell forced although that that lignage were clerely subuerted and vtterly extincte.

The iiij. yere.

WHEN the kyng had long digested and studied on this matter, he made aunswere and sayd that the Earle of Marche was not taken prisoner neither for his cause nor in his seruice, but willyngly suffered him selfe to be taken, because he woulde take no parte againste Owen Glendor and his complices, and therfore he woulde nether raunsome nor releue hym,

whiche fraude the kyng caused openly to be published and diuulged, with whiche annswere if the parties were angry doubt you not. But with the publyshyng of the cautell, that the Earle of Marche was willyngly taken, they ten times more fumed and raged in so muche that sir Henry hotspur said openly: Behold the heire of the realme is robbed of his righte, and yet the robber, with his owne, wyl not redeme hym. So in this fury the Percies departed, nothyng more mindyng then to depose kyng Henry from the high tipe of his regalitie, and to deliuer and set in his trone their cosyn frende & confederate Edmonde Earle of Marche, whome they not onely deliuered oute of the captiuitie of Owen Glendor, but also entered into a leage and amitie with the said Owen against king Henry and all his frendes and fautours, to the great displeasure and long vnquieting of kyng Henry and his partakers. Here I passe ouer to declare howe a certayne writer writeth that this earle of Marche, the Lorde Percy and Owen Glendor wer vnwisely made belieue by a Welch Prophecier, that king Henry was the Moldwarpe, cursed of Goddes owne mouth, and that they thre were the Dragon, the Lion and the Wolffe, whiche shoulde deuide this realme betwene them, by the deuiacion and not deuinatiō of that mawmet Merlin. I wyll not reherse howe they by their deputies in the howse of the Archdeacon of Bangor, seduced with that falce fained Prophesie deuided the realme amongest thē, nor yet write howe by a tripartie endenture sealed with their seales, all Englande from Seuerne and Trent South and Eastward, was assigned to the erle of Marche: Nor how all Wales and the landes beyond Seuerne Westward, were appoincted to Owen Glendor, and all the remnaunt from Trente Northwarde to the lorde Percie. But I will declare to you that whiche was not prophesied, that is the confusion destruccion and perdicion of these persones, not onely geuyng credite to suche a vain fable, but also settyng it forwarde and hopyng to attaine to the effecte of the same whiche was especiall of the lorde Percie and Owen Glendor. For the erle of Marche was euer kepte in the courte vnder suche a keper that he could nether doo or attempte any thyng againste the kyng without his knowledge, and died without issue, leuyng his righte title and interest to Anne his sister and heire, maried to Rycharde erle of Cambrige father to the duke of Yorke, whose ofspryng in continuaunce of tyme, obteigned the game and gat the garland. O ye waueryng Welshmen, call you these prophesies? nay call theim vnprofitable practises. Name you them diuinacions? nay name them diabolicall deuises, say you they be prognosticacions? nay they be pestiferous publishinges. For by declaryng & credite geuing to their subtil & obscure meanynges, princes haue been deceiued, many a noble manne hath suffred, and many an honest man hath been begyled & destroyed.

KYNG Henry knowyng of this newe confederacy, and nothyng lesse myndyng then that that happened after, gathered a greate armye too goo agayne into Wales: whereof the Erle of Northumberlande and his sonne wer aduertised, by lorde Thomas erle of Wocester, and with all diligence raysed all the power that they could make and sent to the Scottes whiche before wer taken prisoners at Hamaldon for aide and men, promisyng the erle Douglas the toune of Barwicke and a parte of Northumberlande: and to other Scotishe lordes greate lordshippes and segniories, if they obteigned the vpper hande and superioritee. The Scottes allured with desire of gain, and for no malice that they bare to kyng Henry, but somewhat desirous to be reuenged of their olde greues, came to the erle with greate compaignie, and to make their cause seme good and iuste, they deuised certain articles by the aduise of Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke, brother to the lorde Scrope, whom kyng Henry caused to bee beheded at Bristow as you haue heard before. Whiche articles thei shewed to diuerse noble men and prelates of the realme, whiche fauourynge and concentyng to their purpose, not onely promised them aide and succor by wordes, but by their writyng and seales confirmed the same. Howbeit, whether it wer for feare, ether for that thei would be lokers on and no dede doers, nether promise by worde or by writyng was performed. For all confederates them abādoned, & at the daie of the conflict left alone the erle of Stafford only

only excepte, which beyng of a haute corage and hye stomacke, kept his promise & ioined with the Percies to his destructiō.

THE lorde Percy with therle Douglas and other erles of Scotlād with a greate armie, departed out of the Northparties, leuyng his father sicke (whiche promised vpon his amendment & recouery without delay to folowe) and came to Stafford where his vncle therle of Worcester and he met, and there began to consult vpon their great affaires and high attempted enterprice, there they exhorted their souldiers and compaignions to refuse no pain for the auauncemente of the common wealth, nor to spare no trauell for the libertie of their countree: protestyng openly that they made warre onely (to restore the noble realme of England to his accustomed glory and fredō, which was gouerned by a tirant and not by his lawfull and right kyng. The capitaines sware and the souldiers promised to fight, ye & to dye for the libertie of their countree. When all thynges was prepared, they set forwarde towarde Wales, lokyng euery houre for new aide and succors, noysyng abrode that they came to aide the kyng against Owen Glendor. The kyng heryng of the erles approachyng, thought it policie to encounter with thē before that the Welshmē should ioyne with their armie, and so include hym on both partes, and therefore returned sodainly to the toune of Shrewesbury. He was skantely entered into the toune, but he was by his postes aduertised that the erles with baners displaied and battailes ranged, wer comyng towarde hym, and were so hote and so coragious, that they with light horses began to skirmishe with his hoste. The kyng perceiuyng their dooynges, issued out and encamped hymself without the Estgate of the toune. Therles nothing abashed although their succors theim deceiued, embattailed themselfes not farr from the kynges armie. And the same night thei sēt the articles whereof I spake before, by Thomas Kaiton and Thomas Saluaine esquiers to kyng Henry, signed with their handes and sealed with their seales, whiche articles (because no Chronicler saue one, maketh mēcion what was the very cause and occasion of this great bloudy battaile, in the whiche on bothe partes wer aboue fourty thousande men assembled) I worde for worde according to my copie do here reherce.

WE Henry Percy erle of Northumberland, high Constable of England, and Warden of the West Marches of England toward Scotlande, Henry Percy our eldest sonne Wardein of the Easte Marches of Englande toward Scotlande, and Thomas Percy erle of Worcester beyng proctours and protectours of the comon wealth, before our Lorde Jesu Christe our supreme iudge doo allege, saie and entende to proue with our handes personally this instante daie, against the Henry duke of Lancastre, thy complices and fauorers, vniustly presuming and named kyng of Englande without title of right, but onely of thy guyle and by force of thy fautors: that when thou after thyne exile diddest entre Englande, thou madest an othe to vs vpon the holy Gospelles bodely touched and kissed by thee at Dancastre that thou wouldest neuer claime the croune, kyngdom or state royall but only thyne owne propre inheritance, and the inheritance of thy wife in Englande, and that Richard our soueraigne lord the kyng and thyne, should raigne during the terme of his life, gouerned by the good counsail of the lordes spirituall and temporall. Thou hast imprisoned the same thy soueraigne lorde and our kyng within the toure of London, vntil he had for feare of death, resigned his kyngdomes of Englande and France, and had renounced all his right in the forsaid kyngdomes, and others his dominions and landes of beyonde the sea. Vnder coulor of whiche resignacion and renunciacion by the counsaile of thy frendes and complices, and by the open noysyng of the rascall people by thee and thy adherentes assembled at Westminster, thou hast crouned thy self kyng of the realmes aforsaid, and hast seazed and entered into all the castles and lordshippes perteignyng to the kynges croune, contrary to thyne othe. Wherfore thou art forsworne and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie and entend to proue, that wher thou sworest vpō the same Gospelles in the same place and tyme to vs, that thou wouldest not suffre any dismes to be leuied in the Clergie, nor fiftenes on the people, nor any other tallagies and taxes to be leuied in the realme of Englande to the behoffe of the realme duryng thy life, but by the consideracion

consideracion of the thre estates of the realme, except for great nede in causes of importaūce or for the resistaunce of our enemies, onely and none otherwise. Thou contrary to thyne othe so made, hast done to bee leuied right many dismes and fiftenes, and other impositiōs and tallagies, aswel of the Clergie as of the comonaltee of the realme of Englande, & of the Marchauntes, for feare of thy magestie royall. Wherfore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do allege, saie & entēde to proue, that were thou sworest to vs vpon the same Gospelles in thetorsaied place and tyme, that our soueraigne lorde and thyne, kyng Richarde, should reigne duryng the terme of his life in his royall prerogatiue and dignitee: thou hast caused the same our soueraigne lorde and thine, traiterously within the castell of Poumfret, without the cōsent or iudgement of the lordes of the realme, by the space of fiftene daies and so many nightes (whiche is horible emong christian people to be heard) with honger, thirst and colde to perishe, to be murdered. Wherefore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie & entend to proue, that thou at that tyme when our soueraigne lorde and thyne, kyng Richarde, was so by that horrible murder ded as aboue saied, thou by extorte power, diddest vsurpe and take the kyngdome of Englande, and the name and the honor of the kyngdome of Fraunce, vniustly and wrongfully, contrary to thyne othe, from Edmonde Mortimer Earle of Marche and of Ulster, then next and direct heire of England and of Fraunce imediatly by due course of inheritaunce after the deceasse of of theforsaied Richard. Wherfore thou art periured and false.

ALSO we do alledge, saie & entend to proue as aforsaid, that where thou madest an othe in the same place and tyme, to supporte and maintein the lawes and good customes of the realme of Englande, and also afterward at the tyme of thy coronacion thou madest an othe, thesaied lawes and good customes to kepe and conserue inuiolate. Thou fraudulently and contrary to the lawe of Englande and thy fautors, haue written almoste through euery shire in England to chose such knightes for to hold a parliament as shalbe for thy pleasure and purpose, so that in thy parliamentes no iustice should be ministered against thy mynde in these our complaintes now moued and shewed by vs, wherby at any tyme we might haue any perfight redresse, notwithstanding that wee according to our conscience (as we truste ruled by God) haue often tymes therof complained, as well can testifie and bere witnes the right reuerend fathers in God Thomas Arundell archbishop of Cāterbury, and Richarde Scrope, archebishop of Yorke. Wherfore nowe by force and strength of hande before our Lorde Jesu Christ we must aske our remedy and helpe.

ALSO we do alledge, saiq and intende to proue, that where Edmōd Mortimer erle of Marche and Ulster, was taken prisoner by Owen Glendor in a pitched and foughten feld, and cast into prisone and ladē with yron fetters, for thy matter and cause, whom falsely thou hast proclaymed willyngly to yelde hymself prisoner to thesaied Owen Glendor, and nether wouldest deliuer hym thy self, nor yet suffre vs his kinsmen to raunsome and deliuer hym: Yet notwithstanding, we haue not onely concluded and agreed with thesame Owen for his raunsome at our propre charges and expences, but also for a peace betwene thee and the said Owen. Why hast thou then not onely published and declared vs as traytors, but also craftely and deceitfully imagened, purposed and conspired the vtter destruccion and confusion of our persones. For the whiche cause we defy thee, thy fautoures and complices as comen traytoures and destroyers of the realme, and the inuadours, oppressoures and confounders of the verie true and righte heires to the croune of Englande, whiche thyng we entend with our hādes to proue this daie, almightie God helpyng vs.

WHEN kyng Henry had ouerseen their articles and defiance, he answered the esquiers that he was redy with dent of swerde and fierce battaill to proue their quarell false and fayned, and not with writyng nor slanderous wordes, and so in his righteous cause and iust quarell he doubted not but God would bothe aide and assiste hym, against vntrue persones and false forsworne traytours: with whiche answere the messengers departed. The next daie in the mornyng early, whiche was the vigile of Mary Magdalene, the kyng perceiuyng that

that the battaill was nerer than he ether thoughte or loked for, leste that long tariyng might be a minishyng of his strength, set his battailles in good ordre: likewise did his enemies, whiche bothe in puissance and courage were nothyng to hym inferiour. Then sodainly the trumpettes blew, the kynges parte cried sainct George vpon them: The aduersaries cried Esperaunce Percie, and so furiously the armies ioyned. The Scottes whiche had the forward on the lordes side, entendyng to bee reuenged of their old displeasures done to them by the Englishe nacion, set so fiersely on the kynges forward, that they made them drawe backe, and had almost broken their arraie. The Welshemen also whiche sithe the kynges departure out of Wales, had lurked and lien in woodes mountaignes and marishes, heryng of this battaill towarde, came to the aide of the erles, and refreshed the wery people with new succurs. When a fearful messenger had declared to the kyng, that his people were beaten downe on euery side, it was no nede to bid hym stirre, for sodainly he approched with his freshe battaill, and comforted, hertened and encouraged his part so, that they toke their hertes to theim, and manly fought with their enemies. The prince Henry that daie holpe muche his father, for although he wer sore wouded in the face with an arow, yet he neuer ceased ether to fight where the battail was moste strongest, or to courage his men where their hertes was moste danted. This greate battail cõtinued thre long houres with indifferẽt fortune on bothe partes. That at the last the kyng cryyng sainct George, victory, brake the arraie and entered into the battaill of his enemies and fought fiersely, and auentered so far into the battaill, that the erle Douglas strake hym downe and slewe sir Water Blonte, and three other appareled in the kynges suite and clothyng saiyng: I marvaill to see so many kynges so sodainly arise again, the kyng was reised and did that daie many a noble feate of armes. For as the Scottes write and Frenche men affirme, although that Englishemen kepe silence, that he hymself slewe with his handes that daie xxxvj. persones of his enemies, the other of his parte encoraged by his doynges, fought valiantly and slew the lorde Percie called sir Henry hotspurre, the best capitain on the parte aduerse. When his death was knowen, the Scottes fled, the Welshemen ran, the traitors wer ouercome, then nether wooddes letted, nor hilles stopped the fearfull hertes of theim that were vanquished to flie, and in that flighte therle Douglas, whiche for hast fallyng from the cragge of a mountagnie brake one of his genitals and was taken, and for his valiantnes of the kyng frely & frankely deliuered. There was taken also sir Thomas Percie erle of Worcester & diuerse other, on the kynges parte wer slain sir Walter Blount and. xvi. C. other persones, but on the parte of the rebelles were slain the erle of Stafford, the lorde Percie and aboue fiue thousand other, and as for the Scottes few or none escaped aline.

AFTER this glorious victory by the kyng obteigned, he rendered to almightie God his humble and hertie thankes, and caused therie of Worcester the morowe after Mary Magdaleine, at Shrewesbury to be drawen hanged and quartered, and his hed to be sent to London, at whiche place many mo capitaines wer executed. After this greate battaill, he like a triumphante conqueror returned with greate pompe to London, where he was by the senate and magestrates solemply receiued, not a little reioysyng of his good fortune and fortunate victorye. But before his departure from Shrewesbury, he not forgettyng his enterprise against Owen Glendor, sent into Wales with a great army prince Henry his eldest sonne against thesaid Owen and his sedicious fautors, whiche beyng dismaied and in maner desperate of all comfort by the reason of the kynges late victory, fled in desert places and solitary caues, where he receiued afinall reward mete and prepared by Goddes prouidence for suche a rebell and sedicious seducer. For beyng destitute of all comforte, dreadyng to shewe his face to any creature, lackyng meate to sustain nature, for pure hunger and lacke of fode miserably ended his wretched life. This ende was prouided for suche as gaue credence to false prophesies. This ende had they that by diabolical deuinacions were promised great possessions and seigniories. This ende happeneth to suche as beleuyng such fantasticall folies, aspire and gape for honor and high promocions. When the prince with litle labor and lesse losse, had tamed & bridcled the furious rage of the wild and sauage Welshemen, and

and lefte gouernors to rule and gouerne the countree, he returned to his father with great honor & no small praise. The erle of Northumberland heryng of the ouerthrowe of his brother and sonne, came of his owne free will to the kyng, excusyng hymself as one nether party nor knowyng of their doyng nor enterprice: the kyng nether accused him nor held hym excused, but dissimuled the matter for. ii. causes, one was he had Berwicke in his possession, which the kyng rather desired to haue by polici then by force: the other was that therle had his castelles of Alnewicke, Warkeworth and other fortified with Scottes, so that if therle wer apprehēded, all Northumberland wer in ieopardy to become Scottish. For these causes ỹ kyng gaue hym faire wordes & let hym depart home, wher he continued inpeace a while, but after he rebelled as you shall perceiue by the sequèle of this story.

¶ THE FOURTH YERE.

The. iiii. yere. This yere Waleram erle of sent Pole, considryng that he had defied kyng Henry, and also that he had made diuerse voyages, and done litle damage to the English nacion, and susteigned muche losse, continuyng in his olde malice against the kyng of England, by the assent of the Frenche kyng assembled a great numbre of men of warre, as. v. C. men of armes. v. C. Genewaies with Crosebowes, and a. M. Flemynges on fote, and laied siege to the Castell of Marke thre leages frō Caleis, within the territory of the kyng of Englande, the. xvi. daie of Iuly, wherof was capitain Philip Halle esquier, with. lxxx. archers and. xxiiii. other souldiers. Therle raised against the Castle diuerse engines but they preuailed not, for they within shot so fersly, and cast out stones so incessantly, and toke suche paine that to the hearers it is almoste incredible. The erle perceiuing that his feate had suche successe as he loked for, retired with his men lodged in the toune, fortifiyng thesame for fere of rescous that might issue from Caleis, the next day he gaue a sore assaute again, and with great force entered the vtter court of the castle, and toke therein a great number of horse kyen and catell, at the whiche assaut sir Roberte Barenguile cosin to therle was slain. The same daie a. C. Archers on horseback comyng out of Caleis, sawe and perceiued the dooynges & demeanure of therle and his compaignie, and toward night they sent an Heraulte certefiyng him that they would dine with him the next daie: to whom he proudly answered, that he would gladly receiue them, and their dinnar should at their comyng be ready prepared. The nexte daie ensuyng issued out of Caleis. CC. men of armes. CC. archers. CCC. mē on fote with. x. or. xii. Chariottes laden with vitail and artillery, conducted by sir Richard Astone knight, leuetenant of the Englishe pale for the erle of Somerset capitain generall of those marches: whiche in good ordre of battaill marched toward their enemies, which before by their espials wer aduertised of their comyng, but that notwithstandyng they issued not out of their lodginges to encounter with them, but kept them self within their closure. The Englishmen shot so sharply and so closly together, that the Flemynges and fotemen began to flie, the men of armes feryng the slaughter of their horses ran awaie with a light gallop the Genowais whiche had spent the most part of their shot at thassaut made litle defence and small resistence and so all were slain and put to flight. The hasty & rashe erle of sent Paul & diuerse other without any stroke geuen to their enemies fled to sent Omers, and there wer taken of the best of the armie, as the Frenche and Duche Chronicle reporteth thre or foure score persones, emongest whom the capitain of Bullayne was one, and many lordes and knightes slain. After that the Englishmen had taken all the cartes municions & vitailes that their enemies had brought thither, they returned to Caleis in great triumphe, and within fiue daies after there issued out of the Englishe pale, about the numbre of. v. C. men towarde Arde by night tyme, thynkyng to haue found the toune vnprouided, but sir Mansard de Boys and the lord Kygnie defended it and let the Englishemen of their purpose, and so with losse of fourty men they returned to Caleis: whiche dedde persones wer brent in an old hous, because their enimies should be ignorāte of the damage

mage that the Englishemen had by them sustained. Therle of sent Paule beyng at Terwin, imaginyng how to recouer somewhat of his losse but more of his honor, sente for a greate compaignie of noble men and valiant personages, and cõcluded to inuade the Marches of his enemies. But the Frenche kyng considerying the erles euil fortune and vnfortunate chance, cõmaũded hym to leue of his enterprise with whiche he was sore displeased. Yet to auoyd perelles, the Frenche kyng laid in garrison at Bullein and other places, the Marques of Pownt sonne to the duke of Barr, and therle of Dampnay, and sir Ihon Harpadane a knight of greate renoune and high estimacion. The kyng of England circũspectly forseyng thynges to come, and imagenyng that the Frenchemen attempted some newe enterprice, against hym or his dominions beyonde the sea, sent. iiii. M. men to Caleis and to the sea, whereof. iii. M. landed at Sluce, whiche besieged a castle standyng at the mouthe of the hauen, and made diuerse assautes and lost diuerse of their compaignie, but newes were brought to theim, that the duke of Burgoyne had required licence of the Frenche kyng to besiege the toune of Caleis, for whiche cause thei raised their siege, and returned to the defence of that fortresse and desired praie of the Frenche nacion.

¶ THE FIFTHE YERE.

ABOUTE this season Loys Duke of Orliaunce brother to the Frenche Kyng, a man of no lesse pryde then haute courage, wrote letters to Kyng Henry aduertisyng hym, that he for the perfighte loue whiche he bare to the noble feates of chiualrie and marciall actes, in auoidying the slowe worme and deadely Dormouse called Idienes. the ruine of realmes and confounder of nobilitie, and for the obteignyng of laude and renoune by deades of armes and manly enterprises, coulde imagine or inuent nothyng either more honorable or laudable to them both, then to mete in the feld eche parte with an hundred Knightes and Esquiers, all beyng Gentlemen bothe of name and armes armed at all pointes and furnished with speares, axes, swerdes and daggers, and there to fighte and combate to the yeldyng, and euery person to whom God shal send victory to haue his prisoner, and him to raunsome at his pleasure, offeryng hym selfe with his company to come to his citie of Angulesme, so that the kyng of England wolde come to the laundes of Burdeaux and there defend this chalenge. The kyng of England whiche was as graue and wittie as the duke was light and courragious, wrote to hym againe that he not a litell mused but muche more merualled that the duke beyng sworne as well to him as to kyng Richard to mainteyne the peace betweene his brother the Frenche kyng and theym concluded, and to that had set his signe and great seale, wolde nowe for vainglory vnder colour of doyng dedes of Armes not onely violate the peace and breake the amitie betweue them before concluded, but also geue an occasion of displeasure and ingratitude, by the whiche in conclusion might rise mortall war and deadely enemitie, affirmyng farther that no kyng anointed of very dutie was ether bound or obliged to answere any chalenge but to his pere of egall estate and equiuolent dignitie, and that no christian prince ether ought or shoulde consent to warre or effusion of christen blud but onely for the defence of his realme, or for conquest of his right, or for amplifiyng of Christes faithe and christian religion, and not for pride, worldly fame and vainglory, declaryng also that when opportunitie of time and conuenient leisure serued, he would transfret and passe the sea himselfe with suche company as he thought most conuenient into his countrey of Gascoigne, at whiche time the Duke myght set forward with his band for the attainyng of honour and accomplishing of his couragious desire and haute enterprise, promising in the worde of a prince not thence to depart till the duke either by fulfillyng his owne desire, or by singuler combate betwene them two, onely for auoidyng the effusion of Christen bloud, shoulde thinke himself satisfied and fully answered. Howbeit, at that time he beyng enbusied with weightie affaires & vrgent causes concernyng the publike welth of his realme could neither apoint time nor place, protestyng that the deferryng of time was nether for disdaine

The. v. yere.

nor yet for cowardnes, but only to abate the pride of him whiche knowyng not himself, nor fering reproche, regarded not his othe writyng nor seale. To this answere the duke of Orleaunce replied and kyng Henry reioyned, which doynges what for the vnpriuicely tauntes and vncharitable checkes in them cõteigned, and what for rehersyng againe thinges to you here before declared I omitte and put in obliuion. The duke of Orleaunce not content with the king of England, assembled an armie of. vi. M. men and entered into Guien and besieged the town of Vergy, wherof was Capitaine sir Robart Antelfelde a valiant knight and an hardy captain, hauyng with him onely thre hundred Englishmen. The duke almoste euery day assaulted the towne fiersely, but they within the towne couragiously defended the same: In so much that when he had lien there thre monethes & had lost many of his men and nothyng gotten, without honour or spoile returned into Fraunce. After this the Admiral of Britayne whiche beyng highly elated and muche encouraged because the laste yere he had taken certaine Englishe shippes laden with wine accompanied with the Lord Castyll a valiant baron of Britaine, and xii. C. men of armes, & xxx. shippes, sailed from sainct Malowes and came before the towne of Darthmouthe and woulde haue landed, but by the puissaunce of the townsmen and aide of the countrey, they were repulsed and put backe in whiche conflicte the Lorde of Castell with his two brethren with foure hundrede other were slain, and aboue two hundred prisoners taken and raunsomed, wherof the Lord of Baqueuile high Marshall of Britaine was one, whiche was brought to the kyng and after redemed. The Admiral sory of this infortunate enterprise with muche losse and no gain returned hastely into his countrey. Kyng Henry being aduertised of this attempt, sent the Lord Thomas his sonne whiche after was duke of Clarence to the sea with a gret nauie of shippes to the entent eyther with battaill or depopulacion of the sea coastes bothe of Britaine and of Fraunce to reuenge this iniurie and inuasion he sailyng by the sea costes landed diuers times and fiered shippes & brent townes and destroied people without fauoure or mercie, and when he thoughte his quarell well reuenged he sailed toward England, and in his retournyng he encountred with two great Carickes of Ieane laden with riche marchandise and substancial stuf betwene whom was a greate conflicte and a blouddy battell, but after long fightyng, the Englishemen preuailed and brought bothe the Carickes into Camber before Rye, where one of them by misauenture of fier perished to the losse and no gaine of bothe the parties. About this time Ihon duke of Burgoin whiche had long laboured and now obteined licence to besiege the towne of Caleis, preparyng enginnes, ladders, cartes, and all other instrumentes necessary and conuenient for so great a feate and notorious siege, and assembled at S. Omers vi. M. men of armes, xv. C. Crosbowes, beside. xii. M. fotemen, hauyng vitail Bumbardes and other munitions of warre sufficient and conuenient for his abrode blowen enterprise. But when all thynges wer prepared and the hole army assembled he was by the French kyng and his councell (whiche put diffidence in the exploite of his glorious busines) countermaunded & prohibited farther to procede in that weightie purpose: for the which cause he conceiued so great an hatred and deadely malice against the Duke of Orleaunce (as the onely stop and let of his glory and renoume) that he euer after not only maligned and grudged against him and his procedynges, but also (as you shall shortly heare) brought him to death and finall destruction.

¶ THE SIXT YERE.

The. vi. yere. IN this yere the Earle of Northumberland whiche bare still a venemous scorpion in his cankered heart, and coulde not desist to inuent and deuise waies and meanes howe to be reuenged of kyng Henry and his fautours, began secretely to communicate his interior imaginacions and priuie thoughtes with Richard Scrope Archebishop of Yorke brother to Willia lord Scrop treasorer of England whom kyng Henry (as you haue hearde) beheaded at the towne of Bristow, and with Thomas Mowbrey erle Marshal sonne to Thomas duke of Norffolke, for kyng Henries cause before banished the realme of England, and with the lordes

lordes, Hastynges, Fauconbridge, Bardolfe and diuerse other whiche he knewe to beare deadely hate and inward grudge toward the kyng. After long consultacion had, it was fil nally concluded and determined amongest theym that all they, their frendes and alies with all their power shoulde mete at Yorkes wold at a day appointed and that therle of Northumberlād should be chefetaine and supreme gouernour of the armie, which promised to bryng with him a great nomber of Scottes.

THIS sedicious conspiracy was not so secretely kept nor so closely cloked but that the kyng thereof had knowledge, and was fully aduertised. Wherefore to preuent the time of their assembly, he with suche power as he could sodainly gather together with all diligēce marched toward the North parties and vsed such a celeritie in his iourney that he was thither come with all his hoste and power before the confederates hearde any inkelyng of his marchyng forward, and sodainly there wer apprehended the Archebishop, the earle Marshal, sir Ihon Lampley, and sir Robart Plumpton. These personnes wer arrained, atteinted and adiudged to die, and so on the Monday in Whitson weke all they withoute the Citie of Yorke were beheadded. Here of necessitie I oughte not nor will not forgeate howe some folishe and fantasticall personnes haue written, howe erronius Ipocrites and sedicious Asses haue endited, howe superstitious Friers and malicious Monkes haue declared and diuulged both contrary to Goddes doctrine the honour of their prince and commen knowen veritie that at the howre of the executiō of this Bishop (which of the Executioner desired to haue fiue strokes in remembraunce of the fiue woundes of Christ) the kyng at the same time sittyng at diner had v. strokes in his necke by a person inuisible, & was incontinently strikē with a leprey, whiche is a manifest lye as you shall after plainely perceiue. What shall a man say of suche writers whiche toke upon them to knowe the secretes of Goddes iudgement? what shall men thinke of such beastly persons whiche regardyng not their bounden dutie and obeisance to their prince & souerain Lord enuied the punishment of traiters and torment of offēders? But what shall all men coniecture of suche whiche fauouryng their own worldly dignitie, their own priuate auctoritie, their own peculiar profit, wil thus iuggle raile and imagine fantasies against their soueraigne lord and Prince, and put theim in memorye as a miracle to his dishonor and perpetual infamy: Wel let wise men iudge what I haue said. Beside these persons, diuers other of thesaid conspiracie and facciō, the lorde Hastinges, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Ihon Coluile of the dale, sir Ihon Griffith were beheaded at Durham. Therle of Northumberland hearyng his councel to be reueled and his confederates to be put to execucion and shameful death, fled into Scotland to his old frend George of Dunbarre earle of the Marche, which the yere before was reuoked out of exile and restored to his possessions name and dignitie, where he taried till the next Sōmer & then sailed into Fraūce and after into Flaunders desyryng aide and assistence againste kyng Henry, but when he sawe littel hope of comfort and that fewe willyngly were ententife to his request, he accompanied with the Lorde Bardolffe muche dismaied and more desperate returned again to his trew frendes into Scotlande and there made his abode the hole yere abydyng the fauour of Fortune and chaunge of his vnfortunate chaunce duryng whiche tyme the kyng withoute any difficultie toke into his possession the towne of Barwicke, the castelles of Alnewyke and all other Fortresses appertainyng to the Earle: and liyng at Berwycke he caused to be put to death the Barons sonne of Greystocke, sir Henry Beynton, and Ihon Blenkensoppe and fiue other as fautoures and workers of this newe inuēted conspiracy. When the kyng had thus appeased and asswaged that late begonne commocion, he sent his son the prince of Wales accompanied with Edward duke of Yorke and a great puissance, to encounter with the Scottes which by promise wer bound to ayde and assiste the confederates and rebelles. But thei hearyng that the founders of the warre were apprehended and put to deathe, made no haste forward but taried peacibly at home. So that the prince entryng into Scotland and findyng no resistence, brent tounes spoyled villages and wasted the countrey euery where as he passed, which thyng so muche amased the kyng of Scottes and his councel, that notwithstandyng that he had gathered and appointcted a greate hoste vn-

der the conducte of the Erles of Douglas and Bowgham to resist the prince and his inuasions, yet they sente Ambassadors to hym requiryng hym of peace and finall concord, whiche requeste he vtterly denaied, but at their humble peticion he graunted them a truce for certaine monethes, of the whiche they were bothe glad and ioyous, and so the prince laden with pray and spoile retourned with great gain to his father. While the prince thus infected the countrey of Scotlād on the land, sir Robart Vmfreuile vice Admirall of England vexed the coūtreys of Fyffe and Loghdian on the sea coast, for he liyng in the Scottishe sea. xiiii. daies and euery daie landed on the one side or the other and toke praies spoyles and prisoners maugre the gret powers of the duke of Albanie and the Erle Douglas, insomuche that he brent and toke the town of Peples on their faire day and caused his men to mete Clothe with their bowes: and with great gain retournyng to his shippes brent the Galiet of Scotland with many other vessels, and sente Clothe vitail and diuers Marchandises to euery towne in Northumberlond, settyng thereon no great price: Wherefore the Scottes called hym Robyn mendmarket. The kyng about this time was newely vnquieted and perturbed, for notwithstandyng this fortunate successe that he had obteigned in all his outward warres and interiour affayres, yet some of his people bare suche a cankered hearte to warde hym that to expell hym from his rule and dignitie they left no occasion vnsought nor deuise vnattempted. For sodainly sprāge out a fame of an vncertain auctour that king Richard was yet liuing in Scotland, to whiche fable suche credite was geuen that if prudentie policie had not forsene the sequele, it had kendeled a greatter flame then within short space might haue well bene quenched or extincte.

¶ THE SEUENTH YERE.

The. vii. yere. IN this sommer, the Pestilenciall plage so infected the Citie of London and the countrei roūd about that the king durst not repaire thither nor yet nere to the confines of the same, wherfore he departyng from the castel of Ledes, determined to take ship at Quinborough in the Isle of Shepey, and to sail ouer to Lye in Essex and so to Plasshey, there to passe his time till the plage were seased: and because certain pyrates of Fraunce were lurkyng at the Temmes mouthe waityng for their pray, Thomas Lord Camois with certaine shippes of warre was appointed to waite ouer the king. When the kyng was on the sea, in the middest of his iourney, whether the wind turned, or that the Lord Camois kept not a directe course, or that his shippe was but a slugge. The Frenchemen whiche by all similitude had knowledge of the kynges passage entered amongest the kynges nauie and toke fowre vesselles nexte to the kynges shippe and in one of thē sir Thomas Rampston knight the kinges vice chamberlain with all his chamber stuffe and apparel, and folowed the kyng so nere that if his shippe had nat bene swift he had landed sooner in Frāce then in Essex, but by Goddes prouision and fortunate chaunce he escaped the daunger and arriued at his appointed porte. The kyng beyng sore moued with the lord Camois, caused him to be attached and endited that he condiscended and agreed with the Frenchemen that the kyng in his iourney should be intercepted and taken. On this poinct he was arraigned the last day of October before Edmond erle of Kent that day high stuard of the realme, on which day were he giltie or giltless, fautie or clere, culpable or innocent of that fact and doyng, he was by his peres found not giltie and dismissed at the barre, hauyng restitucion bothe of his landes goodes and offices. In this yere kyng Henry not onely desiryng newe affinitie with forein princes but also the preferment of his line and progeny, sent the Lady Phylip his yonger doughter to Ericke kyng of Denmarke, Norwey and Swethen which was conueighed thither with great pompe and there with mucle triumphe maried to the said kyng, where she tasted bothe welthe, and wo, ioye & pain. About this season died sir Robert Knolles knight a man of great policie, wisdome and experience in war which had bene a Capitayn from the time of Kyng Edward the. iii. till his latter dayes, in the whiche he beyng Gouernour of Aquitayne encombred with age resigned

his office to sir Thomas Belfford a valiaunt capytaine and returned to London, where he dissceased and was honorably buried in the Churche of the White Fryers.

¶ THE EYGHT YERE.

YOU haue heard before how kyng Robert of Scotlande being very aged and impotent, was not able torule and gouerne his realme, and how Walter his brother, beying by hym created duke of Albanie, (whiche was the firste duke that euer was in Scotlande) was made gouernor of his brothers countree and dominion. After whiche office and preheminēce by hym obteigned, he so sore thirsted after the croune and scepter royal that he cared litle though the kyng his brother and his two sōnes had been at Christes fote in heuen. And somwhat to further his purpose, it vnfortunatly chaūsed that Dauy of Rothesay prince of the realme and eldest sonne to the kyng, was accused to his father of diuerse heynous crimes, and in especiall of lasciuious & dissolute liuyng, as rauishyng of wiues, deflouryng of virgins, and defyling of maidens, wherfore the kyng delimered hym to his brother the gouernor, trustyng that by his good counsaill and discrete aduertisemente he would not onely amend his life, but also to fall to wisedom prudence and grauitie. Whē the duke had possessed part of his desired pray, he sent his nephewe frō castle to castle, from prisone to prisone, from place to place, and in conclusion lodged him in a toure within the castle of Franckelande, where with famyne he caused miserably to ende his life, puttyng a poore woman to painfull death, whiche gaue to the Prince the milke of her brestes by a rede into the prisone. His death was long hidden from the king his father, but in conclusiō, the gouernor shewed to the king how diuerse persones traiterously had murdered hym whiche wer apprehended and iudged to die, & yet in their liues they neuer knew nor yet saw hym. The kyng notwithstandyng his brothers excuse, doubted much thend of his other sonne named Iames, wherfore he priuely prouided a ship, in the whiche he put the child beyng then of the age of. ix. yeres, under the tuicion of the lorde Hēry Senclere erle of Orkeney, willyng him to cōuey the prince into ȳ realme of Fraūce if by any possibilitie he could thether attain. And if fortune should driue kym on ȳ cost of England, he wrote letters to the kyng of England, ȳ tenor wherof insueth.

The. viii. yere.

" ROBERT Kyng of Scottes, sendeth gretyng to Kyng Henry of Englande, although by relacion of other persones I haue knowen before this tyme, what magnanimitie, what clemencie, and other infinite vertues be planted and roted in your royall persone, yet in the voyage that you your self personally last made into Scotlād, I haue had manifest and open experience of the same. For whē you like our enemy inuaded our countrie, brent our tounes, and destroyed our people, yet by the fauor that you shewed to suche places and people whiche receiued and fostered your noble father when he fled out of Englād (for feare of rebelles whiche then sore afflicted his lande) we haue receiued almoste as muche profit and aduantage as we did hurte and damage, by your terrible warres and bloudy inuasions. Wherefore I cannot but laud and praise your highnes & iudge your noble herte mete for a kyngdō, but also I do loue and will not cease to loue you durying my naturall life. And notwithstandyng that realmes and nacions daily contende and make warre for glory rule and empire, yet to vs bothe beyng kynges, no suche occasion is geuen to do as they do, or to folowe their steppes or progression, but we (whiche is the duetie of a kyng) oughte to striue who shall prosecute other with moste humain fauor and continual clemencie, and as muche as we maie to be felowes, compagniōs and alies, in singuler loue and perpetual amitie. And as for suche causes as now be different and in discencion betwene vs and our realmes for my part I shall endeuor my self to bryng all thynges to a good cōclusion & mutuall conformitie. And because that I now am in the same trouble and perplexitie for my children, that your father was with the rebelles of Englande, I am compelled of very necessitie to desire aide

A letter sente by the Kyng of Scottes.

aide and seke cōforte of forain princes and strange nacions. And although that by the help of God and power of my people, I am able inough to kepe the same against all outwarde powers and forain attemptes. Yet from the secrete malice of suche as lurke and bee daily norished in my very bosome, I cannot kepe theim in suertie within myne owne dominion. And yet in no other place thei can bee from that pestiferous conspiracy put in any sure defence or perfight sauegard, except thei be preserued by the faith and fidelitie of good and iust men. The worlde this tyme is so full of malice, so replenished with rancor, that whereso-euer that golde or siluer (whiche bee instrumentes of mischief) maie enter or penetrate, there shalbe founde ministers prone and redy to do and perpetrate al detestable crimes and mischeuous inuencions: But because I knowe and perceiue your person to be endued with so many notable vertues, and to be adorned with such Magnanimitie, fidelitie, iustiee, clemencie, and finally, not onely to be replenished with the whole compaignie and felowship of the vertues Moral, but also to be of that power, riches & puyssance that no prince in our tyme, maie to your highnes be other compared or assimuled, I beyng by your noble and notable qualities allected and encoraged, most hertely require your helpe and humbly desire your aide, relefe and comfort. For mine eldest sonne David, (as I suspect and as the fame rūneth, although I cannot yet thereof make a perfight proffe) is murthered, by no comen murther, by no open thefe, by no notorious malefactor nor by no furious persone, but by my brother his vncle whiche ought to haue protected and saued him, to whom I cōmitted the gouernance of me, my children, my whole realme and all that I had, whiche vnnaturall kinseman hath not only killed my child, but hath shamefully slain and murdered hym with the moste cruell and miserable kynd of death, which is famyne. And so he, which ought & whose duety was to haue aduoyded and put frō me the iniuries of all other persones, hath afflicted me with the moste contumelie, the greatest iniury and manifest damage, that euer subiecte did attempt against his Prince, or brother against brother, or enemy against kinseman. For he whom I made gouernor to withstand the power and malice of mine outward enemies, compasseth and imagineth how to destroy myne issue, and consequently myne owne persone. Wherfore for the fauor that you here to iustice sent by God to mankinde, and for the naturall loue and fatherly affection that you here to your children and posteritie, I humbly require and hertely desire your magnificēce, that this mine onely child, not onely maie safely and surely liue vnder your defence and protection but also that you of your accustomed goodnes will vouchsaue to preserue and defende this the onely heire of my posteritie from the malicious attemptes of his cruell kynred and ambicious consanguinitie. And this the rather, for the remembrance both of your fathers chance, whiche in his necessitie found muche humanitie in our nacion, and also of the frailtie of worldly suretie, whiche assone changeth from good to euill, and from euill to worse, as the faire and redolent flower this daie florisheth, and to morow widreth and sodainly vadeth. Requiryng you to haue in remembraunce, that if princes put their whole confidence only in their comon people, which be more variable then the Wethercocke or wynd, and haue no outward frendes nor forain amitie, their empire is fallyng and their regiment very britell. But if princes be coupled in the chaines of indissoluble amitie, and will mutually & faithfully defende their comen enemies, and aduoyde their manifest iniuries, there is no power or strength of the comen people, that ether can horte or cast theim from the throne: in suche a suretie is a kyng that so is garnished with the loue, fauor and amitie of outward princes and louyng neighbors. Wherfore, if it may seme expedient to your high wisedome, to here this my lowly requeste and louyng suete (whiche I thynke your clemencie will not reiect nor refell) my desire is, that accordyng to the last truce concluded betwene you and vs. in the whiche is conteigned that all men conueighyng letters from the one of vs to the other, should suerly & sauely passe and repasse without any cōtradiccio: That it would plese you not to breke nor deny the said liberty to this berer our only sōne, but for your honor to kepe your promise sincerly inuiolated & faithfully obserued. And thus the gracious God preserue your noble person in your royal estate long to continew."

WHEN all thynges necessary were prepared, the mariners halsed vp their ankers and departed from Bas castle with this young prince and Henry Percie sonne to the lord Percie slain before at Shrewesbury, and by rigor of tempest wer driuen on the cost of Holdernes called Flamborough hed the. xxx. daie of Marche, where the yong prince for to refreshe hymselfe toke lande. He wroughte not so priuily, but he was knowen and taken with all his cõpany, & conueighed to the kyng beyng at Winsore, where he with dew reuerẽce deliuered his fathers letter. When the letter was redde & vnderstand, the kyng assembled his counsail to knowe what should be doen with this noble enfant. Some to whome the continual warres and daily battail was bothe displeasãt and odious, affirmed that there could not happen a better or a more surer occasion of peace and amitie betwene bothe the realmes; whiche beyng so offred, they would in no wise should be reiected but taken, consideryng that this prince was sent thither, in trust of sauegard, in hope of refuge, and in request of aide and comfort against his euill willers and malicous enemies: other (whose opinion toke place) affirmed hym to be a prisoner and so to bee ordered, for asmuche as he was taken the warre beeyng open, and that his father did not onely maintayne therle of Northumberland and other rebelles within his countrie and geue them great honors, but also sent a greate nombre of his nobilite against the kyng at the battaill of Shrewesbery. Wherfore it was agreed that he should be deteined as a prisoner, lawfully taken and duely apprehẽded. When tidynges of this difinitiue sentence was shewed to his father, he tooke suche an inwarde conceit and so sore a penciffenes, that he ended his naturall life within a few monethes after. Although the takyng of this young prince, was at the first tyme displeasant to the realme of Scotlande: yet surely, after he and all his region had greate cause to reioyse and thanke God of their fortunate chaunce and good lucke that insued. For where before that tyme the people of Scotlande wer rude, rustical, without any vrbanitie, hauyng litle lernyng and lesse good maners, & good qualities least of all. This prince beeyng. xviij. yeres prisoner within this realme, was so instructed and taught by his scholemasters & pedagoges apointed to him by the onely clemencie of the kyng, that he not onely florished in good learnyng and freshe litterature (as the tyme then serued) but also excelled in all poyncties of Marciall feates, Musicall instrumentes, Poeticall artes and liberal sciences. In so muche that at his returne from captiuitee, he furnished his realme bothe with good learnyng and ciuill policie, whiche before was barbarous, sauage, rude & without all good nurture.

¶THE NYNETH YERE.

THERLE of Northumberland, whiche had been in Fraunce and other regions to obteigne aide against kyng Henry, and had missed of his purpose, now putte his whole confidence in the Scottes, and in especiall in his olde frende George erle of Marche, and so assembled a great power of the Scottish nacion to inuade Northumberland, and recouered diuerse of his owne castles and seigniories, to whom the people without nombre daily resorted. Wherfore he entendyng to bee reuenged of his old greues, accompaignied with the lorde Bardolffe and diuerse other Scottes and Englishmen entred into Yorke shire and there began to destroy and depopulate the countrie. Wherof the kyng beyng aduertised, caused a greate army to be assembled and marched toward his enemies, but or the kyng came to Notyngham, Raufe Rekesbie shrife of Yorke shire, in the middest of February with the power of the countrie, sodainlie set on therle and his compaignie, at a place called Bramham More, where after long fightyng, the erle and the Lorde Bardolffe and many other wer taken and brought to Yorke and there executed, and their heddes sent to London. *The. ix. Yere.*

AFTER this the kyng hauing knowledge that diuerse pirates wer wanderyng on the cost of Englande, prepared a great armie furnished with men, vitaile and munitions of warre mete & conuenient for such an enterprice, and in the beginnyng of Marche sent to the sea, lorde Edmond Hollande erle of Kent, chieftain of that crewe and armie. When the erle had

had searched all the coaste of Fraunce, and had founde not one pirate or sea robber, he was aduertised by his espials that they heryng of his armie, wer diuerted to the partes of Britayn. Wherefore the said erle entendyng to be reuenged on them whiche he sought for, made his course thether, before his arriual they had conueighed their shippes into the hauens, so that he could not fight with them on the sea, wherfore he launched out his botes and with his fierce souldiers toke land and fiercely assaulted the towne of Briake standyng on the sea side. The citizens threwe out dartes, cast stones, shotte quarreles and manfully defended their walles. In whiche conflicte the erle receiued such a wound in his head that he departed out of this world the. v. day after. The assailantes not dismaied but set a fire with the death of their captaine like men desperate styll assaulted the towne and by fine force entered into the same and set it a fier and slewe all that would make any resistence, and for lacke of a captain, the men of warre laden with praies and prisoners returned againe into Englande.

THIS Edmond erle of Kent was in such fauour with kyng Henry that he not alonely aduanced and promoted him to highe offices and great preheminences, but also by his meane and no small coste obteigned for him the eldest doughter and one of the heires of the Lord Barnabo of Millaine brother to Lord Galeace whose sõne also called Galeace murderyng his vncle Barnabo made himselfe first duke of Millaine, for which marriage Lord Barnabo paied to him an hundred M. Duccattes at the churche of saint Marie Oueryes in Southwarke at the day of the solempnite, by doen Alphõs de Caniola. This Lucie after the death of her husband by whom she had no issue, was moued by the kyng to mary with his bastard brother the Earle of Dorcet a man very aged and il visaged, whose person nether satisfied her fantasy nor whose face pleased her appetite, wherfore she preferring her own mind more then the kynges desire, delityng in him the whiche shoulde more satisfie her wanton pleasure then gaine her any profite, for very loue toke to husband Henry Mortimer a goodly yong Esquier and a bewtifull Bacheler. For which cause the kyng was not onely with her displeased but also for mariyng withoute his licence he seassed and fined her at a great some of money, which fine kyng Henry the. v. bothe released and pardoned and also made him knyght and promoted hym to great offices both in England and Normandie, whiche sir Henry had issue by this Lady, Anne maried to sir Ihon Awbemond mother to Elizabeth Chandos mother to Phillis maried to sir Danie Halle capitayne of Caen, she had also issue Mari maried to Ihon Cheddur and Luce espoused to sir Ihon Cressy. This yere by reason of Frost, shepe and birds died without nomber, whiche continued fiftene weekes.

¶ THE. X. YERE.

The. x. yere.

ABOUTE this time Ihon duke of Burgoine a man of a quicke witte, desirous of rule, & of a haute courage, being of great auctoritie amongest the Frenche nacion to whome ciuill discorde was more pleasure than fraternall amitie and mutuall concorde, began sore to grudge and maligne against Lewes Duke of Orleance brother to the French kyng, because that he was chefe of the kynges counsell and ordered al thinges by his discrecion, because the king his brother was (as you haue heard) fallen into a frensy and therfore meddled in nothyng. The duke of Orleance on the otherside beyng highly set vp in pride, began to disdain and froune at the duke of Burgoin, because he perceiued that he aspired & gaped to haue the supreme regimente in the publike affaires and weightie causes, thus the one would haue no superior, and the other would haue no pere. This cancard disdain in shorte space grewe to suche a hate, that all the realme of Fraunce was deuided into two faccions, thone parte fauoryng the duke of Orleance, and the other inclinyng to the duke of Burgoyne, whiche deuision had almoste brought the realme of France to vtter ruine and perpetuall confusion. The Frenche kyng beyng somwhat amended of his dissease, heryng of this controuersie betwene these two princes, sẽt for theim bothe to Paris, where he reproued their pride, rebuked their malice, and taunted their vngodly dooynges, in so muche that all the nobilitie beygn

beyng present, iudged the displeasure to haue been bothe forgotten and forgeuen. But high corages are not so sone abated, nor roted malice is not in hast plucked vp, for the duke of Burgoyne still cõpassing the destruccion of the duke of Orleance, appoyncted a secrete frende called Raffe of Actouille, to bryng his purpose to passe. This Raffe forgettyng not his enterprise, assembled together a compaignie of suche persons as he moste trusted, & as a Wolffe gredy of his pray, when the duke of Orleance was commyng from the court in the night season, he fiersly set vpon hym and shamefully slewe hym. When this murder was published, the king lamented, the nobles grudged, and the comon people cried to God for vengeance. The duke of Burgoyne iustified this act by the mouth of Master Ihon Petit doctor in deuinite, whiche wrested scripture and doctors so far out of course, that his iustification within fewe yeres after was adiudged heresy by the whole vniuersite of Paris. The French kyng, lest that greater mischief should ensue, was compelled to hide and cloke his inward affeccion and dolorus herte and to dissimule the matter, doubtyng lest the duke of Burgoyne whose herte and haute corage he had well knowen before, (if he should proceade against hym for this euill acte) would ioyne and take part with the Englishe nacion against the realme of France. Wherefore after long consultacion had by the entreatie of the kyng and other Princes of the bloud royall, Charles duke of Orleance sonne to duke Lewes lately murdred, and Ihon duke of Burgoyne were reconsiled and brought to a fained concord and a fainte agremente, eche of theim takyng a corporall othe vpon the holy Euangelists, neuer after to disagre or renewe any displeasure for any thyng before passed. But what preuaileth an othe where hertes still burne & malice tontinually smoketh, who careth for periury when apetite of reuengyng daily encreaseth.

IN this case was the duke of Orleance whiche perceiuyng the king his vncle to beare with the duke of Burgoyne, and to let the detestable murder of his father so lightly passe without pain or punishmẽt, alied and confederated hymself with the dukes of Berry and Burbon, & the erles of Alaunson and Arminacke, whiche reised agreate puissance of people, and defied the duke of Burgoin and his cõplices as their mortall foo and dedly enemy. The duke of Burgoine feryng the sequele of the matter (because ther was a mociõ of mariage to be had betwene the prince of Wales and his doughter) was somwhat the bolder to send to the kyng of England for aide and succors against his enemies. Kyng Henry no lesse forseyng then that whiche after ensued, whiche was that the discord of these two great princes might turne his realme to profit and honor, sent to the duke of Burgoine, Thomas erle of Arundell, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile lorde of Kyme, sir Robert Vmfreuile, and sir Ihon Grey with xij. C. archers, whiche toke shippyng at Douer and lauded at Sluce. When thenglishmen wer arriued in Flaunders, the duke of Burgoin with thenglishmen and all his power, rode daie and night til he came nere to Paris, and ther the next daie after with hard fightyng and coragious shotyng, the Englishmen gat the bridge of saint Clow, whiche passed ouer the riuer of Saine, and toke and slewe all the souldiers whiche the duke of Orleance had left there in garrison to defend the bridge. Emongest whom sir Mansard de Boys a valiant capitain was taken prisoner by the Englishemen & highly raunsomed. But the duke of Orleãce and his compainy whiche wer like to haue been compassed with their enemies, so that almost al their waies of refuge were stopped and enclosed, in the nyght tyme made a bridge ouer the riuer on the part of saint Denis strete, & so escaped & fled into the high coũtries. And after this conflicte the duke of Burgoyn beyng now in his ruffe thinkyng no man ether in auctiorite or bloud equiuolente to his person, and blinded with a kall of vainglory before his ieyes, toke vpõ him him the hole rule and gouernance of the realme and ordered the kyng as pleased him, and not to the kinges wil, and thinking that in so trobelous a season he had vnknit the knot of all ambiguities & doubtes perceiuing all thynges to haue better succeded for his purpose then he before imagined, dismissed Thenglishmen into their countrey geuing to them harty thankes and great rewardes. Which doyng king Hẽry much disalowed, consideryng that he had sent away his defence before the great brunt of the war wer ouerpassed, & shuld haue taken hede before what policie his enemies had practised or

what puissance they had assembled. For he well remẽbred that one faire daie assureth not a good Sommer, nor one fliyng Swalow prognosticateth not a good yere.

¶ THE ELEUENTH YERE.

The. xi. yere. Kyng Henry nowe beyng quiet & not molested with ciuil discencion nor domesticall factions called his high court of parliamente in the whiche after he had concluded diuerse Actes mete and expedient for the publike welth of his realme and people, he exalted and promoted his thre yonger sonnes to hie honors, as lorde Thomas to the Duchie of Clarence, lorde Ihon to the duchie of Bedford, & lorde Humphrey to the duchie of Glocester, and lord Thomas his halfe brother erle of Dorcet he made duke of Excester. Howbeit some writers saie he was erected to that estate and dignitie by kyng Henry the. v. in the first yere of his reigne, whiche thyng is nether materiall nor disputable consideryng he had none issue.

¶ THE TWELFTH YERE.

The. xii. yere. While these thynges wer thus doyng in England, Ihõ duke of Burgoyn which ruled the rost and gouerned both kyng Charles the Frenche kyng and his whole realme, so muche stomaked and enuied the duke of Orliãce & his fautors that he caused the Frẽch kyng in person to arme himself against them and their adherentes, as traitors to hym and apparãt enemies to the comon welth, & sent diuerse capitaines to inuade their landes and territories in the countrees of Poytiers and Angulesme, & other seigniories aperteinyng and belongyng to the homage and obeisance of the duchie of Aqtitain & Guien. Wherfore the dukes of Orleance, Berre, and Burbon with their frẽdes and alies, seyng that now their onely hope consisted in the kyng of England, sent to hym Alberte Aubemound a man of no lesse lernyng then audacite, & yet of no lesse audacitie, then wit and policie, whiche in the name of the confederates offred certain cõdicions as you shall here after accordyng to myne aucthor truly reported, whiche wer made & cõcluded in the yere of our Lorde. M.CCCC.xij. the. viij. daie of Maie.

FIRST, thesaid lordes offred that frõ thẽce furth thei should expose and set furth their owne persons, finances and lãdes to serue the kyng of England his heires and successors, when souer thei wer required or called in all iust quarelles: whiche iust quarelles the kyng of Englãde shall take to aperteigne to the duchie of Guyen with the appurtenances, affirmyng how thesaid duchie perteigneth and ought to apertain to hym of righte by lineall heritage and lawfull succession, manifestyng from thence furthe, that thei should not blemishe nor spotte their truthe nor fidelite to assiste and aide hym in recoueryng thesame duchy.

ALSO thesaied Lordes offered their sonnes, doughters, nephewes and neces, parentes and all their subiectes, to contract mariage accordyng to the discrecion of the kyng of Englande.

ALSO thei offred townes castles tresures, & generally al their goodes to ayde the kyng his heires and successors for the defence of their rightes and quarels, so that the bonde of their allegiance might be saued, the whiche in another secrete apointment they before had declared.

ALSO thei offred to the kyng of England generally al their frendes adherentes alies and well willers to serue him in his quarel for the recouery of the hole Duchie of Guien.

ALSO to cease al fraude, the sayd lordes recognised that they were ready, to affirme the saied Duchie of Guien to belong to the kyng of England, in like and semblable wise in liberty and franchises as euer any of the said kynges predecessors held or possessed the same.

ALSO the said lordes knowledged that al the townes castels and fortresses that they had

within the Duchie of Guien, to holde them of the kyng of England as the very trewe duke of Guien, promisyng all seruice and homages after the best maner that in suche case might be.

ALSO they promised to deliuer to the kyng as much as laie in thē all townes and castelles apperteinyng to the roialtie and seignorie of England, whiche are in nomber. xx. what townes and castels, and as to the regarde of other townes and fortresses whiche were not in their puissaunce and seigniory, they woulde healpe the kyng of England his heires and deputies to winne them with men in sufficiente number at their propre charges and expences.

ALSO the kyng of England was agreed that the duke of Berry his trewe Uncle and* vassalle and the duke of Orleance his subiecte and vassalle and the Earle of Arminacke shoulde holde of hym by homage and fealtie the landes and seigniores hereafter folowyng, that is to saye the Duke of Berry to holde the Countie of Pontiew duryng his life, and the duke of Orleaunce to hold the countie of Angulesme duryng his life onely, and the countie of Perrigot for euer, and the Erle of Armniacke to holde. iiii. castels vpon certain sureties and condicions as by indenture should be appointed.

* Vassal is one that holdeth landes or prehemineces by fealtie or homage.

FOR the which offers couenauntes and agrementes they affirmed that the kyng of England as Duke of Guien, ought to defende & succour them against all men as their very Lord and soueraigne, and not to conclude any treatie of leage with the Duke of Burgoine, his brethren, children, frendes or alies.

FVRTHERMORE, the kyng of England ought to ayde the sayd Lordes as his trewe vassals in all their iuste quarels for recoueryng of damages for iniuries to them wrongfully done.

ALSO they required the kyng of England to send to thē. viii. thousand men to ayde them againste the Duke of Burgoine, whiche daily prouoked the French kyng to make open warre on them, their landes and seigniories, promisyng farther to disbource and pay all the costes and charges whiche the sayd armie of Englishmen should expend duryng their warre, whiche letter was written the. viii. day of May.

KYNG Henry louingly receiued & gentely entertayned this messenger Alberte, and when he had well debated and considered the case, he first detesting the abhominable murder of the late duke of Orliaunce and seyng no Iustice ministred nor no punishment done for so shamefull an acte, hauyng also approued experience that the Duke of Burgoine wolde kepe no longer promise then he him self listed. And secondarily consideryng what large offers these Princes had made to him bothe greatly to his honour and to the high profit and commoditie of his realme and subiectes, thought that he was bounde by the office of a kyng to ayde and succour theym whiche cried for Iustice and could haue none, and in especiall because they in that point beyng his subiectes and vassalles ought to be defended in maintenaunce of his superioritie and seigniorie: wherfore he louyngly promysed them aide and relefe. This return of the messenger was to them as pleasant as is the deliuerance of a captiue frō his sore imprisonment, or of a marchant passyng by the way beset about by Theues, beyng reskewed by his frendes or cōpanions. And not without cause, for the French king not of his owne courage animated, but maliciously encēsed by the duke of Burgoyn, persecuted the faction of the Orliaunces from citie to citie from towne to towne, with such power and extremitie that they were bothe of force and necessitie compelled to repaire to the Citie of Bourges in Berry, and there to appoincte theym selfes ether to render or defend. Ye must vnderstand that princes somtime haue† Argus iyes and‡ Midas eares. For this feate was not so secretly wrought in England but it was apparantly espied in Fraunce, wherefore the French kynges counsail sent the Earle of S. Paule the olde cankered enemy to the Englishmen into the parties of Picardy with fiften C. horsemē and a great nomber of fotemen, he ordeined certain of his men to geue assaulte to the toune of Guisnes while he stode in a stale to lie in waite for the relefe that myght come from Caleis. The furious Frenchmen brake a fewe old pales about pore mens gardeins of Guisnes, but the men of warre of the Castell shotte so fiercely at them with arowes and caste oute wildefier in suche abundance that the assailantes were faine to retire. And so the erle of sainct Paule

† Argus, the son of Aristor the. v. king of the Argiues, ye poetes fain hym to haue had an hundred iyes, sygnifiyng therby his wysedome and circumspeccion.

‡ Midas, the Poetes faine to haue longe eares signifiyng hereb, ye kynges beare farre of.

Paule whiche neuer wonne gain but loste honor at the Englishe mens handes, returned not onely with losse of his people but defrauded of his desired pray, returned to the toune of Saint Quintins.

¶ THE. XIII. YERE.

The. xiii. yere. THe Frenche kyng in the meane seasō by the enticement of the duke of Burgoine layd sege to the citie of Bourges in Berry where the duke of Orleance and his confederates had included and fortified theniselfes. When the kyng of England was thereof aduertised, he with all diligence sent forthe his sonne Thomas duke of Clarence, and Edward duke of Yorke with viii. C. horsmen and. ix. thousand archers whiche toke land in the bay of Hogges in Normandy by sainct Waste in the territory of Constantine. Theenglishemen swarmed like Bees rounde aboute the countrey, robbyng Marchantes, spoilyng husbandmen and brennyng townes, and were ioyously receiued of the Erles of Alaūson and Richmond fautors of the Orliencial part. The councel of Fraunce not willing that the Englishmen should ioyne or concurre with the Dukes of Orleaunce and Berry or their complices, caused a common fame, (although it were not trewe) to be diuulged abrode that there was a finall peace and a perfit amitie concluded betwene the Frenche kyng & his lordes whiche lately were to hym aduersaries. When this fable was notified to the Englishmen whiche were by hasty iourneys passed the ryuer of Leire, they spoiled the towne and Monastery of Beauliew, and wasted with fire and swerde the countreis of Touraine and Maine. Against whom the duke of Burgoyn sent the lord of Rambures with a great armie, whiche in short time was before vanquished. The Dolphyn of Fraunce learyng the doynges of the Englishemen concluded a fayned peace betwene the dukes of Orleaunce and Burgoyne and their adherentes, so that the duke of Orleaunce should without delay dispatche out of the dominions of Fraunce all the English armie. The duke was not rich to paie, and the Englishmen were gredy to haue, in so muche that they marchyng toward Guien in good order what by sackyng of townes & what with raunsomyng of riche persones, gat great treasure and many good prayes. Beside this to the aide of the duke of Orliaunce king Henry sent to Caleis therles of Kent and Warwike with. ii. thousand fightyng men whiche spoiled & defaced the countie of Bullenois, and brent the towne of Samer de Boys and toke with assault the fortresse of Russalte with diuers other. The duke of Orleance which was daily called on to dispatche the Englishemen out of Fraunce, came to the duke of Clarence and his army rendryng to them a M. gramercies and disbursed to them as muche money as ether he or his frendes myghte easily spare: and for two hundred and. ix. M. Frankes which remayned vnpaide he deliuered in gage his second brother Ihon erle of Angulesme whiche was Grandfather to Frances afterward French king and sir Marcell of Bourge, sir Ihon of Samoures, sir Archibault of Viliers and diuers other, which earle long continewed in Englande as you shall perceiue hereafter. When this agrement was taken, the dukes of Clarence and Yorke with gret pray (riche prisoners, and welthy hostages) came to Burdeaux makyng warre on the frontiers of Fraunce, to their greate gaine and profitable lucre. So by the onely commyng of the Englishmen into France the duke of Orliaunce was restored not onely to peace and quietnes with al persons saue the duke of Burgoyne: But also fell in suche fauour with the kyng & the realm that he was of all men welbeloued, muche honored and highly esteined, and so continewed till wauering Fortune turned her variable whele. For after this he beyng enemy to the Englishe nation was vanquished and taken prisoner and so remained in Englande aboue. xxiiii. yeres, till the flower of his age was passed or sore blemyshed.

¶ THE FOURTENTH YERE.

The. xiiii. yere. AFter these great and fortunate chaunces happened to kyng Henry; he perfightly remembring that there could be no more praise geuen to a prince then to execute his office in

administryng Iustice whiche aboue all thyng is the very necessary minister to all people, entendyng to liue in quietenes, beyng now deliuered of al Ciuill denision and intestine discencion, with the which almost all Christendom was infected and disturbed, not onely to the gret decay of Christes religion and Christian creatures but to the great exaltaciō of Painim princes, by the dilatyng of the pestiferous sect of the false counterfait prophet vainglorious Mahumet: called a great cousail of the thre estates of his realme, in the whiche he deliberately consulted and concluded aswell for the politike gouernance of his realme as also for the war to be made against the Infidels, and especially for the recouery of the holy Citie of Ierusalem, in whiche Christian warres he entended to ende his transitory life, and for that cause he prepared a great army, and gathered muche treasure, entending to set forward in the same spring time. But se the chaunce, what so euer man intendeth God sodainly reuerseth, what princes will, god wil not, what we thinke stable, God sodainely maketh mutable, to the entent that Salomons saiyng might be found trewe, which wrote that the wisdome of men is but folishnes before God. When this Prince was thus furnyshed with treasure sufficient, with valiant capitaines and hardy souldiers, with tall shippes furnished with vitayles municions and all thynges necessary for suche a iourney roiall, he was taken with a sore sodain disease and laied in his bed: whiche disease was no Lepry stryken by the handes of God as folish Friers before declared, for then he neither would for shame, nor for debilitie was able to enterprise so great a iourney as in to Iewrie in his own person; but he was taken with a sore * Apoplexye of the whiche he languished tyll his appoyncted howre, and had none other grefe nor malady. During whiche sickenes as Auctors write he caused his crowne to be set on the pillowe at his beddes heade and sodainly his pange so sore troubled him that as he lay as though al his vitall sprites had been from him departed: suche chamberleins as had the cure and charge of his bodye thinkyng him to bee departed and deade couered his face with a linnen cloth. The prince his sonne being therof aduertised entered into the chamber and toke away the crowne and departed: the father being sodainly reuiued out of his traunce quickly perceiued the lacke of his crowne, and hauyng knowledge that the prince his sonne had possessed it, caused hym to repaire to his presence, requiryng of him for what cause he had so misused hiselfe. The prince with a good audacitie answered, sir to mine and all mennes iudgemētes you semed deade in this world, wherfore I as your next & aparant heir toke that as mine own & not as yours: well faire son said the kyng (with a gret sigh) what right I had to it & how I enioied it God knoweth, wel q^h the prince if you die kyng I will haue the garlād & trust to kepe it with the swerd against all mine enemies as you haue done: well said the kyng I comit all to God & remēber you to do well, and with that turned himself in his bed & shortly after departed to God, in a chamber of the abbotes of westminster called Ierusalem the. xx. day of March in the yere of our Lord M. iiii. C. xiii. and in the yere of his age. xlvi. when he had reigned. xiii. yeres, v. monthes & odde daies in muche perplexitie and littel pleasure, whose body with all funerall pōpe was cōueighed to Canterbury, and there solemply buried, leuyng behind him by the lady Marie daughter to lord Hūfrey erle of Hereford & Northāpton, Henry prince of Wales, Thomas duke of Clarēce, Thō duke of Bedford, Humfrey duke of Glocester, Blanche duches of Bauier & Philip Quene of Denmarke, for by his last wife Quene Iane he had no children. This kyng was of a mean stature, wel proporcioned and formally compact, quicke and deliuer & of as tout courage. After that he had appeased all ciuile disccions he shewed him selfe so gentely to all men that he gat him more loue of the nobles in his latter daies then he had malice and il will of them in the beginnyng. When tidynges of his death was related to the duke of Clarence beyng in Aquitayn, he with all diligent celeritie toke ship with therle of Angulesme, and other his hostages & returned into England to the great cōfort of his brethren.

* Apoplexye is a sickenesse ingendered of grose humors whiche fil the vessels of the heade from whence the felyng of the body cometh. And therefore they whiche haue this disease are depriued of felyng, speache & mouyng.

The end of the vnquiet tyme of kyng Henry the fourth.

THE

THE VICTORIOUS ACTES OF KYNG HENRY THE FIFTH.

The. i. yere. HEnry Prince of Wales, sonne and heire to kyng Hēry the. iiii. borne at Monmouth on the Riuer of Wye, after the obsequies of his noble parēt solēply celebrate and sūpteously finished, toke vpon him the high power & regiment of this realme of Englande the xx. daie of Marche in the yere after that Christ our sauior had entered into the immaculate wōbe of the holy Virgin his naturall mother a thousande foure hundred and. xii. and was crouned the. ix. daie of Aprill then next ensuyng, and proclained kyng by the name of kyng Henry the fifth. Before whiche royall possession so by hym obteined, diuerse noble men and honorable personages did to hym homage, liege and sware dewe obeisance (whiche thyng had not been before experimēted) as to hym in whom they conceiued a good expectacion bothe of his verteous beginnynges and also of his fortunat successe in all thynges whiche should be attempted or begonne duryng the tyme of his prosperous reigne and fortunate Empire.

THIS kyng, this man was he, whiche (accordyng to the olde Prouerbe) declared and shewed that honors ought to change maners, for incontinent after that he was stalled in the siege royall, and had receiued the croune and scepter of the famous and fortunate region, determined with hymself to put on the shape of a new man, and to vse another sorte of liuyng, turnyng insolencie and wildnes into grauitie and sobernes, and wauering vice into constant vertue. And to thentent that he would so continue without goyng backe, & not thereunto bee allured by his familier cōpaignions, with whom he had passed his young age and wanton pastime & riotous misorder (insomuche that for imprisounmente of one of his wanton mates and vnthriftie plaifaiers he strake the chiefe Iustice with his fiste on the face. For whiche offence he was not onely committed to streight prison, but also of his father put out of the preuy counsaill and banished the courte, and his brother Thomas duke of Clarence elected president of the kynges counsaill to his great displeasure and open reproche) he therfore banished and seperated frō hym all his old flatterers and familier compaignions, (not vnrewarded nor yet vnpreferred) inhibityng them vpon a greate pain not once to approche ether to his speche or presence, nor yet to lodge or soiourne within ten miles of his courte or mansion. And in their places he elected and chose men of grauitee, men of witte, and men of high policy, by whose wise counsaill and prudente instruccion he mighte at all tymes rule to his honor and gouerne to his profite. This prince was almost the Arabicall Phenix, and emōgest his predecessors a very Paragon: For that he emongest all gouernors, chiefly did remembre that a kyng ought to bee a ruler with wit, grauitie, circumspeccion, diligence and constancie, and for that cause to haue a rule to hym comitted, not for an honor, but for an onorarious charge and daily burden, and not to looke so muche on other mennes liuynges, as to consider and remembre his owne doynges and propre actes. For whiche cause, he not to muche trustyng to the readinesse of his owne witte, nor to the iudgementes of his owne wauering will, called to his counsaill suche prudent and politique personages, the whiche should not onely help to ease his charge & pain in supportyng the burden of his realme and Empire, but also incense and instruct hym with suche good reasons and fruitefull perswasions, that he might shewe hymself a synguler mirror and manifest example of moral vertues and good qualities to his conen people and loying subiectes. For it is daily seen, that a vicious prince doth muche more hurte with his pernicious exāple to other

other, then to hymself by his owne peculier offence. For it is not so muche euill as Cicero saieth (although it bee euill in it self) a prince to do euill, as he by his euill doynges to corrupt other, because it is daily seen, that as princes chāge, the people altereth, and as kynges go, the subiectes folowe. For certainly he that is preferred to high authoritee, is therefore muche exalted and had in honor, that he should rule, ouerse and correct the maners and cōdicions of the people, and vigilantly to forsee and daily study how to acquire to hymself laude and glory, and to other profite and comodite, and not to delight in wordly pleasures whiche are commen emongest the lowest sorte of the vile and rusticall people. And he that will do nothyng nor can do nothyng is more worthy to be called a seruant then a ruler, & a subiect rather then a gouernor. For what can bee more shame or reproche to a prince, then he whiche ought to gouerne and rule other shall by cowardnes, slouth and ignorance as a pupille not of. viii. or. x. yeres of age, but beyng of. xx. or. xxx. yeres and more, shalbe compelled to obey and folowe the willes of other, and be ruled and beare no rule, like a ward and not like a garde, like a seruant and not like a Master. Suche a gouernour was kyng Richarde the seconde, whiche of hymself beeyng not of the most euill disposicion, was not of so symple a minde, nor of suche debilite of witte, nor yet of so litle herte and corage, but he might haue demaunded and learned good and profitable counsaill, and after aduise taken, kept, retayned and folowed the same: But howsoeuer it was, vnprofitable counsailers wer his confusion and finall perdicion. Suche another ruler was kyng Edwarde the seconde, whiche two before named kynges fell from the high glory of fortunes whele to extreme misery and miserable calamittee. By whose infortunate chance (as I thynke) this kyng Henry beyng admonished, expulsed from hym his old plaie felowes, his preuie Sicophantes and vngracious gard as authors and procurers of al mischifes and riot, and assigned into their places men of grauitee, persons of actiuitee, and counsaillers of greate witte and pollicie.

AFTER that he had laied this prudent and polletique foundacion, he entendyng in his mynd to do many noble and notable actes, and remembryng that all goodnes cometh of God, and that all worldly thynges and humain Actes bee more weaker and poorer then the celestiall powers & heuenly rewardes, determined to begin with some thyng pleasaunt and acceptable to God. Wherefore he first commaunded the Clergie syncerely and truly to preache the worde of God and to liue after thesame, so that they to the temporaltee might be the Lanternes of light and mirrors of vertue. The laie men he willed to serue God and obey their prince, prohibityng to them aboue al thynges breche of matrimony vse of swerynge & wilful periury, exhortyng bothe to loue together as man with wife or brother with brother. Beside this he elected the best learned men in the lawes of the realme to the offices of iustice, and men of good liuyng he preferred to high degrees and authoritee.

THE madnes of the Welshemen and Scottes (whose often incursions and robberies he wel had in his fathers daies experimented and assaied) he studied to asuage and represse, to the intent that he beeyng quiet in his owne regions, might ether make outward warre without doubte or dangier, or els for the commen wealth of his realme to study how to encreace the glory of his seigniory, & so both kepe & conserue it.

WHEN all thynges were thus settled and framed to his purpose, he caused the body of kyng Richard the second to be remoued with all funerall pompes conueniente for his estate, from Langely to Westminster, where he was honorably enterred with Quene Anne his first wife in a solempne toumbe erected and set vp at the costes and charges of this noble prince, kyng Henry.

ALTHOUGH this prudente prince and this pollitique gouernor had set and established all thynges beyng in difference and variaunce within his owne peculier realmes, countrees and territories and confines of thesame: yet he nothyng lesse forgetting nor no one thyng more myndyng or desiring, then the ceassyng of the long scisme and deuision sprong & continued in the catholike churche of Christian religion by the moste ambicious desire and auaricious appetite of certaine persones callyng themselfes spirituall fathers, but in deede carnall

carnall coueteours and gredy glottõs aspiryng for honor and not for vertue to the proud see of Rome, desiryng more to pille then to profite Christes flocke or Christian religion, hauyng knowledge that a generall counsaill was somoned to bee celebrate and kept at the faire citee of Constance vpon the riuer of Ryne, thought that it was not his honor nor yet his duetie, beyng thereof warned by the Emperor Sigismond to bee as a hearer and no partaker in so high a cause, and in especiall in so high an assemble. Wherefore he sent thether Richard erle of Warwike and three bishoppes with other famous prelates and doctors, besides knightes & esquires to the numbre of eight hundred horsses. They wer men so well appareled and their horsses so richely trapped, and all the compaignie so well furnished, that the Almaines wondred, the Italians gased, and all other nacions were astonnied to se suche an honorable compaignie come from a countree so farre distant. At this Sinody were assembled (as one authore writeth) CCC.xlvj. bishoppes, Abbottes and doctors v. C.lxiiij. noble men, knightes and esquires. xvj. M. beside seruantes whiche (not accomptyng the townes men) wer numbred. lxv. M. persones. These Ambassadours were highly receiued of the Emperor Sygismond and of the Romishe bishop called Ihon the. xxiij. whiche in thesame counsaill for greate and abhominable crimes and detestable offenses by hym perpetrated and comitted (of the whiche he could not pourge hymself nor make any defence) was by thesame Sinody accordyng to the demerites put doune and of his estate depriued. Gregory the. xij. was one of the Scismatical numbre, fearyng shame more then regardyng his wordly affeccion did putte doune hymself of his owne propre mocion from his foolishe vsurped name and Popishe dignitee. But Benedict the. xiii. still and stifly affirmyng hymself to be the very Viker of God, so muche desired honor, and so muche was wrapped in his owne folishe and fantastical opinion, that no frend could persuade hym, nor argumẽt entice hym, nor no reason refrain hym from thesame, and so accordyng to his desert by open iudgement, against his wil, lost bothe name and honestie. And thre yeres after Otho Columbe a noble Romaine borne was elected to the bishopricke of Rome and named Martyne the fifth.

IN this cõsaill Ihon Wicliffe borne in England, and Ihon Husse and Iherom of Prage wer condemned to death. Duryng this firste yere, sir Ihon Old Castle, whiche by his wife was called lorde Cobham, a valiant capitain and an hardy gentleman, was accused to the Archbishop of Cauntorbury of certain poynctes of heresy. Whiche bishoppe knowyng hym to be highly in the kynges fauor, declared to his highnes the whole accusaciõ. The kyng first hauing compassion of the noble man, required the prelates that if he were a straied shepe, rather by gentlenes then by rigoure to reduce hym to his old flocke. After that he seadyng for hym, godly exhorted and louyngly admonished hym to reconcile hymself to God and his lawes. The lorde Cobham not onely thanked the kyng of his moste fauourable clemencye, but also declared firste to hym by mouthe and afterwarde by writyng the foundacion of his faith, the ground of his belefe and the botome of his stomacke, affirmyng his grace to be his supreme hed and competent iudge & none other persone, offeryng an hundred knightes and esquires to come to his purgatiõ, or els to fight in open listes with his accusors. The kyng not onely knowing the lawes of the reame, but also persuaded by his counsaill, that hereticall accusacions ought to be tried by the spiritual prelates, sente hym to the tower of London there to abide the determinacion of the clergie according to the statutes in and for that cace prouided. After whiche tyme the. xxiij. daie of Septembre, a solempne session was appointed in the Cathedrall churche of sainct Paule, and another the. xxv. da of the said moneth in the hal of the Friers prechers in London, in whiche places thesaid lorde was examined, apposed and fully heard, & in conclusion by the archbishop denounced an hereticke and so remitted again to the toure of London: Frõ whiche place, ether by help of frendes or corrupcion of kepers, he priuely escaped and cam into Wales, where he remained by the space of thre yeres and more.

AFTER this tyme in a certain vnlawfull assemble was taken sir Robert Acton knight, a man of greate wit & possessions, Ihon Broune Esquire, Ihon Beuerly clerke and a greate numbre

numbre of other whiche were brought to the kynges presence, and to hym declared the cause of their commocion and risyng: and accusyng a greate nũbre of their sort and societie (whiche cõfessiõ because I haue not seen, I leaue at large.) After this folishe acte, so many persones were apprehended that all the prisons in and about London wer replenished with people. The chief of them whiche wer. xxix. wer condempned by the clergie of heresy, and attainted of high treason as mouers of warre against their kyng by the temporal lawe in the Guyld hall the. xii. daie of December, and adiudged for treason to be drawen and hanged, and for heresy to be consumed with fire gallowes and all: Which iudgemente was executed in Ianuer folowyng on thesaied Robert Acton and the. xxviij. other.

SOME saie that the occasion of their death was the conueighance of the Lorde Cobham out of prisone. Other write that it was bothe for treason and heresy as the record declareth. Certaine affirme that it was for feined causes surmised by the spiritualtie more of displeasour then truth: the iudgement whereof I leaue to men indifferent. For surely all coniectures be not true, nor all writynges are not the Gospell, & therefore because I was nether a witnes of the facte, nor present at the deede I ouerpasse that matter and begin another.

¶ THE SECONDE YERE.

KYng Henry cõtinually studiyng for the honor of hymself and aduancement of his people, called his high courte of parliament the last daie of April in the toune of Leicester In the whiche parliamente many profitable lawes were concluded: and many peticions moued wer for that tyme deferred. Emongest whiche requestes, one was, that a bill exhibited in the parliamente holden at Westminster in the. xj. yere of kyng Henry the fourth (whiche by reason that the kyng was then vexed and troubled with ciuill deuision & domesticall dissencion, came to none effect) might now bee well studied, pondered, regarded and brought to some good conclusion. The effect of whiche supplicacion was, that the temporall landes deuoutely geuen, and disordinatly spent by religious and other spirituall persones, might suffise to maintein to the honor of the kyng and defence of the realme, xv. erles, xv.C. knightes, vj.M. ii.C. esquires, and. C. almose houses for relief onely of the poore impotente and nedy persones, and the kyng to haue clerely to his cofers twentie thousande poundes, with many other prouisions and valewes of religioushouses whiche I ouerpasse. The. iij. yere.

THIS before remembred bill was muche noted and feared emõgest the religious sort whom in effect it muche touched, insomuche that the fat Abbotes swet, the proude Priors frouned, the poore Friers curssed the sely Nonnes wept, and al together wer nothyng pleased nor yet cõtent. Now to finde a remedy for a mischief and a tent to stop a wounde, the Clergy myndyng rather to bowe then breake, agreed to offre to the kyng a greate some of money to staye this newe moued demaund. The cause of this offre semed to some of the wise prelates nether decente nor conuenient, for they well forsawe and perfightly knewe that if the commõs perceiued that thei by reward or offre of money would resist their request & peticion, that thei stirred & moued with a fury would not onely rayle and despise theim as corruptours of Princes and enemies of the publique wealthe, but would so cry and call on the kyng and his temporall lordes that they were like to lese bothe worke and oyle, cost and linyng: Wherefore they determined to cast all chaunces whiche mighte serue their purpose, & in especiall to replenishe the kynges brayne with some pleasante study that he should nether phantasy nor regard the serious peticion of the importunate commons.

WHERFORE on a daie when the kyng was present in the parliament, Henry Chicheley Archebishop of Caũterbury thereto newly preferred, whiche beforetime had been a Monke of the Carthusians, a mã whiche had professed wilfull pouertie in religion, and yet commyng abrode muche desired honor, & a man muche regardyng Godes law, but more louyng his owne lucre. After lowe obeysaunce made to the kyng he said after this maner in effect.

The oracion of Pēry Chicheley Archebishoppe of Countorbery.

Whē I consider our most entirely beloued and no lesse drad soueraigne lorde and naturall Prince, the louyng mynd, the daily labor and continuall study whiche you incessantly implore bothe for thaduancemēt of the honor of your realme and also profite of your people: I cannot nor ought not, except I would bee noted not onely ingrate to your royall person beyng my patrone & preferrer, but also a neglecter of my dutye, a secrete mummer of suche thynges whiche touche both the inheritance of your croune & the honor of your realme ether holde my peace or kepe silence. For all authors agree that the glory of kynges consisteth not onely in high bloud and haute progeny, not in haboundant riches and superfluous substaunce, nor in plesant pastyme and ioyous solace: But the very tipe of the magnificence of a prince resteth in populous riche regions, wealthy subiectes and beautifull citees and tounes, of the whiche thanked be God, although you be cōueniently furnished both within your realmes of England & Ireland and principalite of Wales, yet by lineal discēt, by progeny of blud and by very inheritance, not onely the duchy of Normandy and Aquitaine with the counties of Aniowe and Mayne and the countrei of Gascoyn are to you as true and vndubitate heir of the same laufully deuoluted and lineally discended from the high and most noble prince of famous memory kyng Edward the third your great grandfather, but also the whole realme of Fraunce with all his prerogatiues and preheminences, to you as heire to your great grandfather is of right belongyng and apperteignyng. In whiche realme, to reherse what noble persons, what beautifull cities, what fertile regions, what substancial marchātes, and what plentifull riuers are conteigned and included, I assure you that time should rather faile then matter shoulde wax skant. The fraudulent Frenchmen to defraude and take away your ryght and title to the realme of Fraunce, in the time of your noble progenitor king Edward the third, alledged a lawe, vntruly fained, falcely glosed and Sophistically expounded, wherof the very wordes are these, In terram salicam mulieres ne succedant, which is to say, let not women succede in the land* Salicque. This land Salicque the deceitful glosers name to be the realme of Fraunce. This lawe the Logicall interpretours assigne to directe the croune and regalitie of the same region, as who wold say that to that preheminence no woman were hable to aspire, nor no heire Female was worthy to inherite. The French writers affirm that Pharamond kyng of the Frenche Gaules, first instituted this lawe which neuer was, should or might be broken. See nowe howe an euell glose confoundeth the text, and a perciall interpretour marreth the sentence, for first it is apparantly knowen and by an hūdred writers confirmed that Pharamond whom they alledge to be aucthour of this lawe was duke of Franconia in Germany, and elected to be kyng of the Sicambres, whiche callyng them selfes Frenchmen had gotten parte of the Gaule Celtike betwene the riuers of Marne and Seyn. This Pharamond disceased in the yere of our Lord. iiii. C. & xxvi. long after whose death, Charles the great beyng Emperoure and many yeres makyng warre on the Saxons dyd in bluddy battaile disperse and confounde the whole puissance of that nacion in the yere of our Lord viii. C and fiue, and broughte theim to the catholique faith and christian conformitie. After which victory certaine souldiers as the Frenche Cronographiers affirm, passed ouer the water of Sala and there inhabited, betwene the riuers of Elue and Sala, and wer commonly called Sali Frenchemen or Sali Gaules, whiche countrey nowe is the lande of Mismie. This people had suche displeasure at the vnhonest fashions of the Germain women, that they made a law that the Females shuld not succede to any inheritance within that land.

*The lande Salique.

NOWE with indifferent eares if you wyll note these two pointes you shall easily perceiue that the lawe Salicque was only fained and inuented to put your noble progenitours and you from your lawfull ryght and true inheritaunce. For they saie that Pharamond made the lawe for the land Salicque, whiche the glose calleth Fraunce. Then I demaunde of master Gloser or rather master Doctor commenter, yf I may call a commenter an open lier, whether Pharamond whiche died iiii. C. xxi. yeres before the Frenchemen possessed the Gaule Salicque and neuer sawe or knewe it, made a lawe of that thyng whiche at that tyme was not his nor inhabited by his people. Beside this, the realme of Fraunce whiche is your patrimony is compact of. iii. Gaules Belgique, Celtique and Aquitain, and no part of Salicque: then

then may the gloser expounde aswell that Gaule Belgique is the countrey of Brytain, as to glose that the lande Salicque is the whole realme and dominion of the croune of Fraunce. Wonder it is to see how the Frenchmen Iuggle with this phantastical lawe, folowyng the crafty hasarders whiche vse a plaie called seest thou me or seest thou me not. For whē kyng Pepyn whiche was Duke of Brabante by his mother Begga, and master of the palayce of Fraunce coueted the croune and scepter of the realme, the Frenche nacion not remēbryng this infringible law, deposed Childeryck the. iii. the very heyre male and vndoubted childe of the line of Pharamond and Clouis kynges of Fraunce by the cōsail of Zachary then Bishop of Rome, and set vp in trone this Pepyn as nexte heire generall discended of lady Blithyld doughter to kyng Clothayre the first. Hugh Capet also whiche vsurped the croune without right or reason,on Charles duke of Lorayne the sole heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the greate, after that he had shamefully murthered and in pitifull prison by the procurement of the Bishop of Orleaunce destroied the said Charles, to make his title seme true and apere good, where in dede it was bothe euell and vntrue, to blynd the opinions of the common people and to set a glasse before their eies, cōueighed him selfe as heire to the lady Lyngard doughter to the kyng Charlemaine sonne to Lewes the Emperor which was sonne to Charles the great kyng of Fraunce. Kyng Lewes also the ninth whome the Frenchemen call Sainct Lewes beyng very heire to the saied vsurper Hugh Capet, coulde neuer be satisfied in his conscience how he might iustely kepe and possesse the croune & regalitie of the realme of Fraūce tyll he was perswaded and fully instructed that Quene Isabell his graundmother was lineally discended of Lady Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles duke of Lorayn, by the foresaid Hugh Capet of life and realme wrongfully depriued: by the which mariage the bludde and line of kyng Charles the great was againe vnited and restored to the Croune and Scepter of Fraunce, so that it more clearer than the sonne, openly appeareth the title of Kyng Pepyn, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of kyng Lewes, ye and of all the French kynges to this day, are derined, claymed and conueighed from the heire Female and yet they would barre you as though your great graundmother had bene no woman nor heire female, but a paynted Image or fained shadowe. If so many examples, if suche copie of presydentes collected out of your owne histories and gathered oute of your owne writers suffice not to confounde your simple Salicque lawe inuented by false fablers and crafty imaginers of you fablyng Frēch menne, then here what God saieth in the book of Numeri. When a man dieth without a sonne let the inheritance discend to the daughter: If your princes call them selfes most Christian kynges let theim folowe the lawe of God before the lawe of the Painym Pharamond. Are not all lawes discrepant from Goddes lawes euel, and to al Christen eares odious and noisome: are Frenche women dyscended of the blud roial no Christians, and not worthye to inherite in the realme of Fraunce? Is the realme of Fraunce more noble then the kyngdome of Iuda of whom Christ discended by a woman? When God sayed to Abraham that in one of his sede al nacions shuld be blessed, how came Christ of the seede of Abraham but onely by that immaculate Virgin his glorious mother? Likewise, when the Prophet Michee said, thou tribe of Iuda art not the leaste of estimacion emongest the Princes of Iuda, for oute of the shall come a capitayne whiche shall rule and direct my people of Israel. Howe discended Christ from the rote of Iesse, and howe was he duke and capitain of the Israelites, and how discended he of the line of Dauid: But onely by his mother a pure virgin and a maried wife. Beholde, by Goddes lawe, women shall inherite Behold in Fraunce, Frenchemen haue inherited by the onely line of the women, and yet Englishmen be prohibited to claime by the heyre Female coutrary to the lawe of God and man. Wherfore regarde well my soueraigne Lord your iust and true title to the realme of Fraunce, by Goddes lawe and mannes lawe to you lawfully diuolued as very heire to Quene Isabell your great graundmother daughter to kyng Philip the faire and suster and heir to. iii. kynges disceasyng without any issue. Whiche inheritance of the woman is declared to be iuste by the Mosaicall lawe and vsed and approued by the Gallican discēt as I haue before declared. Therefore for Goddes sake leese not youre patrimony,

disherite not your heires, dishonour not your selfe, diminishe not your title, which your noble progenitors so highly haue esteined. Wherfore auaunce forth your banner, fight for your ryghte, conquere your inheritaunce, spare not swerde blud or fire, your warre is iuste, your cause is good, and your claim true: and therfore courageously set forward your warre against your enemies. And to the entent that we your louyng chapleins and obedient subiectes of the spiritualtie would shewe our selfes willyng and desiryng to aide you for the recouery of your auncient right and true title to the croune of France, we haue in our spirituall conuocacion graunted to your highnes suche a some of money as neuer by no spiritual persons was to any prince before your daies geuen or aduanced, beside our daily praiers and continual precacions to God and his saintes for prosperus successe to ensue in your merciall exploite and roiall passage. When the Archebishop had finished his prepared purpose, Raulfe Erle of Westmerland, a man of no lesse grauitie then experience, and of no more experience than stomack, whiche was then high Warden of the marches toward Scotland, and therfore thinkyng that yf the king shuld passe ouer into Fraunce with his whole puissaunce, that his power should be to weake to withstand the strength of Scotland if they shuld inuade duryng the kynges absence. Wherfore he rose vp, & makyng his obeysance to the kyng sayd.

The Oracio of Raulfe erle of Westmerland.

SURELY sir, as my Lord Canterbury hath clerkely declared, the conquest of Fraunce is very honorable, and when it is gotten and obteigned very profitable and pleasant: But sauyng your graces reformacion, I say and affirme that to conquere Scotland is more necessary, more aparante easie, and more profitable to this realme then is the gaine of Fraunce. For althoughe I am not so well learned as my lord Archbishop is, nor haue not proceded to degre in the Vniuersitie, yet I haue red, and heard great clarckes say, that strengthe knitte and combined together is of more force and efficacie then when it is seuered and dispersed. As for an example, sprinkle a vessel of water and it moisteth not, but cast it out wholy together and it bothe washeth and norisheth. This notable saiyng before this time hath encoraged Emperors, animated kynges and allured princes to conquere realmes to them adioynyng, to vanquishe nacions to their dominions adiacent, and to subdewe people either necessary for their purpose, or beyng to them daily enemies or continuall aduersaries. For profe wherof, beholde what was the chefe cause and occasion why rulers and gouernors so sore laboured, thirsted and coueted to bryng al regions to them adioinyng into one rule or Monarchy? Was it not done to this entent that the conquerors might haue the only power & entier gubernacion of all the landes and people within their climate, and gouerne the in time of peace and also haue their aide in time of war? Whiche monarchie was of that maiestie and estimacion in the world, that no other forein prince or exterior potentate ether had audacitie or was able to attempte any thyng within the territory or region of the monarchial prince and adourned kyng. Let the kyngdome of the assiriens be your example, and if that suffise not, then loke on the Percians, after on the Grekes and lastly on the Romaines, whiche euer desired and coueted more to haue the littel Isle of Scicile, the territory of the Numidians and the mean Citie of the Samnites beyng daiely within their kennyng and smell, rather then to obtein populous Gaule, pleuteous Pannony, or manly Macedony liyng farre from sight and out of their circle or compasse. This desire semeth to rise of a great prudent and vigilante policy, for as a prince is of more puissaunce when his countreis ioyne, so is he of more strength when his power is at hande. And as men lackyng comforte be more releued by frendes whiche be presente, then by kinsfolke dwellyng in forein countreys and regions farre of. So princes haue commonly coueted and euer desired to se and beholde their dominions liyng nere about them, rather then to here by reporte from the countreis farre distant from them. If this hath bene the pollecy of conquerours, thappetite of purchasers and the study of gouerners, why doth your grace desire Fraunce before Scotlande, or couet a countrey farre from your sight, before a realme vnder your nose? Do you not remember how the hole Isle of Britain was one entier Monarchi in the time of your noble auncetor Kyng Brute first kyng and ruler of your famous Empire and glorious region: whiche deuidyng his relme to his thre sonnes gaue to Lothryne his eldest sonne that part of Britain that

your

your highnes now enioyeth, and to Albanact his second sonne he gaue the countrey of Albany nowe called Scotland, and to Camber his third sonne he gaue the countrey of Cambria nowe called Wales: reseruyng alwaies to him & his heires homage, lege and feaultie loiall for the same countreis and dominions. By this deuisiō, the glory of the monarchie of Britayne was clerely defaced, by this separacion the strength of the Britishe kynges was sore diminished, by this dispersion intestine war began, and Ciuil rebellion sprange first within this region. For while all was vnder one, no nacion durste either once inuade or attempte warre against the Britons: but when the land was once deuided and the monarchie vndone, outward enemitie or foreyn hostylitie not halfe so muche infested, greued or troubled the valiaunt Brittons as their owne neighboures discended of one parent, and come of one progeny. For the Albanactes otherwise called the false fraudulēt Scottes, and the Cambers otherwise called the vnstable Welshemen, did not alonly withdrawe their fealtie, denie their homage, and refuse their allegiance due to the kynges of this realme, but also made continuall warre and destroied their townes and slewe the people of their neyghboures and Britons. For whiche cause diuerse of your noble progenitoures haue not onely made warre and subdewed the Scottes for the deniyng of their homage and stirryng of rebellion, but also haue deposed their kynges & princes, and erected and set vp other in their estates and dignities. Scater kyng of Scottes, for his rebellion was by Dunwallo Molancius your noble predecessor slayn and extincted. Kyng Arthure also the Glory of the Brittons erected Angosile to the scepter of Scotland and receaued of hym homage and fealtie. Yf I shuld rehearse how many kynges of Scotland haue done homage to your auncient predecessors, or reherse howe many Scottishe kynges they haue corrected and punished for their disobedience and deniyng of homage, or declare what kynges they as superior lordes and high Emperoures ouer the vnderkinges of Scotland, haue elected & made rulers, to thētent that all people might manifestly perceiue that it was more glorious, more honourable and more famous to a Kyng to make a Kyng then to be a kyng by natural discent, I assure you, your eares would be more wery of heryng, then my tounge woulde be fatigate with open truth tellyng. Your noble progenitour kyng Edward the firste couetyng to be superior and to surmount in honour, or at the least to be equiuolent in fame with his noble ancestours and famous progenitors, daily studied and hourely compassed howe to bryng the whole Isle of Briteygne whiche by Brute was deuided into thre partes into one monarchy and one dominion. After longe studie and greate consultacion had, he subdewed Wales, and tamed the wylde people and bronghte that vnruly parte to his olde home and auncient degree, whiche thyng done he likewise inuaded Scotlande and conquered the countreye to the towne of Perche called Saincte Ihons towne standyng on the riuer of Tay, whiche he walled, diched and fortefied, rulyng that part with Englishe lawes, Englishe customes and by Englishe Iudges, and was almoste at a poynte thereof to haue made a perfighte conqueste and a complete Monarchie. But Oh Lorde, hasty deathe whiche maketh an ende of all mortall creatures, sodeynly bereft hym of his life and toke awaie his spirite, and so all thynges whiche he had deuised, whiche he had ymagined and seriously pretended, the small momente of an houre turned vpside doune and sodainly subuerted. Sith whose deathe your greate Graundfather, ye and your noble father haue attempted to bryng that runnegate region into his auncient course and former line, as a thyng both necessary, conueniente and mete to bee ioyned and vnited to this realme, and so not only to reuiue the old empire and famous Monarchye, but also to vnite and cōbine that vertue and strēgth which from the tyme of Brute was dispersed and seuered, in one body, in one hed and one corporacion. Wherfore, if to your high wisedome it seemeth not necessary takyng this terme necessary for nedefull to conquere the realme of Scotlande as a thyng that nedes muste be doen, yet will I not flie from my first saiyng, but proue it necessary (as the logicall paraphrasian and Philosophical interpreters) do by a distinccion expounde this terme necessary to signifie a thyng conuenient: That the conquest in Scotlande before the inuadyng of Fraunce is moste expedient, for experience teacheth and reason agreeth that euery persone entēdyng a purposed enterprise, or a determinate voyage

should not onely prouide and make preparacion for all thynges requisite and nedefull for his purpose or exployte, but also ought vigilantly to forsee with * Lincis iyes, and preuēt and study with the serpentyne pollicie how to aduoyde and refell all thynges whiche might ether bee an impediment to his progression and settyng forward or occasion of his returne and losse of his enterprise, least he leuyng behynd hym an euill neighbour, a continuall aduersary & a secrete enemie, maie assone lese his owne propre realme, as conquere and gayne the dominion of another: wherfore the trite and common adage saith, leaue not the certain for the vncertain. Wherefore it is necessary that I enucleate and open to you certain articles conteined in the old league and amitie betwene the realmes of Fraunce and Scotlande, wherof the wordes be these.

* Lynx is a beast like to a wolfe, whose sighte dooeth perce al thynges.

1. THE warre or iniurie moued or done by the Englishemen to one of the saied nacions, to be as a commen wrong to bothe.
2. IF the Englishemen make warre on the Frenche nacion, then the Scottes at the costes and charges of the Frenche kyng, shall minister to theim succours.
3. LIKEWYSE if the Scottes be molested by the English warres, the Frenche nacion hauyng their costes allowed, shall bee to theim ayders and assisters.
4. AND that none of bothe the nacions shall ether contracte or make peace with the realme of England without the consente and agrement of the other.

AND to thentent that this league and amitee should be kept vnviolate Robert le Bruse the vsurper of Scotland willed by his testament twoo thynges in especiall to be obserued, the one neuer to breake the treatie concluded with Fraunce: the second neuer to kepe peace or promes with Englishmen lenger than the kepyng therof were to theim ether profitable or necessary. Yet Ihon Mayer and other Scottish writers coloure this cause, saiyng that he would have no peace concluded with Englande aboue thre yeres. But whatsoeuer writers write or talkers saie, they bee to hym moste faithfull executors and haue neuer yet broken his testament but daily kepe his precept and commaundement. And for the performaunce of this will and kepyng of this league, none of your auncetours euer inuaded Fraunce, but incontinent the Scottes troubled and vexed England. None of your progenitors euer passed the sea in iust quarell against the Frenche nacion, but the Scottishe people in their absence entered your realme spoyled your houses slewe your people and toke great praies innumerable, only to prouoke your auncestors for to returne frō the inuadyng of Fraūce. If I should declare to you their comen breaking of leagues, their craftie and subtill dissimulaciō, their false faire promises often sworne and neuer kept, I doubt not but you would ten tymes more abhorre their doyng, then I would bee ashamed of the tellyng. Therfore I saie still, and affirme it necessary and conuenient to forse, that you leaue no enemies behind at your backe when you go to conquere aduersaries before your face. Beside this, if you consider the daily charges, the inconstant chances that maie happen, I thinke, yea and litle doubt but Scotlande shalbee tamed before Fraunce shalbe framed. For if you will inuade Fraunce, accompt what number of shippes must transport your armie, recon what charge of ancors, what a multitude of Cables, and what innumerable thynges apperteigne to a nauie. When you be there, if your men decay by sickenes or by sworde, if vitaill faile, or if money waxe skante, if the wynde turne contrary or an hideous tempeste arise, you shall bee destitute of aide, prouisiō and treasure, which in a strange region are the cōfusion & defacyng of an armie. On the other side if you inuade Scotlande, your men bee at hande, your vitaill is nere, your aide is euer at your backe, so that in that voyage you shall haue haboundance in all thynges, and of nothyng you shall haue wante. See what an occasion fortune hath offered vnto you, is not their kyng your captiue and prisoner? Is not the realme in greate deuision for the cruelties of the duke of Albany, rather desiring to haue a forain gouernor, then a naturall tyraunt. Wherfore my counsaill is, firste to inuade Scotlande, and by Gods grace to conquere and ioyne that region to youre Empire, and to restore the renoumed Monarchy of Britayne to her olde estate and preheminence, and so beautified with realmes and furnished with people, to entree into Fraunce for the recouēryng of your righteous title and

true inheritaunce, in obseruyng the old auncient prouerbe vsed by our forefathers, whiche saieth, he that will Fraunce wynne, muste with Scotlande firste beginne.

NO q^r the Duke of Excester vncle to the kyng, (whiche was well learned, and sent into Italy by his father entendyng to haue been a prieste) he that will Scotlande win, let hym with Fraunce first begin. For if you call to remembraunce the comon saiyng of the wise and expert Phisicions, whiche bothe write and teache, that if you will heale a malady you must firste remoue the cause: If you will cure a sore, you muste first take awaie the humor that fedeth the place. If you will destroy a plante, plucke awaie his sap whiche is his norisshyng and life. Then if Fraunce be the norissher of Scotlande, if the Frenche penciõs be the susteiners of the Scottishe nobilitee, if the educacion of Scottes in Fraunce be the cause of practise and pollicie in Scotlande, then plucke away Fraunce and the courage of the nobles of Scotland shal be sone daunted and appalled: Take awaie Fraunce and the hertes of the comen people wil sõne decaie and waxe faint: Plucke away Fraũce and neuer looke that Scotlande will resist or withstande your power. For when the bed is gone, the body sone falleth, and when the sap fayleth the tree sone withereth. Let men reade the Chronicles and peruse our Englishe Chronographiers, & you shall sone finde that the Scottes haue seldõ of their owne mocion inuaded or vexed Englande, but onely for the obseruyng of the league in the whiche they bee bounde to Fraunce: For the Scottes are the shaft and dart of the Frenchemen to shote and cast at their pleasure against the Englishe nacion. And where they haue inuaded, as I cannot deny but they haue dooen, what glory or what profite succeded of their entreprice, I report me to their peculier historics. Kyng Malcolyn inuaded Englande, when kyng Williã the second was makyng warre in Normandy. Dauid le Bruse also entered Englande, your greate graundfather kyng Edward the third liyng at the siege of Caleis. Was not Malcolin slain beside Tinmouth and Kyng Dauid taken beside Durrham. Let the gouernors of Scotlande, (for the kyng is sure ynough) entre into Englande on that price and se what he shall gayne therby. What notable acte wer Scottes euer able to do out of their owne countree and propre climate? Or when were they able to cõueigh an armie ouer the sea at their owne costes and expences? Rede their owne histories and you shall finde fewe or none. Their nature and condicion is to tary at home in idlenes, ready to defende their countree like brute beastes, thinkyng their rusticall fassion to be high honestie, and their beggerly liuyng to bee a welfare. Beside this, what auncient writer, or autentike historiographier ether write of them honor or once nameth theim, except sainct Iherom, whiche saieth that when he was yong, he sawe in Fraunce certain Scottes of the isle of Britain eate the fleshe of men, and when they came into the woodes findyng there greate heardes of beastes and flockes of shepe, lefte the beastes and cut off the buttockes of the heardmen and the pappes and brestes of the shepherdes women, extemyng this meate to be the greatest deinties: And Sabellicus saieth that Scottes muche delighte and reioyse in liyng. You may now apparauntly perceiue what puissaunce Scotland is of it self, litle able to defende and lesse able to inuade like a noune adiectiue that cannot stand without a substantiue. If Fraũce be taken from them, of whom shall they seke aide? Denmarke will them refuse because the kyng is your brother in lawe: Portyngall & Castel will not them regarde, bothe the kynges beeyng your cosyns germain and auntes sõnes: Italy is to farre: Germany and Hungary be with you in league. So that of necessitee they in conclusion destitute of all ayde, depriued of all succoure, bereued of all frendship (if Fraunce be cõquered) must without warre or dent of swõrde come vnder your subiection and due obeysance. And yet I would not in this your conquest, Fraũce should bee so muche mynded, that Scotlande should be forgotten, nor that your entier power should be sent into Fraunce and no defence left against the inuasions of Scotlande. For of that might ensue this mischief, that if your whole power wer vanquished in Fraũce, the Scottes beyng elated by the victory of their frendes might do more displeasure to your realme in one yere then you should recouer again in fiue. But sithe God hath sent you people, riches, municiõs of warre and all thynges necessary ether to inuade bothe, or to defende the one and penetrate the other. Passe the sea your self with an armie royall,

An Oracles of the Duke of Excester.

and

and leue my lorde of Westmerlande and other graue capitaines of the Northe with a conuenient nombre to Defend the Marches if the subtill Scottes encouraged by the Frenchmen will any thyng attẽpt durying your voyage and absence. And this is to be remẽbred, if you get Scotlande you haue a countree barayne almoste of all pleasure and goodnes, you gayne people sauage, waueryng and inconstant, of riches you shall haue litle and of powertie muche: But if you get Fraunce, you shall haue a countree fertile, pleasant and plentifull, you shall haue people, Ciuill, witty and of good ordre. You shall haue riche citees, beautiful tounes innumerable Castles. xxiiij. puyssaunt Duchies, lxxx. and odde populous Countrees, and an hũdred and thre famous bisshoprickes, a. M. and more fat Monastaries, and parishe Churches (as the Frenche writers affirme) x. C. thousande and mo. This conquest is honorable, this gayne is proffitable, this iourney is plesaunte, and therfore nether to be left nor forslewed. Vitaill you shall haue sufficient from Flaunders, aide of men you maie haue daily out of England, or els to leaue a competente crewe in the Marches of Caleis to refreshe your armie and to furnishe still your numbre. Although the cost in transportyng your mẽ be greate, yet your gayne shalbe greater, and therfore accordyng to the trite adage, he muste liberally spende that will plentefully gayne. And because my lorde of Westmerlãde hath alleged that the Romaines desired the dominion of suche as were vnder flight of their owne Egle, or whose possesions were a mote to their eye, as the Numidians & other whiche he hath wisely rehersed. Beholde the condicions of the counsailers and the desire of the mouers, what persones were they whiche coueted their poore neighbors rather then riche forreines? Men effeminate, more mete for a Carpet then a Campe, men of a weake stomacke desiryng rather to walke in a pleasant gardein then passe the sees in a tempesteous storme, what should I saie? Menne that would haue somewhat and yet take litell payne, menne that coueted thynges nothyng honourable nor yet greatly profitable. But I remember that the noble Cato the Censor which when it was alledged in the Senate at Rome that Affrike was farre of, and the sea brode, and the iournie perillous, caused certain newe figgys to bee brought into the Senate, whiche grewe in the territory of Carthage, and demaunded of the Senators howe they liked the Figges? Some saied they were newe some said they were swete and some said they were pleasant. Oh quod Cato, if they be newe gathered, thẽ is not the region far of where they grewe (skant thre daies sailyng) and if it be of no longer distance then so nere to vs be oure enemies. If the figges be swete, then is the soile delicious and fertile. If the fygges be pleasante, then is the coũtrey profitable. If you gaine the Scicilians, you shall be riche men in corne. If you get the Samnites you shall haue plenty of oyle. If you vanquishe the Numidians, you shall haue copie of beastes: but subdewe Carthage and conquere Affricke, you shall haue not onely Corne Oyle and beastes, but gold, purple, precious stones, Oliphantes and all thynges bothe necessary and pleasant. Therfore my councell is rather to seke riches beyng farre distant then powertie lying at hand, for paine is forgotten euer where gaine foloweth. This noble saiyng of sage Cato so encouraged and inflamed the haut hertes and lusty courages of the manly Romains, that they neuer desisted to persecute the people of Affricke tyll Carthage was vtterly destroyed and the whole countrey subdewed and brought vnder the Romain Empire. Iulius Ceasar also desired rather to conquere the Britons deuided from the continent, ye and inhabityng almost in thende of the worlde, rather then to gayne the Pannonians adioynyng to Italy, saiyng, breke the stroger and the weaker will bowe: Subdue the riche and the pore wil yeld be lord of the lordes and the vassales must nedes be subiect, vanquish the Frenchemen and the Scottes be tamed. This counsaill of Cato, and this saiyng of Cesar maketh me bothe to speke and thynke that if you get Fraunce, ye get two, and if you get Scotland you get but one. When the duke had said and sat doune, his opinion was muche noted and well digested with the kyng, but in especiall with his three brethren and diuerse other lordes beyng young and lusty, desirous to win honor and profite in the realme of Fraunce, ensuyng the couragious actes of their noble progenitors, whiche gat in that region bothe honor and renoune. So that now all men cried warre, warre, Fraunce, Fraunce, and the bill put into the parliament for desoluyng of religious houses was clerely forgotten and buried

buried, and nothyng thoughte on but onely the recouering of Fraunce accordyng to the tide by the Archbishoppe declared and set furth. And so vpon this poynct after a fewe Actes for the publicke wealth of the realme condiscended and agreed, the parliamēt was prorogued to Westminster.

THE kyng like a wise prince and pollitique gouernor, entendyng to obserue the auncient ordres of famous kynges and renoumed potentates vsed aswel emong Paynimes as Christians, whiche is, not to inuade another mannes territory without open war and the cause of the same to hym published and declared, dispatched into Fraūce his vncle the duke of Excester and the erle of Dorcet, the lorde Grey admirall of Englande, the Archbishop of Deuelin, the bishop of Norwiche with. v hundred horsse, whiche were lodged in the Temple hous in Paris, kepyng suche triumphante chere in their lodgyng, and such a solempne estate in ridyng through the citee, that the Parisians & all the Frenche men had no small meruell at their honorable fassions and lordly behaueours. The French kyng receiued them very honorably, and sumpteously banquetted theim, shewing to theim goodly iustes and marciall pastymes, by the space of three daies together, in the whiche iustes the kyng hymself to shew his courage and actiuitee to the Englishemen, manfully brake speres and lustely turneyed.

WHEN this great triumph and marciall disport was finished, the Englishe Ambassadors accordyng to their commission, required of the Frenche kyng to deliuer to the kyng of Englād the realme and croune of Fraunce with the entier Duchies of Aquitain, Normandy and Anioue, with the countrees of Poytieu and Mayne and diuerse other requestes, offryng that if the Frenche kyng would without warre or effusion of Christen bloud rendre to the kyng their Master his uery righte and lawfull inheritaunce, that he would be content to take in mariage the lady Katheryn doughter to the Frenche kyng & to endewe her with all the duchie and countrees before rehersed. And if he entended not so to do, then the kyng of Englande did expresse and signifie to hym that with the ayd of God and help of his people he would recouer his right and inheritaunce wrongfully with holden with mortall warre and dent of sworde. The Frenchemen were much abassbed at these demaundes thinkyng theim very vnreasonable and farre excessiue, and yet not willyng to make any determinate aunswer till they had farther brethed in so weighty a cause, praied thenglishe Ambassadors to saie to the kyng their master that thei now hauyng no opportunitee to cōclude in so hie a matter would shortly send Ambassadors into England whiche should certefy & declare to the kyng their whole mynde, purpose and aunswer.

THE Englishe Ambassadors nothyng content with this doyng departed into Englande makyng relacion of euery thyng that was said or done. Here I ouerpasse howe some writers saie that the Dolphyn thinkyng kyng Henry to be geuen still to such plaies and light folies as he exercised & vsed before the tyme that he was exalted to the croune sent to hym a tunne of tennis balles to plaie with, as who said that he could better skil of tennis then of warre, and was more expert in light games then marciall pollicy. Whether he wer moued with this vnwise presente, or espiyng that the Frenchemen dalied and vaynely delayed his purpose and demaund, was moued and pricked forward I cannot iudge, but sure it is that after the returne of his Ambassadors, he beeyng of a haute courage and bold stomacke, linyng now in the pleasantest tyme of his age, muche desiryng to enlarge and dilate his Empire and dominion, determined fully to make warre in Fraunce, cōceiuyng a good trust and a perfight hope in this poynete whiche he had before experimented, whiche is, that victory for the moste part foloweth wher right leadeth, auaunced forward by Iustice and sette furth by equitie. And because many Frenchemen wer promoted to Ecclesiastical dignitees, some to benefices, some to Abbeis and priores within his realme and sent daily innumerable somes of money into Fraunce for the relefe and aide of their naturall countremen and lineall kynsmen, he therfore for the publique wealth of his realme and subiectes, ordeigned that no straunger here after should bee promoted to any spirituall dignitee or degree within his realme without his especiall licence and royall concent, and that all they that should so be admitted, should find sufficient suretie not to disclose ȳ secretes of this realme to any fo-

rain or straūge person, nor also to minister to them any aide or succor with money or by any other meane. Beside this he assembled a great puissance & gathered a greate hoste through all his dominions, and for the more furniture of his nauie, he sent into Holand, Zeland and Frizeland to conduct and hire shippes for the transportyng and conueighing ouer his men and municions of warre, and finally prouided for armure, vitaile, money, artillary, carraiges, tentes and other thinges necessary for so hie an enterprise: Whiche prouisions wer sone blowen into Fraūce & quickly knowen in Paris. Wherefore the Dolphin who had taken on hym the gouernance of the realme, because his father was fallen again into his olde infirmitie, sent for the dukes of Berry and Alaunson and all the counseil of Fraunce, to cōclude what should be done in so great a matter and so weightie a cause. After long cōsultacion, it was determined to assemble people through the whole realme of Fraunce, to resist & repulse the kyng of Englande and his puissaunce whensoeuer he would arriue or set foote in Fraunce, and also to fortifie their tounes & stuffe them with garrisons and men of warre, and farther by taxes & subsedies to leuy as muche money as by wit or pollicie could be deuised or imagined. Moreouer to staie the kyng of England at home, it was polletiquely deuised to sende to him a solempne Ambassade to make to him some offers accordyng to the demaundes before rehersed. The charge of this Ambassade was cōmitted to the erle of Vandosme, to Master Wylliam Bouratier Archebishop of Bourgues and to Master Peter Fremel bishoppe of Lysieux and to the lorde of Yury and Braquemont and to Maister Gaultier Cole the kynges secretory and diuerse other. These ambassadours accompanied with. CCC. and fifty horses passed the sea at Caleys and lāded at Douer, before whose arriuall the kyng was departed from Wyndsor to Winchester, entendyng to haue gone to Hampton and to haue viewed his nauie, but hearyng of the Ambassadours approachyng, taried stil at Wynchester, where the sayd Frenche lordes shewed themselues very honorably before the kyng and the nobilitie. And in the bishoppes hal before the kyng, sittyng in his throne imperial & his lordes spiritual and temporal & a great multitude of the cōmons there for that entent assēbled, At a tyme prefixed, the Archebishop of Bourgesse made an eloquent and a long Oracion, dissuadyng warre, and praisyng peace, offering to the kyng of Englād a great some of money with diuerse base & pore countries with the Lady Katherin in marriage, so that he would dissolue his armie & dismisse his souldiors whiche he had gathered and made ready.

When this Oracion was ended, the kyng caused the Ambassadors to be highly feasted, & set them at his owne table, And at a daie assigned in the foresayd hall, the Archebishoppe of Cauntorbury made to their Oracion a notable answere: theffecte wherof was, that if the Frenche kyng would not geue with his daughter in mariage, the duchies of Acquitain, Normandy, Aniowe, & all other seignories & dominions somtime apperteinyng to the noble progenitors of the kyng of Englād, he would in no wise retire his armie nor breake his iorney but would with all diligence entre into the realme of Fraūce & destroy the people, depopulate the coūtry & subuert the tounes, with sword blnd & fyre, & neuer cease till he had recouered his auncient right & lawful patrimony. The kyng auowed the archbishops saiyng, & in the word of a prince promised to performe it to the vttermost. The bishop of Bourgesse beyng inflamed with anger that his purpose toke none effect, desiryng licence & pardō of the king that he might speake: which once attained he verye rashly and vnreuerētly sayd. Thynkest thou to put doune and destroy wrongfully the most cristen kyng, our most redoubted souerain lord and most excellentest prince of all christianitie of blud and prehemineēce. Oh kyng, sauyng thine honour, thinkest thou that he hathe offered or caused to be offered to the landes, goodes or other possessions with his owne daughter for feare of the or thy Englishe nacion, or thy friendes or well willers or fautours. No no? but of truthe he moued with pitie, as a louer of peace, to the entent that innocent blud should not bee dispersed abrode, and that christian people shoulde not bee afflicted with battail and destroied with mortall warre, hathe made to the this reasonable offers and this Godly mocion, puttyng his hole affiance in God most puissant accordyng to right and reason, trustyng in his quarel

to

to be ayded and supported by his beneuolente subiectes and fauourable well willers. And sith we be subiectes and seruauntes, we require the to cause vs safely and surely without dammage to be conducted out of thy realme and dominions & that thou wilt write thyne answere wholy as thou hast geuen it, vnder thy seale and signe manuell.

THE Kyng of Englande nothyng vexed nor yet moued with the presumtuous saiynges and proude bragges of the vnnurtered and unmanerly byshop, but well remẽbryng kyng Salomon in the. xxiiii. of his prouerbes, whiche saithe, that with discrecion warres muste be taken in hand, & where many can geue councell, there is victory, coldly and soberly aunswered the bishop saiyng: My lorde I littel esteme your Frenche bragges, and lesse set by your power & strength, I know perfightly my right to your region, and excepte you will deny the apparant truthe so do you, and if you neither do nor will knowe yet God and the worlde knoweth it. The powre of your Mayster you see daily, but my puissance you haue not yet tasted. If your master haue louing frendes and faithfull subiectes, I am I thanke God not disgarnished nor vnprouided of the same: But this I say vnto you, that before one yere passe I trust to make the highest croune of your countrey stoupe and the proudest Miter to kneele downe: and say this to the vsurper your Master that I within three monethes wyll enter into France not as into his land, but as into mine owne true and lawfull patrimonye entendyng to conquere it, not with braggyng wordes, flatteryng oracions or coloured persuasions, but with puissaunce of men and dent of sworde by the aide of God in whome is my whole trust and confidence. And as concernyng mine answere to be written, subscribed and sealed, I assure you that I would not speake that sentence the which I would not write and subscribe, nor subscribe that line to the whiche I would refuse to put my seale. Therefore your saue conducte shall be to you deliuered with mine answere, and then you may depart surely and safely I warrant you into your countrey, where I truste soner to visite you then you shall haue cause to salute or bid me welcome. With this answere the Ambassadours sore dismaied, but more displeased (although they were highly entertained & liberally rewarded, departed into their countrye, relatyng to the Dolphyn and the kynges councel what they had done duryng the tyme of their Ambassade.

After the frenche Ambassadours were departed, the kyng as I sayd before hauing a great foresight and disposyng all thynges in an ordre forgettyng not the old pranckes and sodeyn trickes of the variable Scottishe nacion, appointed the earle of Westmerlande, the lorde Scrope, the Baron of Greystocke and sir Robert Vmfreuile with diuers other hardye parsonages & valiant capitaynes to kepe the frontiers and Marches adioynyng to Scotland, whiche sir Robert Vmfreuile on the day of Mari Magdalene entred with the Scottes at the toune of Gederyng, hauyng in his company only. CCCC. Englishemen, where he after long conflict and doubtful battaile slewe of his enemies. ix. and odde, and toke captiues. CCC. lx. and discomfited and put to flight a thousand and moo, whom he followed in chase aboue. xii. miles, and so laded with praies and prisoners reculed agayne not vnhurt to the castle of Rokesbroughe, of the whiche at that tyme he was chief capitayne and gouernour.

When the kyng had ordered all thynges for the tuicion and sauegarde of his realme and people, he leauyng behynd him for gouernor of the realme, the Quene his mother inlawe, departed to the toune of Southhampton, entending there to take ship, and so to transfrete into Fraunce. And to thentent he would steale on the Frenche kyng before he were ware of him, he dispatched Antelop his pursuiuant at Armes with letters, the which the Frenche cronographers declare to be these.

TO the right honorable prince Charles our cossyn of Fraunce & aduersary, Henry by the grace of God kyng of England & of Fraunce. &c. To deliuer to euery man his owne, is a woorke of inspiracion and a deede of sage councel, for right noble prince our cosyn and aduersary, sometymes the noble realmes of England & of Fraunce were vnited, which nowe, be seperated and deuided, and as then they were accustomed to be exalted through the vniuersal worlde by their glorious victories, and it was to them a notable vertue to decore and beautifye the house of God, to the whiche apperteined holynes, and to set a concorde

in Christes religion. And by their agreable warres they brought fortunately the publike enemies to their subiection: but alas this fraternal faith is peruerted to fraternal occasion as Lot persecuted Abrahā by humayne impulsion, but nowe the glory of fraternal loue is deade, and the discent of auncient humaine cōdicion is departed, and mother malice and Ire are resuscitate from death to life, but we call to wytnes the soureigne iudge in cōscience, whiche will not bow either for praier or for giftes, that we to our power for pure loue haue proceaded by all meanes to peace & amite. And sith we haue red in writyng and by coūcel haue learned the iust title of our inheritaunce from vs deteined in preiudice of oure auncient linage, we be not of so small a courage but that we wyll fight to death to obteyne right and iustice: but by the authoritie written in the boke of Deuteronomy, all men are taught whiche come to besiege or assaulte any cytie or fortresse, fyrst to offre peace. And albeit that violence the rauisher of iustice haue takē away of lōg time the noblenes of our croune and oure iuste inheritaunce, yet we by charitie haue done whāt we might to recouer and bryng our old inheritaunce to the first degree and auncient estate, and therefore for faute of iustice, we may returne to armes. Wherfore, that our glorye may be wytnes of our conscience nowe and also by personal request, in the beginning of our iorney to the whiche we are toward for faute of iustice, we exhort you in the bowelles of our sauiour Iesu Christ, whose euangelical doctrine willeth that you ought to render to all men that which you ought to do, and so to do to vs is the will of God oure soureigne lorde and creator. And to thentent that destruccion of Christen people should be exchewed whiche are the images of God, we haue demaunded our right and restitucion of the same from vs wrongfully withholden and deteined, or at the least of suche thynges whiche we haue so often times by our Ambassadors and messengers required & instantly desyred, wherwith we haue offered to be pleased, satisfied and cōtented for the onely reuerence of almightie God & for the vtilitie of a vniuersall peace whiche we thought should haue ensued. And therfore we for our part because of a mariage to be had and cōcluded betwene vs, wer determined to forsake & refuse the fiftie thousand crounes to vs last promised and profered, preferryng peace before riches, & chosyng rather our rightful patrimony to vs by our noble progenitors lawfully deuoluted and discended with oure cossyn your daughter the fayre lady Katherin, rather then for treasure and desire of money the multiplier of iniquitie, shamefully to disheuerite our selfe and the croune of oure realme whiche God forbid. Youen vnder oure priuy seale at our Castel of Hampton on the sea side, the. v. day of August.

WHEN the letter was presented to the French kyng & by his councell well ouerloked, he made answere to the officers of armes that he had well perceiued the content of the letters, wherevpon he would take aduice and prounde for the same in tyme and place conuenient, licensyng the messenger to depart at his pleasure.

¶ THE THIRD YERE.

The. iii. yere. THIS noble prince hauyng his nauy furnished, and all thynges necessary for suche a royal voyage, perceiuyng his freshe capitaines to complain that they had lost so many monethes of the yere in the whiche they might haue done diuerse haute enterprises in the lādes of their enemies, and that nothyng was to thē more odious than prolongyng lingeryng of tyme, determined with all diligence to cause his souldiors to entre his shippes and so to depart.

SE the chaunce, the night before the day of departure appointed, he was credibly informed that Richarde earle of Cambridge brother to Edward duke of Yorke and Henry lorde Scrope & syr Thomas Gray knight had cōpassed his death and finall distruction: wherfore he caused them to be apprehended lamentyng sore his chaunce that he should be compelled to loose such personages by whose valiauntnes and puis-sauuce he should be more dreadful and feareful to his foes & enemies. When these prisoners were examined, they not onely confessed the cōspiracy, but also declared that for a great some of mony which they had receiued of the Frenche kyng, they intēded either to deliuer the kyng a liue into the hande

handes of his enemies, or els to murther him before that he should arriue in the duchy of Normady. When kyng Henry hard al thynges opened whiche he sore desired, he caused all his nobilitie to assemble before his maiestie royal, before whom he caused to be brought the thre great offendors and to them sayd: If you haue conspired the deth and destruction of me whiche am the head of the realme and gouernour of the people, without doubt I must of necessitie thinke that you likewyse haue compassed the confusion of all that be here with me and also the final destruction of your natiue countrey and natural region. And although some priuate Scorpion in your heartes, or some wild worme in your heades hath caused you to conspire my death and confusion, yet you shuld haue spared that deuelish enterprice as long as I was with mine army whiche cannot cõtinue without a capitaine, nor be directed without a guide, nor yet with the destruction of your owne bloud and nacion you should haue pleased a foreign enemy and an auncient aduersary. Wherfore seyng that you haue enterprised so greate a mischiefe, so abhominable a fact, to thentent that your fautors beyng in the armye may abhorre so detestable an offence by the punishement of you, bast you to receiue the payne that for your demerites you haue deserued, & that punishment that by the lawe for your offences is prouided.

WHEN these noble men were executed, the kyng sayd to his lordes, se you not the mad imaginacion of men whiche persecute me that dayely studye, and hourly labour, to my great trauaile and vnquietnes for the aduancement of the publique wealth of this realme and region, and for that cause I spare no payne nor refuse no tyme to thentent to do good to all men and to hurt no man, and thus to do is my dutie & to this as I thinke am I borne. I pray to God that there be none among you that be infected with so much vntruth that had leuer se me destroyed and brought to confusion; rather then to se his countrey florishe encreased with honor and empire. I assure you that I cõceiue no suche opinion in any of you, but put in you both trust & confidence and if I may haue your helpe to beautify my realme and to recouer againe the olde honor of myne auncestours by subduying the Frenche nacion, I for my self wyll forget all peril and paine and be your guide lodesman and conductor. And if you drawe backe and wyll not moue forwarde, beleue me, God wyll so dispose, that hereafter you shalbe deceiued and sore repent had I wyst. When the kyng had finished his saiyng, all the noble men kneled doune & promised faithfully to serue him and duely to obey him, and rather to dye then to suffer him to fall into the handes of his enemies.

THIS done, the kyng thought surely in his conceipte all sedicion to be drouned & vtterly extincte. But if he had cast his eye to the fyre that was newly kindled, he should haue surely sene an horrible flame incesed against the walles of his owne house and family, by the which in conclusion his line and stocke was cleane destroyed and consumed to ashes, whiche fyre at that verye tyme paraduenture might haue bene quenched and put out. For diuerse write that Richard earle of Cambridge did not conspire with the lorde Scrope and sir Thomas Graye to murther kyng Henry to please the Frenche kyng withal, but onely to thentent to exalte to the croune his brotherinlawe Edmond earle of Marche as heyre to duke Lyonel. After whose death considerying that the earle of Marche for diuerse secrete impediments was not hable to haue generacion, he was sure that the croune should come to him by his wife, or to his children. And therfore it is to be thought that he rather cõfessed him selfe for nede of money to be corrupted by the Frẽche kyng, then he would declare his inwarde mynd & open his very entent. For surely he sawe that if his purpose were espied, the earle of March should haue dronken of the same cup that he did, and what should haue come to his owne children he muche doubted. And therfore beyng destitute of comfort and in dispayre of life, to saue his children he fayned that tale, desiryng rather to saue his succession then him selfe, which he did in dede. For Richard duke of Yorke his sonne not priuely but openly claimed the croune, and Edward his sonne both claimed & gained it as hereafter you shall heare, which thyng at this time if kyng Henry had foresene I doubt whether either euer that line should haue either claimed the garlande or gained the game.

WHEN the wynde was prosperous and pleasaunt for the nauye to set forward, they waied vp the Ankers and hoysed vp their sailes and set forward with. xv. C. shippes on the vigile of the Assumpcion of our Lady and toke land at Caux, comonly called Kyd Caux (where the river of Seine runneth into the sea) without resistence or bludsheddyng. The kyng was lodged on the shore in a small priory with the dukes of Clarēce and Gloucester his bretherne: the duke of Excetter and Yorke, the earles, Marshal, Oxforde, Suffolke, Warwicke and other lordes were lodged not farre frō him. The next day after, he marched towarde the toune of Harflewe standing on the riuer of Seyne betwene two hilles and besieged it on euery parte. The capitaine of the toune was the lorde Escouteuile with the lorde Blaynuile of Hacqueuile, the lordes of Harmanuile of Galarde Boyes, of Clere de Becton, of Adsauches, of Brian, of Gaucort, of Lisleadam and many other.

THE Frenche kyng beyng aduertised of the kynges arriuall, sente in all the hast the lorde Delabreche constable of Fraunce and the lorde Boneiqualt Marshall of Fraūce, the Seneschal of Henaude, the lorde Ligny and diuerse other capitaines, whiche fortified tounes with men vitaile and artillary on all the sea coaste. And heryng that the kyng of England had besieged Harflew at his first landyng, came to the castle of Cawdebec beyng not farre from Harflewe, to thentent to succour their frendes which wer besieged if thei might by any pollicy or inuencion, and if not, then they imagined how to sleye and hurte the Englishemen when they went into the countree on foragyng for beastes and vitaill and so trappe and destroye them, for thei cōstrued with themselfes that their vitaile would sone faile because of the ayre of the sea and smell of the water. But they were deceiued, for notwithstandyng the prouision and pollicy of the Frenchemen, the Englishmen forrayed the countree, spoyled the villages and brought many a riche praie to the Campe before Harflewe. Thenglishmen daily ceassed not to assaile the toune, the duke of Gloucester to whō the ordre of the assaulte was comitted, made thre mynes vnder the ground & approched the walles with ordinaunce and engynes, and would not suffre theim within to reste at any tyme. The kyng lyng on the hill side with his battail did not onely kepe the Frenchmen from succoryng of the toune, but also toke awaie from the tounes men all the hope and trust of their succor, aide and relief, and also al the gonnepouder that was sent by the Frenche kyng to them that wer beseged was taken by thenglishmen. The capitaines of the Frēch men within the toune perceiued that they wer not able to resist the continuall inuasions and hourely assaultes of the fierce Englishemenne, and knowyng that their walles were vndermyned and shortely like to fal, & feryng that might happē of the chance if thei should fortune to be ouercome and takē by force, desired of the kyng of England only truce for thre daies, promisyng that if they were not reskewed within thesame tyme, then thei to yeld themselfes and the toune their liues only saued. And to performe this, they deliuered into the kynges possession. xxx. of the beste capitaines and Marchauntes of the toune. The kyng of Englande accepted this offre, lest he entendyng greater exploites might lese his tyme in suche small matters. When this composicion was agreed, the lorde Hacqueuile was sent to the French kyng to declare the necessite of the toune and the shorte tyme of the truce. To whō the dolphin aunswered that the kynges power was not yet assembled in suche a nombre as was conuenient to raise so greate a siege. When the aunswer was reported to the capitaines, they seyng no hope nor similitude of aide and comfort to them commyng, after the third daie rendered to the kyng of Englād the toune, beyng the. xxxvij. daie after that it was besieged, whiche was the daie of sainct Mawrice, to the greate abashement of all Normandy, for it was the soueraigne porte of al that countree. The souldiours wer raunsomed and the toune was sacked to the greate gayne of the Englishemen. The kyng of Englande ordeigned capitain of the toune of Harflew his vncle Thomas duke of Excester whiche established his leuetenaunt there Ibon Fastolffe with. xv. C. men and. xxxv. knightes, whereof the Baron of Carew & sir Hugh Lutterell were two counsaillers. And because diuerse of his nobles lying Harflew were sicke of the flixe and many wer ded, emongest whō therle of Stafford, the bishop of Norwich, the lordes Molins and

Burnell wer foure beside other. The kyng licensed the duke of Clarence his brother, Ihon erle Marshall and Ihon erle of Arundel beyng infected with that desease to returne into Englande.

KYNG Henry not a litle reioysyng of his good lucke and fortunate successe in the beginnyng of his pretensed conquest, determined withal diligence to set forward in performyng his intended purpose and warrely enterprise, bet because Wynter approched faster and more furiously then before that tyme had been accustomed, he was sore troubled and vexed. For the whiche cause he called together al the Cheuetaines and men of pollicy in his armie to consult vpō the procedyng forward and to be sure of waie and redy passage. After long debatyng and muche reasonyng, it was as a thyng bothe necessary and conueniente and fully agreed and determined to set forwarde withall diligence before the dedde tyme of Winter approched, toward the toune of Caleis. And because their goyng forward should be called of slaunderous tongues a runnyng or fliyng awaie, it was decreed that the whole armie should passe the next waie by lande through the middest of their enemies, and yet that iourney was iudged perilous by reason that the numbre was muche minished by the flyxe and other feuers, which sore vexed and brought to death aboue xv. C. persones, whiche was the very cause that the returne was soner concluded and appoincted: but before his departyng he entered into the toune of Harflew and went on foote to the churche of sainct Martynes and there offered. And all the men of warr which had not paied their raunsome, he sware them on the holy Euangelistes to yeld themselfes prisoners at Caleis by the feast of S. Martyn in Nouember nexte, diuerse of the burgesses he highly raunsomed, and a greate part of the women and children he expelled the toune, geuyng to euery poore creature fiue sowse. The priestes had licence to depart leuyng behinde them their substaunce. The goodes in the toune wer innumerable whiche wer al praie to the Englishemen, whiche sent the best into Englande as a remembraunce of good lucke. There were twoo strong toures standyng on the hauen side, whiche lokyng for aid did not yelde ten daies after the toune was rendered.

WHEN the kyng had repaired the walles, fortefied the bulwarkes refresshed the rampiers and furnished the toune with vitail and artillary, he remoued from Harflew toward Pountoyse, entendyng to pas the riuer of Some with his armie before the bridges were ether withdrawen or broken. The Frenche kyng hearyng that the toune of Harflewe was gotten and that the kyng of Englande was marchyng forwarde into the bowelles of the realme, sente out proclamacions and assembled people in euery quarter, comittyng the whole charge of his armie to his sonne the Dolphin & the duke of Aquitayn, whiche incontinent caused the brydges to be broken and all the passages to be defended, beside that they caused all corne and other vitaill to be destroied in all places where they conjectured that thenglishmen would repaire or passe through, to thentent that they might ether kepe thē in a place certain without any passage or departure, and so to destroye them at their pleasures, or els to kepe theim in a straite without vitailes or comfort, and so by famyne ether cause them to dye or yelde.

THE kyng of Englande afflicted with all these incōmoditees at one tyme was nether dismaied nor discoraged, but keping furth his iorney approched to the riuer of Some, where he perceiued that all the bridges wer by his enemies broken and vnframed: wherfore he came to the passage called Blanchetaque where kyng Edwardes greate graundfather passed the riuer of Some before the battaill of Cressy. But the passage was so kepte that he could not passe without great daunger, considerȳg that his enemies wer at his backe & before his face. Wherfore he passed forward to Arannes, burnyng villages & takyng greate booties and euery daie he sent his light horsemen abrode to spye and seke what perilles ther wer at hand, what embushments ther wer laid on the one side or thother, & to find out where he might most sauely pas the riuer. The espialles returned and declared for a truth that the coūtree swarmed with men of warre, wherof he beyng aduertised, set furth in good ordre, kepyng still his waie forwarde and so ordred his armie and placed his cariage, that hauyng his

his enemies on both sides of him, he passed so terribly that his enemies wer afraid once to offre hym battaill, and yet the lorde Delabreth Constable of Fraunce, the Marshall Boncequalt, the erle of Vandosme greate Master of Fraunce and the lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce, the duke of Alanson and the erle of Richemonde withall the puyssance of the Dolphin laie at Abbeuile and durste not once touche his battailes, but euer kepte the passages and coasted alofe like a hauke that liketh not her praie. The kyng of Englande still kept on his iourney till he came to the bridge of saincte Maxence, where he founde aboue xxx.M. Frenchemen and there pitched his felde, lokyng surely to be set on and fought withal. Wherfore to encorage his capitaines the more, he dubbed certain of his hardy & valeant gentlemen knightes, as Iho lord Ferreis of Groby, Reignold of Greistocke, Piers Tempest, Christopher Morisby, Thomas Pikering, Willia Huddleston, Ihon Husbalton, Henry Mortimer, Philip Halle & Willia his brother, & Iaques de Ormod & diuerse other. But when he saw ý the Frenchmen made no semblance to fight, he departed in good ordre of battail by the toune of Amiece to a toune nere to a castle called Bowes, and there laie twoo daies, euery houre lookyng for battaill. And from thence he came nere to Corby where he was staied that night by reason that the come people and peysants of the countree assembled in greate nombre, and the men of Armes of the garrison of Corby skirmished with his armie in the mornyng, which tariyng, was to hym bothe ioyous and proffitable, for there he discomfited the crew of horsmen & drauc the rustical people euen to their gates, & also found there thesame daie a shalow forde betwene Corby & Peron, whiche neuer was espied before. At the whiche he, his armie & cariages the night ensuyng passed the great riuer of Some without let or daungier, the morowe after sainct Lukes daie, determined withall diligence to passe to Caleis, and not to seke for battail except he wer therto constrained & compelled, because that his armie by sickenesse was sore minished and appaired, for he had onely two. M. horsemen and. xiii.M. Archers, bill men and of all sortes. The Englishemen were afflicted in this iourney with an hundred discomodities, for their vitaile was in maner all spent, and newe they could get none, for their enemies had destroyed all the corne before their comyng: Rest they could take none, for their enemies wer euer at hande, daily it reined and nightly it fresed, of fuell was skacenes and of fluxes was plenty, money they had ynough but comforte thei had none. And yet in this great necessitee the poore folkes wer not spoyled nor any thyng without paiment was of the extorted, nor great offence was doen except one, whiche was that a foolishe souldier stale a pixe out of a churche and vnreuerently did eate the holy hostes within thesame conteigned. For whiche cause he was apprehended, and the kyng would not once remoue till the vessel was restored & the offender strangled. The people of the countrees there aboute hearyng of his straight iustice & godly mynd, ministered tohym bothe vitailes & other necessaries, although by open proclamacio they wer therof prohibited.

THE Frenche kyng beyng at Roan, hearyng that the kyng of Englande was passed the water of Some, was not a little discontente, and assembled his counsaill to the numbre of. xxxv. to consult what should be doen, the chief whereof were the Dolphin his sonne whose name was Lewes, callyng hymself kyng of Cicile, the dukes of Berry & Britayn therle of Pontieu the kynges youngest sonne and diuerse other, wherof xxx. agreed that the Englishmen should not departe vnfoughten with all, and fiue wer of the contrary opinion, but the greater numbre ruled the matter. And so Mountioye kyng at Armes was sent to the kyng of Englande to defie hym as the enemie of Fraunce, and to tell hym that heshould shortly haue battaill. Kyng Henry soberly aunswered: Sir myne entent and desire is none other, but to do as it pleaseth almighty God and as it becometh me, for surely I will not seke your Master at this tyme, but if be or his seke me I wil willyngly fight with hym. And if any of your nacion attempt once to stoppe me in my iourney toward Caleis, at their ieopardy be it, and yet my desire is that none of you be so vnaduised or harebrained as to be the occasion that I in my defence shall coloure and make redde your tawny grounde with the deathes

deathes of your selfes and theffusion of Christen bloud. When he had aunswered the haraud, he gaue to him a great reward & licēced him to depart.

WHEN the Lordes of Fraunce heard the kyng of Englandes answere, it was incontinent proclaymed, that all men of warre should resorte to the Constable of Fraunce to fight with the kyng of Englande and his puissaunce. Wherupon all men accustomed to beare Armure and desirous to wyn honor through the realme of Fraunce drewe toward the feld. The Dolphyn sore desired to bee at that battaile, but he was prohibited by the kyng his father, likewise Philip erle of Charolous sonne to the Duke of Burgoyn would gladly haue been at that noble assemble if the duke his father would haue suffred hym, but many of his men stale awaie and went to the Frenchemen.

THE Kyng of Englande informed by his espialles that the daie of battail was nerer then he loked for, dislodged from Bomyers & roade in good arraie through the faire plaine beside the toune of Blangy, where to the intent that his armie should not bee included in a streight or driuen to a corner, he chose a place mete and conueniente for two armies to darrayne battail betwene the tounes of Blangy and Agincourte, where he pight his felde.

THE Constable of Fraunce, the Marshall, the Admirall, the Lorde Rambures Master of the Crossebowes and diuerse lordes and knightes pitched their banners nere to the banner royall of the Constable in the Countee of sainct Paule within the territory of Agincourte, by the whiche waie the Englishemen muste nedes passe towarde Caleis. The Frenchemen made greate fires about their banners, and they were in numbre had. lx. M. horsemen, as their owne historians and writers affirme, beside footemen pages and wagoners, and all that night made greate chere and were very mery. The Englishmen that night sounded their trompettes and diuerse instrumentes Musicall with greate melody, and yet they were bothe hungery, wery, sore traueled and muche vexed with colde deseases: Howbeit they made peace with God, in confessyng their synnes, requiring hym of help, and receiuyng the holy sacramente, euery man encouragyng and determinyng elcrely rather to die then either to yelde or flie.

NOW approched the fortunate faire daie to the Englishemen and the infest and vnlucky daie to the Frenche nobilitee, whiche was the fiue and twenty daie of October in the yere of our Lorde Iesu Christe a thousande foure hundred and fifteene, beeyng then Fridaie and the daie of Crispin and Crispinian. On the whiche daie in the mornyng, the Frenche menne made thre battailes: In the Vaward wer eight thousande Healmes of Knightes and Esquiers and foure thousande Archers and fiftene hundred Crosebowes, which were guyded by the Lord Delabret Constable of Fraunce, hauyng with hym the dukes of Orleaunce and Burbone, therles of Ewe and Richmond the Marshall Bonciqualt and the Master of the Crosebowes; the Lorde Dampier Admirall of Fraunce and other capitaines. And the erle of Vandosme and other the kynges officers with. xvj. C. men of Armes wer ordred for a wyng to that battail. And the other wyng was guided by sir Guyshard Dolphyn and sir Clugnet of Brabant and sir Lewes of Burbon with. viij. C. menne of Armes, of chosen and elect persones. And to breake the shot of the Englishemen wer appointcted sir Guylliā of Saueśens with Hector and Philip his brethren. Ferry of Maylley and Alen of Gaspanes with other. viij. C. men of Armes. In the midle ward wer assigned as many persones or mo as wer in the formoste battail, and therof was the charge comitted to the dukes of Barr and Alenson, therles of Neuers, Vawdemont, Blamoūt, Salynges, Graūtpree and of Roussy. And in the rerewarde were all the other men of Armes, guyded by the erles of Marle, Dampmartyne, Fawquenberge and the Lorde of Lourrey Capitayne of Arde, who had with hym men of the Frontiers of Bolonoys.

The battaile of Agincourt.

WHEN these battailes were thus ordred, it was a glorious sight to behold thē, and surely they wer estemed to be in numbre sixe times as many or more then was the whole compaigny of the Englishmen with wagoners pages and all. Thus the Frenchmen wer euery man vnder his banner only waityng for the blouddy blast of the terrible trompet, and in this ordre they continued restyng themselfes and reconciling euery one to other for all old rancors and hatredes whiche had been betwene theim, till the houre betwene. ix. and. x. of the daie. Duryng

whiche season, the Constable of Fraunce saied openly to the capitaynes in effecte as foloweth.

The oracion of the Cõstable of Fraũce.

FRENDES and companions in armes, I cãnot but bothe reioyce and lament the chances & fortunes of these two armies whiche I openly se and behold with myne iyes here presente. I reioyce for the victorie whiche I se at hand for our part, and I lamẽt and sorow for the misery and calamitee whiche I perceiue to approche to the otherside: For wee cannot but be victours and triũphant conquerors, for who saw euer so florisshyng an armie within any christian region, or suche a multitude of valiaunt persones in one compaignie? Is not here the flower of the Frenche nacion on barded horsses with sharpe speares and dedly weapons? Are not here the bold Britons with fiery handgõnes and sharpe swerdes? Se you not present the practised Pickardes with strong and weightie Crossebowes? Beside these, we haue the fierce Brabanders & strong Almaines with long pykes and cuttyng slaughtmosses. And on the otherside is a smal handfull of pore Englishmen whiche are entred into this region in hope of some gain or desire of proffite, whiche by reson that their vitaill is cõsumed & spent, are by daily famyn sore wekened, consumed & almost without spirites: for their force is clerly abated and their strength vtterly decaied, so ẏ or the battailes shall ioyne they shalbe for very feblenes vãquished & ouercom, & in stede of men ye shal fight with shadowes. For you must vnderstand, ẏ kepe an Englishmã one moneth from his warme bed, fat befe and stale drynke, and let him that season tast colde and suffre hunger, you then shall se his courage abated, his bodye waxe leane and bare, and euer desirous to returne into his owne countrey. Experience now declareth this to be true, for if famine had not pinched them, or colde wether had not nipped them surely they would haue made their progresse farther into Fraunce, and not by so many perilous passages retired towarde Calays. Suche courage is in Englishmen when fayre weather and vitaile folow them, and suche weaknes they haue when famine and cold vexe and trouble them. Therfore nowe it is no mastery to vanquishe and ouerthrowe them, beyng both wery & weake, for by reason of feblenes and faintnes their weapones shal fal out of their handes when they profer to strike, so that ye may no easilier kyll a poore shepe then destroye them beyng alredy sicke & hungerstaruen. But imagyn that they wer lusty, strong and couragious, and then ponder wisely the cause of their cõmyng hither, and the meanyng of their enterprice: Fyrst their king a yong striplyng (more mete for a tenice playe then a warlike campe), claimeth the croune, scepter and souereigntie of the verye substance of the Frenche nacion by battaile: then he and his entende to occupy this countrey, inhabite this land, destroy our wiues and children, extinguishe our blud and put our names in the blacke boke of oblioion. Wherfore remembre wel, in what quarel can you better fight then for the tuiciõ of your natural countrey, the honor of your prince, the surety of your children and the sauegard of your land and liues. If these causes do not encourage you to fight, beholde before your eyes the tẽtes of your enemies, with treasure, plate & iewels wel stuffed and richely furnished, which pray is surely yours if euery mã strike but one stroke, besyde the great raunsomes whiche shalbe paied for riche capitaines and welthy prisoners, whiche as surely shall be yours as you now had them in your possession. Yet this thyng I charge you withal, that in nowise the kyng him selfe be killed, but by force or otherwise to be apprehẽded & taken to the entent that with glorye & triumphe we may conuey him openly through the noble cytie of Paris to oure kyng and dolphyn as a testimony of our victory & witnes of our noble act. And of this thyng you be sure, that fly they cannot, and to yelde to our fight of necessitie they shalbe compelled. Therfore good felowes take courage to you, the victory is yours, the gaine is yours & the honor is yours without great laboure or muche losse.

KYNG Henry also like a leader & not like one led, like a souereigne and not like a souldior ordred his men for his most aduantage like an expert capitaine and a couragious warriẽr. And fyrst he sent priuely CC. archers into a low medowe which was nere to the forward of his enemies, but separate with a great diche, and were there commaunded to kepe them selues close tyl they had a token to them geuen to shote at their aduersaries. Beside this

this he appointed a vawarde, of the which he made capitayne Edward duke of Yorke whiche of a haute courage had of the kyng required and obteined that office: and with him were the lordes Beaumond, Wyllougbby and Fanhope, and this battaile was all archers. The middle ward was gouerned by the kyng him self with his brother the duke of Gloucester, & the erles Marshal, Oxford and Suffolke, in the which wer al the strong bilmen, The duke of Exceter vncle to the kyng led the rereward, whiche was mixed both with archers & bilmen. The horsemen like winges went on euery side of the battaile. When the king had thus ordred his battaile, like a puissaunt cõqueror without feare of his enemies, yet cõsidering the multitude of them farre to excede the smal nombre of his people, doubtyng that the Frenchemen would compasse and beset him aboute, and so fight with him on euery side, to thentent to vaquish the power of the French horsmen whiche might breake the ordre and arraye of his Archers, in whom the whole force of the battaile did consist and in maner remaine he caused stakes bound with yron sharpe at both endes of the length of v. or. vi. fote to be pitched before the Archers and of euery side the fote men like an edge, to the entent that if the barde horses ranne rashely vpõ them, they might shortely be gored and destroied, & appointed certeine persons to remoue the stakes when the Archers moued, and as tyme required: so that the fotemen were hedged about with the stakes, and the horsemen stode like a bulwerke betwene thẽ and their enemies without the stakes. This deuice of fortifyng an armye was at this tyme fyrst inuented, but sence that tyme, they haue imagined caltrappes, harowes and other newe trickes to defende the force of the horsmen so that if the enemies at auenture runne against their engines, either sodeinly their horses be wounded with the stakes, or their feete hurt with the other engines, so that of very necessitie for paine, the sely pore beastes are compelled to fal and tumble to the ground. When he had ordred thus his battailes, he left a smal company to kepe his campe & baggage, and then callyng his capitaines and soldiours about him, he made to them an heartie Oracion in effect as foloweth, saiyng.

The oracion of kyng Henry the fift.

WELBELOUED frendes and countrymen, I exhort you heartely to thinke and conceiue in yourselues that this daye shalbe to vs all a day of ioy, a day of good lucke and a day of victory: For truely if you well note and wisely considre all thynges, almighty God vnder whose protection we be come hither, hath appointed a place so mete and apt for our purpose as we our selves could nether haue deuised nor wished whiche as it is apt and conuenient for our smal nombre and litle army so is it vnprofitable and vnmete for a great multitude to fight or geue battaile in: and in especial for suche men in whom is neither constant faith nor securitie of promise, whiche persons be of God neither fauored nor regarded, nor he is not accustomed to ayde and succoure suche people whiche by force and strength contrary to right & reason detain and kepe from other their iust patrimony and lauful inheritance, with whiche blotte and spotte the Frenche nacion is apparantly defyled and distained: so that God of his iustice wyll scourge and afflicte them for their manifest iniuries and open wronges to vs and our realme dayly committed and done. Therfore puttyng your onely trust in him, let not their multitude feare youre heartes, nor their great nombre abate your courage: for surely old warlike fathers haue both said and written that the more people that an army is, the lesse knowledge the multitude hath of material feates or politique practises, whiche rude rustical and ignorant persons shalbe in the feld vnto hardy capitaines and lusty men of warre a great let and sore impediment. And though they al were of like pollicy, like audacitie and of one vniforme experience in marcial affayres, yet we ought neither to feare them nor once to shrinke for them consideryng that we come in the right, whiche euer of God is fauored, set furth and auanced: in whiche good and iust quarel al good persons shal rather set bothe theyr feete forward, then once to turne theyr one heale backward. For if you aduenture your liues in so iust a battaile & so good a cause, whiche way soeuer fortune turne her whele, you shalbe sure of fame, glory and renoune: If you be victors and ouercome your enemies, your strength and vertue shalbe spred and dispersed through the whole world: If you ouerpressed with so great a multitude shal happẽ to be

slaine or taken yet neither reproche can be to you ascribed, either yet infamy of you reported, consideryng that Hercules alone was not equiuolent vnto. ii. men, nor a smal handfull is not equal to a great nombre, for victory is the gift of God and consisteth not in the puissaunce of men. Wherfore manfully set on your enemies at theyr fyrst encountre, strike with a hardy courage on the false hearted Frenchemen, whom youre noble auncestours haue so often ouercome and vanquished. For surely they be not so strong to geue the onset vpō you, but they be much weaker to abide your strēgth in a long fight and tyred battaile. As for me I assure you al, that England for my person shall neuer paye raunsome, nor neuer Frencheman shall triumph ouer me as his capitain, for this day by famous death or glorious victory I wyl wynne honor and obtaine fame. Therfore now ioyously prepare your selues to the battaile and couragiously fight with your enemies, for at this very tyme all the realme of Englande praieth for our good lucke and prosperous successe.

WHILE the kyng was thus speakyng, eche armye so maligned & grudged at the other beyng in open sight and euident apparence, that euery man cried furth, furth, forward forward. The dukes of Clarēce Gloucester and Yorke were of the same opinion, thinkyng it most conuenient to marche toward theyr enemies with al spede & celeritie, least in prolongyng of tyme and arguyng of opinions, the Frenche armye might more and more increace & hourly multiply. Howbeit the kyng taried a while least any ieopardy were not forsene, or any hazard not preuented.

THE Frenchemen in the meane season litle or nothyng regardyng the small nombre of thenglishe nacion, were of suche haute courage and proud stomackes that they took no thought for the battaile, as who saye they were victours and ouercomers before any stroke was striken, and laughed at the Englishmen, and for very prid thought thē selues lifted into heauen iestyng and boastyng that they had thenglish men inclosed in a straight and had ouercome and takē them without any resistance. The capitaines determined howe to deuide the spoyle: the souldiors plaied the Englishmen at dice: the noble men deuised a chariot how they might triumphantly conueigh kyng Henrye beyng captiue to the cytie of Paris, cryyng to theyr souldiors, hast your selues to obtaine spoile, glory and honor, to thentent that we may study howe to geue you thankes for the great giftes and rewardes which we hope to receiue of your great liberalitie. The folishe folye of this vaine solace brake out so farre, that messengers were sent to the cyties and tounes adioyning, willyng them to make open playes and triumphes, (as though that the victory were to them certaine & no resistance could appeare) and also to geue God thankes for their prosperous act and notable dede, not remembryng that the whirlewynd shortely with a puffe blew away al their folishe ioy and phantastical braggyng.

Of this doyng you may gather, that it is asmuche madness to make a determinate iudgement of thinges to come, as it is wisdome to doubt what wyl folowe of thinges begōne. I may not forget how the Frēche men beyng in this pleasaunt pastyme, sent a herault to kyng Henry to inquyre what raunsome he wold offre, and how he answered that within. ii. or. iii. houres he hoped that it should so happen that the Frenchemen should cōmen rather with thenglishmen how to be redemed, then the Englishmen should take thought how to pay any raūsome or money for theyr deliuerance: asserteinyng them for him selfe that his dead carion should rather be their pray, then his liuyng body should pay any raunsome. When the messenger was departed, the Frenchmen put on theyr healmettes and set thē in ordre vnder theyr banners, richely armed and gorgeously trapped and caused theyr trumpettes to blowe to the battaile.

THE Englishemen perceiuyng that, sette a lytle forwarde, before whom there went an old knight called syr Thomas of Herpingham, a man of great experience in warre, with a warder in his hand, and when he cast vp his warder, al the army shouted, at the which the Frenchmen muche marueiled, but that was a sign to the Archers in the meadowe, which knowing the token, shot wholy altogether at the vaward of the Frenchemen. When they perceiued

perceiued the archers in the meadow, whō they saw not before, and sawe they could not come to them for a diche, they with al hast set on kyng Henries forwarde, but or they ioyned, the archers in the forfront and the archers on the side whiche stode in the meadow, so wounded the fotemen, so galled the horses and so combred the men of armes that the fotemen durst not go forward, the horsemen rāne in plumpes without ordre, some ouerthrew his felow, and horses ouerthrew their maisters: So at the fyrst ioynyng, as the Frenchemen wer clearely discouraged, so thenglishmen were muche chered. When the Frenche vaward was thus discomfited, the English archers cast away theyr bowes & toke into theyr handes axes, malles and swordes, billes and other weapons, and therwith slewe the Frenchmen tyll they came to the middleward. Then the king approched and encouraged his souldiors, that shortly the second battaile was ouerthrowen and dispersed not without great slaughter of men: howbeit diuers beyng wounded wer releued by their varlettes and conueighed out of the felde, for the Englishmen so sore labored with fightyng and slaiyng, and wer so busy in takyng of prisoners that they folowed no chace, nor would once breake out of the battaile. The Frenchmen strongly wstode the fearcenes of Thenglishmen when thei came to hādy strokes, so that the fight was very doubtful & perilous. And when one part of the Frenchhorse men thought to haue entred into the kynges battaille, they were with the stakes ouer turned, and either slain or taken.

THUS this battaile continued. iii. long houres, some strake, some defēded, some foyned, some trauersed, some kylled, some toke prisoners noman was idle, euery man fought either in hope of victory or glad to saue him selfe. The kyng that day shewed him selfe like a valiaunt knight, whiche notwithstandyng that he was almost felled with the duke of Alaunson, yet with plain strength he slew. ii. of the dukes company and felled the duke: but when the duke would haue yelded him, the kynges garde cōtrary to the kynges minde outragiously slewe him. And in conclusion, mindyng to make an ende of that daies iorney, caused his horsmen to fetch a compasse about & to ioyne with him against the rereward of Fraunce: in the whiche battaile were the greatest nombre of people. When the Frenchmen perceiued his entent, they wer sodenly amased and ranne away like shepe without aray or ordre.

When the kyng perceiued the banners cast doune & the aray was clerely broken, he encoraged his souldiors and folowed so quickly that the Frenchmen turnyng to flight, ranne hither and thither not knowyng whiche way to take, castyng away their armure and on theyr knes desired to haue theyr liues saued. In the meane season while the battaile thus continued and that thenglishmen had taken a great nōbre of prisoners, certain Frenchmen on horsbacke wherof were captaines Robinet of Borneuile, Rifflart of Clamas and Isambert of Agincourt and other men of Armes to the nombre of. vi. C. horsemen: whiche fled fyrst from the felde at theyr fyrst commyng and hearyng that the Englishe tentes and pauilions were farre from the army without any great nōbre of kepers or persons mete and cōuenient for defence, partly moued and styrred with coueteous desire of spoyle and pray, and partly entendyng by some notable act to reuenge the damage and displeasure done to them & theirs in battail the same day, entred into the kynges campe beyng voide of men and fortefied with varlettes & lackeys, and ther spoyled bales, robbed tentes, brake vp chestes and caried awaye caskettes and slewe suche seruantes as they could fynd in the tentes and pauilions. For the whiche act thei wer long imprisoned and sore punished and like to haue lost their liues if the Dolphyn had longer liued.

WHEN the kyng by a feareful messenger was of this euil acte sodainly aduertised, and when the outcery of the lackeys and boyes whiche rāne away for feare of the robbers was heard into the felde, saiyng that the Frenchmen had robbed all the tentes and lodgynges of the Englishmen, he fearyng least his enemies beyng dispersed and scattered abroad should gather together againe and beginne a new felde: and doubtyng farther that the prisoners would ether be an aide to his enemies or very enemies to him if he should suffre them to liue, contrary to his accustomed gentlenes and pitie he cōmaunded by the sounde of a ompet that euery man vpon paine of death should incōtinently sley his prisoner. When

this

this dolorous decre & pitiful proclamaciō was pronounced, pitie it was to se and lothsome it was to behold how some Frenchmen wer sodainly sticked with daggers, some wer brained with polaxes, some wer slain with malles, other had theyr throtes cut and some their bellies paunched: so that in effecte hauyng respecte to the greate nombre, few prisoners or none were saued.

WHEN this lamentable manslaughter was finished, thenglishemen forgettyng their woundes and hurtes and not remembring what paine they had sustained all day in fightyng with their enemies, as men that wer freshe and lusty, ranged them selues again in aray both prest and redy to abide a newe felde, and also to inuade and newly to set on theyr enemies, and so couragiously thei set on the earles of Marle and Fauconbrige and the lordes of Louray & of Thyne, whiche with. vi. C. men of armes had all day kept together and slew them out of hand.

When the kyng had passed through the felde & saw neither resistence nor apparaunce of any Frenchmen sauyng the dead corsses, he caused the retrayte to be blowen and brought al his armie together about. iiij. of the clocke at after noone. And fyrst to geue thankes to almightie God geuer & tributor of this glorious victory, he caused his prelates & chapelaines fyrst to sing this psalme In exitu Israel de Egipto. &c. commaundyng euery man to knele doune on the ground at this verse. Non nobis domine, non nobis, sed nomine tuo da gloriam, whiche is to say in Englishe, Not to vs lord, not to vs, but to thy name let the glory be geuen: whiche done he caused Te deum with certeine anthemes to be song geuyng laudes and praisynges to God, and not boastyng nor braggyng of him selfe nor his humane power.

THAT night he toke refreshyng of suche as he found in the Frēche campe, and in the mornyng Moūtioy kyng at armes and. iiij. Heraultes came to him to know the nombre of prisoners and to desire buriall for them whiche were slaine. Before he could make any answere to the Heraultes he remembryng that it is more honorable to bee praised of his enemies then to be extolled of his frendes: and he that praiseth him self lacketh louyng neighbors: wherfore he demaunded of thē why they made to hym that request, considryng that he knew not certainly whether the praise & the victory wer mete to be attributed to him or to their nacion. Oh lorde q^h Mountioy kyng at armes, thinke you vs officers of armes to be rude and bestial persones? If we for the affection that we beare to our naturall countrey, would ether for fauor or mede hide or deny your glorious victory: The foules of the aire, the wormes of the ground fedyng on the multitude of the ded carions, by your onely puyssauuce destroyed and confounded, will beare witnesse against vs, ye and muche more the captiues whiche be liuing and in your possessiō with their wiues and litle infauntes will saie wee bee open liers and vntrue taletellers: Wherfore accordyng to the duety of our office whiche is or should bee alwaies indifferently to write and truely to iudge, we saie, determyne and affirme that the victory is yours, the honour is yours and yours is the glory, aduisyng you, as you haue manfully gotten it, so politikely to vse it. Well saied the kyng, seeyng this is your determinacion, I willyngly accept the same, desiryng you to know the name of the castle nere adioynyng. When they had answered that it was called Agyncourt, he said that this conflict should be called the battaill of Agyncourt, whiche victory hath not been obteigned by vs nor our power, but only by the suffraunce of GOD for iniury and vntruth that we haue receiued at the handes of your Prince and his nacion. That daie he feasted the French officers of Armes and graunted to theim their request, whiche busily sought through the felde for such as wer slain, but the Englishmen suffred them not to go alone for thei searched with them and found many hurt but not in ieopardy of their life, whom thei toke prisoners and brought them into their tentes.

WHEN the kyng of Englande had well refreshed hymself and his souldiours and had taken the spoyle of suche as were slain, he with his prisoners in good ordre returned to his toune of Caleis. When tidynges of this notable victory was blowen into Englande, sotempne processions and other praisynges to almightie GOD, with bonefiers and dances wer

ordeined in euery toune, citee and borough, and the Maire and the citizens of the citee of London went the morowe after the daie of sainct Simon and Iude from the Churche of Sainct Paule to the church of S. Peter at Westminster in deuoute manner, rendryng to God their moste humble and heartie thankes for his haboundant grace and fortunate lucke geuen and sent to the kyng their souereigne lorde.

WHEN the kyng of Englande was departed the sondaie toward Caleis, diuerse Frenchmen repaired to the plain where the battaill was and remoued againe the ded bodies, some to finde their lordes and masters and theim to conueigh into their countrees there to bee buried, some to spoyle and take the reliques whiche the Englishemen had left behinde: For thei toke nothing but gold, siluer, iuelles, riche apparell and costly armure. But the ploughmen and peysantes spoyled the ded carkasses, leuyng theim nether shirte nor cloute, and so thei laie starke naked till Wednesdaie. On the whiche daie diuerse of the noble men wer conueighed into their countrees and the remnant were by Philip erle Charoloys (sore lamentyng the chaunce and moued with pitee) at his cost and charge buried in a square plot of. xv.C. yardes, in the which he caused to be made thre pittes, wherin wer buried by accompt. v.M. and. viii.C. persons beside them that wer caried awaie by their frendes and seruauntes, and other whiche beyng wounded to death died in Hospitalles and other places, whiche groue after was made a churche yarde, and for feare of Wolues enclosed with a high walle.

AFTER this dolorus iorney and piteous slaughter, diuerse clerckes of Paris made many lamentable Verses, complainyng that the kyng reigned by will, and that cōsaillers wer perciall, affirmyng that the noble men fled fagainst nature, and that the commons were destroyed by their prodigalite, declaryng also that the clergy wer dombe and durst not saie the truth, and that the humble cōmons duely obeyed and yet euer suffred ponishement: For whiche cause by persecucion deuine, the lesse numbre vanquished, and the great was ouercome. Wherfore thei concluded that all thynges were out of ordre, and yet there was no man that studied to bryng the unruly to frame. And no meruel though this battaill were dolorus and lamentable to the Frenche nacion, for in it were taken and slayn the flower of all the nobilite of Fraunce, for there wer taken prisoners

Charles duke of Orleaunce nephew to the Frenche kyng.

Ihon duke of Burbone.
Ihon of Craon lord of Dommart.
The Lorde of Fossenx.
The Lorde of Humyers.
The Lorde of Roye.
The Lorde of Cauny.
Sir Borsqueret lorde of Hācourt.
The lorde of Noell called the whit knight and Bado his sonne.
Lorde Boncequalt Marshall of Fraunce whiche died in Englād.
The young Lorde of Dynchy.
Sir Ihon of Vawcort.
Sir Arthure Bremyer.
Sir Ienet of Poys.
The sōne & heire of the lord Ligny.
Sir Gylbert de lawney.
The Lorde Dancobe in Ternoys and diuerse other to the numbre of fiftene hūdred knightes and Esquiers besyde the common people.

There wer slain of nobles and gentlemen.

Charles lorde Delabreth hie Constable of Fraunce.
Jaques of Chastilon lorde of Dāpier Admirall of Fraunce.
The Lorde Rambures Master of the Crossebowes.
Sir Guyshard Dolphyn greate Master of Fraunce.
Ihon duke of Alaunson.
Anthony duke of Brabant brother to the duke of Burgoyn.
Edward duke of Barre.
Therle Neuers brother to ỹ duke of Burgoyn.
Sir Robert Barre erle of Marle.
The erle of Vawdemont.
The erle of Bawmont.
The erle of Graundpre.

The

The erle of Roussy.
The erle of Faucenberge.
The erle of Foys.
The erle of Lestrake.
The lorde Boys of Burbon.
The Vidane of Amias.
The lord of Croye.
The lord Belly.
The lord Dauxcy.
The lord of Brenew.
The lord of Paix standard berar.
The lord of Crequy.
The lord of Lowrey.
The Baily of Amience & his sonne.
The lord of Raynuale.
The lord of Lõguale his brother.
The lord of Mawley & his sonne.
The lord of Diuirie.
The lord of Newffile.
The lord of Galigny.
The lord of Rocheguiche.
The Vicedane of Lamoys.
The lord de Laligier.
The lord of Baffremont.
The lord saínct Bris.
The lord of Contes and his sonne.
The lord of Nannes & his brother.
The lord of Ront.
The lord of Applincort.
The lord Delariuer

with diuerse other whiche I leaue out for tediousnes. But surely by the relacion of the Heraultes and declaracion of other notable persons worthy of credite as Enguerrant writeth, there were slain on the Frenche parte aboue ten thousande persones wherof wer princes and nobles bearyng banners Cxxvi. and all the remnant sauyng. xvi. C. wer knightes esquiers and gentlemen: so of noble men and gentlemen were slain. viii. M. iiii. C, of the whiche. v. C. wer dubbed knightes the night before the battaill. Frõ the felde escaped on liue, the erle Dampmartyn, the lorde Delariuier, Clunet of Brabante, sir Lewes of Burbon, sir Galiot of Gaules, sir Ihon Dengermes and fewe other men of name.

OF Englishemen at this battaill wer slain Edward duke of Yorke therle of Suffolk, sir Richard Kikely & Dauygãme esquire, & of al other not aboue. xxv. if you wil geue credite to such as write miracles: but other writers whom I soner beleue, affirme that there was slain aboue v. or vj. C. persons, whiche is not vnlike, considryng ỹ the battail was earnestly and furiously fought by the space of three long houres wherfore it is not incredible nor yet vnpossible but more Englishmen then fiue and twenty were slain and destroyed.

THIS battail maie be a mirror and glasse to al Christian princes to beholde and folowe, for kyng Henry nether trusted in the puissaunce of his people, nor in the fortitude of his champions, nor in the strength of his barded horses, nor yet in his owne pollicy, but he putte in GOD (whiche is the corner stone and immouable rocke) his whole cõfidence hope & trust. And he which neuer leaueth them destitute that put their confidence in hym, sent to hym this glorious victory, whiche victory is almoste incredible if we had not redde in the boke of kynges that God likewise had defended and aided them that onely put their trust in him and committed them selfes wholy to his gouernaunce.

AFTER that the kyng of Englande had refreshed hymself and his souldiours in the toune of Caleis, and that suche prisoners as he had left at Harfflew (as you haue heard) wer come to hym to Calcis: the. vi. daie of Nouembre he with all his prisoners toke shippyng at Caleis, and thesame daie landed at Douer, hauyng with hym the ded bodies of the duke of Yorke and the erle of Suffolke, and caused the duke to bee buried at his colledge of Fodryngbey, and therle at Ewhelme. In this passage the seas were so rough and trobleous that two shippes laden with souldiers apperteignyng to sir Ihon Cornewal lorde Fanhope, wer driuen into zelande, howbeit nothyng was lost nor no person was perished. The kyng by soft iorneies with al his prisoners cam to London and so to Westminster, where he rested hymself a conueniẽt tyme to deliuer his prisoners to their kepers, and to se them all in saue custody. Here I might declare vnto you if I would bee tedious and prolixe, how the Mayre of London and the Senate appareled in oriẽt grayned Skarlet, how. ij. C. comoners clad in beautiful Murrey wel mounted and gorgeously horsed with riche collers and greate chaynes met the kyng at Blackhethe, reioysyng at his victorious returne. How the clergie

of

of London with riche crosses, sūpteous copes & massy cēsers receiued hym at. s. Thomas of Watering with solēpne procession laudyng and praisyng God for the high honor and victory to hym geuen & graunted: but all these thynges I omit and returne to the very matter.

WHEN the dolorus tidynges of this bloudy battail was declared to the Frenche kyng beyng then at Roan, and with hym the Dolphyn, the dukes of Berry and Briteyne and his second sonne therle of Ponthew, if he lamented this chaunce and cursed that euill daie in the whiche he lost so many noble men, no man haue maruaill. And yet the dolor was not onely his, for the ladies souned for the deathes of their husebandes, the Orphalines wept and rent their heares for the losse of their parentes, the faire damoselles defied that day in the whiche they had lost their paramors, the seruātes waxed mad for destruccīō of their masters, and finally, euery frend for his frend, euery cosyn for his alye, euery neighbor for his neighbor, was sorry, displeased & greued. Wherfore the Frenche kyng and his counsaill perceiuyng that the war was but newly begon, and that towarde them with euill spede, determined to prouide for chances that might folowe, and to forsee thynges or thei sodainly happened. And first he elected his chief officer for the warres called the Constable, whiche was therle of Arminack, a wise and a pollitique capitain and an auncient enemy to thenglishmen, and sir Ihon of Corsey was made Master of the Crosbowes, and then they fortefied tounes & furnished garrisons. While these thynges were thus in workyng, either for Malencoly that he had for the losse at Agincourt or by some sodein desease, Ihon Dolphyn of Vienoys heire apparaunte to Charles the Frenche kyng departed out of this naturall life without issue, whiche was an happy chaunce for Robynet of Bournouile and his compaignions as you haue heard before, for his death was their life, and his life would haue been their death.

¶ THE FOURTH YERE.

The. iiii. yere.

AFter this notable victory obteigned by the Englishemen and that kyng Henry was departed into England, and the Frenche kyng had made newe officers in hope to releue and sette vp again the olde estate of his realme and coūtrie. Thomas duke of Excester capitain of Harflew accompaignied with tire. M. Englishmen made a great roade into Normandy, almoste to the citee of Roan: In whiche iorney he gat great habundance bothe of riches and prisoners. But in his returne therle of Arminacke newly made Conestable of Fraunce, entendyng in his first iorney to wynne his spurres, and in his compaignie aboue. v.M. horsse-men, encountred with hym. The skirmishe was sore and the fight fierce, but because the Englishemen wer not able to resist the force of the Frenche horsemen, the duke to saue his men was compelled to retire, as politiquely as he could deuise: But for all that he could do, he loste almoste. ccc. of his fotemen. The Frenchemen not contēt with this good lucke folowed theim almoste to the Barriers of Harflew. When the Englishemen within the toune espied the chace, thei issued out in good ordre and met with their enemies, and not onely slew and toke a greate numbre of theim, but also chased them aboue eighte miles toward the citee of Roan.

ABOVTE this ceason Sigismond Emperor of Almayn whiche had maried Barbara doughter to therle of zilie cosyn germain remoued to kyng Henry (as by the pedigre set out in the end of this boke you shall plainly perciue) a man of greate vertue and fidelitie, whiche had not onely long labored to set an vnitee and cōcord in Christes churche and christian religiō, but also he sent diuerse Ambassadors aswel to ỹ Frēche kyng as to the kyng of Englande, because he was farre distaunt from their countries and regions to encrease perfight peace and reasonable vnitie. Wherfore, seyng that his Ambassade brought nothyng to conclusion, he in person came frō the farthest part of Hūgary into Fraūce and after into England, intendyng to knit together all christen princes in one line and amitee, and so beyng frendes together, to make war and reuenge their quarelles against the Turke the persecutor of Christes faithe and enemie to all christendome. With this noble Emperor came

the Archebishop of Reynes and diuerse other noble men, as Ambassadors frō the Frenche kyng into England. The kyng of England for old amitee betwene the hous of Englande and Beame, withall his nobilitee hym receiued on Blackheth the. vii. daie of Maie, & brought him through London to Westminster with greate triumphe, where Iustes, tournayes and other marciall feates wer to hym with all ioye and pleasure shewed and set furth. During whiche tyme there came into Englande Albert duke of hollande, whiche also was frendly entreteigned. And these two princes were by the kyng conueiged to Wynsore to. S. Georges feast, and elected compaignions of the noble ordre of the Garter, and had the color and habite of the same to theim deliuered, and satte in their stalles all the solempnitee of the feast: by the whiche ordre thei knowledged themselfes highly honored and muche exalted. After this solempne feast finished, the duke of Holland well feasted and greatly rewarded, returned into his countrie. But the Emperor taried stil, neuer ceasyng to declare & perswade what vtilitee, what goodnes and what ioye might ensue if bothe the realmes of Englande and Fraunce wer brought to a finall concord and perfight vnitee. But the euill chaunce of the Frenche nacion was to his purpose a barre and a lette, because thei were predestinate to suffre yet more plagues and detrimentes of thenglishe people then before thei had tasted. For when concorde was at hand and peace was enteryng into the gates, a newe cause of more discord and dissencion sodainly brake out and came to the kynges knowledge: for he beyng informed of the losse of his mē at the conflict late had in the territory of Roan (as you haue heard) was so displeased and vnquieted that he would heare of no treaty, nor haue once this word peace named.

THE Emperor like a wise prince, seyng then the aspect of the planet reigned contrary to his purpose, ceassed to talke of that matter any more till another daie when the coniūccion should be in more meker signes stirryng to peace. And so when a mete & conueniēt tyme came, he broched again the vessell of cocord and amitee, & put it in so faire a cup and presented it with suche pleasant wordes, that surely the kyng had tasted it sufficiently if ȳ Frenchmē had not sodainly prepared a new army. For therle of Arminacke puffed vp with his last victory, although the honor wer small and the gaine lesse, determined clerely to get again the toune of Harflewe, wherfore as closely as he could, he gathered together men in euery part, and appoincted them all to mete at Harflew at a daie assigned. The appoinctment was kept and the toune was besieged bothe by water & land before the capitaines of the toune knewe perfightly the first mocion. For Ihon Vicount Narbon Viceadmirall of Fraunce had brought the whole nauy to the riuage and shore adioynyng to the toune, entendyng priuely to haue enterd into the toune on the water side or he had been perceiued. But his subtile ymaginacion toke no place, for thei which kept the watch toure, sodainly perceiuyng their enemies to approche, rang the alarum bell. The duke of Excester incontinent caused all his men to repaire to the walles, and fortified the gates, and dispatched a swifte Barke to kyng Henry with letters, requiryng hym of aide and succor. Although the Frenchemen perceiued that their wyly enterprise was knowen, and that the toune could not be taken and sodenly stollen as they had deuised, yet they cōtinued their siege both by water and by land, and made diuers assaultes, at the whiche if they nothyng gained, yet euer somewhat they lost. When these newes were come to the eares of kyng Henry, and that he knew that his people were in great ieopardye excepte great diligence were vsed for their relief and deliuerance, he without delay apparelled a great nauy & intended in person to minister succors to his subiectes so besieged. The emperor Sigismond sagely disuaded him and wisely counsailed him not to aduenture him selfe in that iorney, but only to send some valiant captain whiche shortly might appeace that furious storme & quickly to queuche that blasyng flame: aduertisyng hym that it was neither necessary nor honorable for a prince in whom the whole waight and charge of the cōmon welth consisteth, to aduenture & hazard him self in euery peril and doubtful chaunce. The kyng beyng persuaded with the reasonable and louyng aduertisment of his frende the emperor, appoincted the duke of Bedforde his brother, accompanied with therles of Marche, Marshal, Oxford,

Huntyngdon, Warwicke, Arundel, Salisbury, Deuonshire, and diuers Barons with. CC. sayle to passe into Normandy for reskew of the toune of Harflew. Whiche makyng good expedicion shipped at Rye, and with a prosperous wind and a freshe gale came to the mouth of the riuer of Seyn on the day of the Assumpcion of our Lady. When the vicount Narbon perceiued the Englishe nauy to approche, he geuyng a token to all his company, coragiously set toward his enemies & gate the possession of the mouth of the hauen. When the duke of Bedford perceiued the nauy of his enemies to come forward so fiersly, he set before certain strong and well made shippes, whiche at the fyrst encountre vanquished and toke two Frenche shyppes (whcrof the capitaines were rashe and somewhat to bold) withal their souldiours and tackelyng. The duke folowed incōtinently with all his puissance and like a valiant capitaine with great courage and audacitee, set on his enemies: the fight was long but not so long as perilous, nor so perilous as terrible, for battailes of the sea be euer desperate, for neither the assailauntes nor defendantes loke for any refuge, nor know any backdore how to skape out. After long fight the victory fel to the Englishemen, and they toke and sonke almost all the whole nauy of Fraunce, in the whiche were many shippes, hulkes and carikes to the nombre of fiue hundred, of the whiche. iii. great carickes were sent into England. In the same conflict were slaine of the Frenchemen no small nombre, as it appeared by their bodies which swarmed euery day about theuglishe shippes.

AFTER this victory fortunately obteined, the duke of Bedforde sailed by water vp to the very toune of Harflew, and without let or impediment landed and refreshed it both with vitaile and money. Which succours if they were welcome to the duke of Excester his vncle, I reporte me to them that haue bene in necessitie and would haue gladly bene refreshed.

WHEN the earle of Armynacke heard that the puissant nauye of Fraunce was vanquished & taken, he raised his siege before the toune and returned with smal ioy to Paris, as he that had no hope nor sawe any likelyhod or meane to recouer again the toune of Harflew for whiche he so sore thirsted.

AFTER this discomfiture and great losse, the fortitude & strēgth of the Frenchmen began to decay, & their braggyng beautie began to fade. For nowe the princes & nobles of the realme fel into diuision & discord among them selues, as who say, that the nobilitie studying howe to reuenge their olde iniuries and displeasures, refused to take payne for thaduauncement of the publique wealth and saueguard of their countrey And for priuy displeasure couert or hatred, their power began to wexe so slender, & their libertie was brought into suche a malicious diuersitie and doubtful difference, that as herafter shalbe shewed, it was merueil that their cōtrey was not brought to a perpetual bondage: whiche thing no doubt had folowed if kyng Henry had lenger liued in this mutable worlde. For notwithstandyng that the duke of Orleaunce the capitaine and head of the one faction was at that time captiue and prisoner in England, yet there grewe so muche priuy displeasure and cankard hatred betwene Charles the Dolphyn and Ihon duke of Burgoyne, that while the one studied, compassed and deuised how to ouercome the other with armure or with pollicy, with dissimulacion or crafty cōueyaunce, euery iorneiman of their faction, & euery noble mā partaker with the one or the other, put all their whole study and diligence to auaunce forward their sect and part, and not one of them would take hede howe to resist and refell the present icopardye whiche was commyng out of Englād. And as one incōuenience suffred many to folow so was it in Fraūce at this tyme, for the French kyng was not of good meniory, the war that was toward, semed both doubtful and perilous, the princes were vntrusty and at discord, and an hundreth mo thinges which might bryng the realme to extreme misery and vtter destructiō as after you shal heare.

WHEN the duke of Bedford had acheued his enterprise and performed his cōmission, bothe in raisyng the siege of Harflew and vitaylyng of the toune, he with no smal nombre of prisoners and great haboundance of pray aswell in shippes as prouision for the sea, returned

into England with great triumph and glory. For that victory he was not so muche thaked of the kyng his brother, as lauded and praised by the Emperor Sigismond beyng to him a straunger, whiche sayd openly happy are those subiectes whiche haue suche a kyng, but more happy is the kyng that hath suche subiectes.

WHEN the Emperoure perceiued, that to moue farther a peace, was but a vayne request, and to tarye lenger in Englande to procure an amitie was but losse of tyme, because he sawe the Englishemens myndes sore offended with the last siege of Harflew, with whiche facte, he himselfe was not wel cõtent but greatly moued: Therfore leauyng all treaty and persuasion, he entred into a leagne and amitie with the kyng of England. Whiche confederacy least it shuld be broken, euery of the contractors studyed & deuised all waies & meanes possible howe to obserue it vnviolated and preserue it vnbroken: whiche plain meanyng & true dealyng was to thẽ both after, not only muche honor but great cõmoditie. When the Emperor had thus cõcluded a league with the kyng of England and had done al thinges in England accordyng as was thought necessary, he toke his iorney homeward into Garmany, and the kyng partely to shewe him pleasure, and partely because of his owne affaires, associated him to his toune of Caleys. During whiche tyme the Duke of Burgoyn offerd to come to Caleys to speake with the Emperor and the kyng because he heard speake of the league and confederacy that was concluded betwene them. The kyng sent to the water of Graueiyng the duke of Gloucester his brother, and the earle of Marche to be hostages for the duke of Burgoyne, and sent also the earle of Warwicke with a noble company to cõduct him to his presẽce At Graueiyng foorde the dukes met, and after salutacions done, the duke of Burgoyn was conueighed to Caleys, where of the Emperor & of the kyng he was highly feasted and welcommed. Duryng whiche tyme a peace was concluded betwene the kyng of England & the duke of Burgoyn for a certain space, cõcerning onely the counties of Flaũders and Arthoys, for the whiche cause the Frenche kyng and his sõne were highly displeased. The duke of Gloucester alsò was receiued at Graueiyng by the earle Charoloys sonne to the duke of Burgoyne, & by him honorably conueighed to S. Omers & there lodged that night The next day the earle Charoloys came with diuers noblemen to visite the duke of Gloucester in his lodging, and when he entred into the chambre the dukes backe was towarde him, talkyng with some of his seruantes, and did not se nor welcome the earle Charoloys at the fyrst entrey: but after he sayd to hym shortly without any great reuerence or cõmyng towarde him, you be welcome fayre cosyn, and so passed furth his tale with his seruãtes. The earle Charoloys for al his youth was not wel content, but suffred for that tyme.

WHEN the duke of Burgoyn had done al thinges at Caleys that he came for he after the ix. day returned to Graueiyng, where the duke of Gloucester and he met againe, and louyngly departed the one to Caleys and the other to sainct Omers: for the whiche voiage the duke of Burgoyn was suspected to be enemy to the croune of Fraunce. After the dukes departyng the Emperor was highly feasted and rewarded, and at his pleasure sailed into Holand, and so roade into Beame. The kyng likewise toke ship and returned into England on sainct Lukes euen, the yere of our Lord M. CCCC. xvij.

¶ THE FIFT YERE.

The. v. yere. IN this yere the kyng assembled together his high courte of Parliament and there in open audience made to them a shorte and pithy Oracion, declaryng vnto them the iniuries lately doone and committed by the Frenche nacion, he shewyng also the iust and laufull occasion of his warres, signifiyng furthermore the great discord and ciuile dissencion whiche reigned amongest the nobilitie of Fraunce, rehersyng many thynges for the whiche it were very necessary and nedeful to represse & ouercome them withal their power & puissaunce, that without deferryng or prolongyng of tyme, desiryng thẽ to prouide for money & treasure

treasure out of hand for the conduct & wages of souldiors, to thentent that nothing should lacke when they shuld be ready to set on their enemies. His causes wer so iust and his demaũdes so reasonable, that he had no soner spoken but it was assented, and he had no soner demaũded but it was graunted. And for to geue men a courage for to go forth, money was fyrst gathered to make prouision for al thinges necessary for such a royal voiage: for surely there was no creature whiche with that war was either discõtented or displeased, for it semed to al men no lesse profitable then honorable, nor no lesse honorable then conuenient.

IN this Parliament also Ihon duke of Bedford was made gouernor or regent of the realme and head of the publique welth which office he shuld enioy as long as the kyng was makyng warre on the French nacion. The kyng before he would take his voyage, sent the earle of Huntyngdon to serche and skoure the seas, least any Frenchmen liyng in waite for him, might attrappe him sodenly or he had any knowledge of their settyng forward. This lusty earle called Ihon Holand, sõne to the duke of Excetter behedded at Circiter in the tyme of Kyng Henry the fourth and cosyn to the kyng with a great nombre of shippes searched the sea from the one coast to the other. And in conclusion he encoũtred with. ix. great carickes of Ieane (whiche Lord Iaques the bastard of Burbon had reteined to serue the Frenche kyng) & set on thẽ sharply, the conflict was great & the fight long, but in conclusion the Frenchmen wer ouercome and fled, and. iij. of the greatest carickes with their patrones, and Monsure Iaques de Burbon their Admiral wer taken with asmuche money as should haue payed the souldiors of the whole flete for halfe a yere, and. iij. other carickes wer bouged and sent to the botome of the sea.

THE kyng hearyng of this good chaunce, about the ende of Iuly toke his ship at Portesmouth, accõpanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester brethren to the sayd kyng, the earles of Huntyngdon, Mershal, Warwike, Deuonshyre, Salisbury, Suffolke and Sõmerset: The Lordes Rosse, Wylloughby, Fitzhugh, Clynton, Scrope, Matriuers, Bourchier, Ferreys of Groby and Ferreys of Chartley, Fanhope, Gray of Codnore, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile, sir Gilbert Talbot & diuers other and so hauyng wynde and wether to his desire, he lãded in Normãdy nere a castle called Touque, wher he cõsulted with his capitaines what way was best to be taken cõcerning their high enterprise.

THE Normans hearyng of the kynges arrival wer sodenly striken with a deadly feare and wer almost distracted frõ their senses for dred, wherfore like mad men in desperacion they ranne out of their houses, tounes and villages with wiues and children bag and baggage, into the walled tounes and fortefied garrisons, cariyng with them corne, wyne and vitaile necessary for their sustinance and liuyng, preparyng swordes, hatchettes, crosbowes and al other weapons mete to set back and resist their enemies, sent worde to Charles the Frenche kyng, requiryng him to defend and preserue his louing subiectes against their cruel and fierse enemies. The men of warre whiche were left in euery place to skoure the countrey, went into walled tounes with the rural cõminaltee, to thentent to aide and assist the tounes-men, for well they knewe that they were not able to resist their enemies beyng abroade in the felde. So were al the walled tounes and castles in Normandy and Mayne wel furnished with men and vitaile. The names of the Frenche capitaines were to tedious to reherse, and therefore I ouerpasse them.

WHEN kyng Henry had taken counsel, he layde siege to the castle of Touque beyng very wel fortefied both with nature and mans arte and began to assault it: & although that they within valiantly defended it, yet by fine force he ouercame it, & toke it, and them within to mercy & made therof capitaines sir Robert Kerkeley knight, and after determined to besiege the strong toune of Caen, remembryng according to the dutie of a good capitaine, that the Frenchemen would come to healpe their frendes beyng in nede and extreme necessitie: whiche thyng he most desired & wished. And vpõ that purpose he set furth toward Caen after the warlikest fashion, depopulatyng the coũtrey, & destroiyng the villages on euery part as he passed. The toune of Caen standeth in a plaine fertile coũtrey, no stronger walled then depe ditched, well vitayled and replenished with people.

For

For the citizens fearyng the kynges cõmyng had prouided for all thinges necessary & defensible. And assone as the kyng was come, he cast a depe trenche with a high mount to prohibite them within the toune to haue any egresse or outwarde passage: and that done, began fiersely to assault the toune. But the men of the toune were nothyng abashed and stode manly to their defence, abidyng all chaunces which might ensue. The fight was fierce and euery mã toke hede to his charge. The Englishmen studied all the waies possible to damage their enemies, some shot arrowes, some cast stones and other shot gonnes: some brake the walles with engynes and other vndermined: some set skalyng ladders to the wal, and other cast in wylde fyre, euery man laboured to come to handstrokes, whiche was their desyre. On the other side, the Normans threwe doune great stones, barres of yron, dartes hote pitche and burnyng brimstone and boylyng lead. Diuers daies this assault cõtinued, not to the lytle losse of the Englishmen, whiche toke more harme of the defẽders then they gat hurt of the assailantes. When kyng Henry perceiued that the dice rãne not to his purpose, he abstained from the assault, & determined by vndermininyng to subuert and ouerthrowe the walles and towers of the toune. Wherfore withal diligence the pyoners cast trenches & the laborers brought tymber, so that within a fewe daies the walles stode only vpõ postes to fal when fyre should be put to it. The kyng caused his people to approache the walles and to kepe the citizens occupied, least either they shuld make a coũtremyne or be an impediment to his workemen and laborers. Wherfore he caused thassault to be cried againe: then euerye man ranne to the walles, some with skalyng ladders, some with hokes and some with cordes and plommetes, euery man desiryng to get vpõ the walles and with hand to hand to grapple with his enemy: The citezens man fully defended. While the fight was quicke and fierse on both partes, the Englishmen in diuers places perced and brake through the walles, and diuers ouertures and holes were made vnder the foundacion by the pyoners, by the whiche thenglishmen might easely entre into the toune. The kyng hauyng cõpassion on the tounes men, desiryng rather to haue them saued then destroyed if they wold humbly submyt thẽ selues to his grace, & fearyng that if the toune by fine force should be spoyled and taken, that he should be compelled to geue it as a pray to his men of warre to be sacked and destroyed, sent them worde by an Herault that yet was tyme of mercy and clemency if they would incontinently rendre them selues & the toune: But they obstinately hopyng of succour, answered that they would stand at their defence. Then the Englishmen again skaled the walles and enterprised to enter through the trenches. The fight was sore by the space of an houre, the Englishmen coragiously enforced to enter, and the Normans manfully defended, but inconclusion the Englishmen obteined.

WHEN the kyng was possessed of the toune, he incontinently cõmaunded all harneys and weapons to be brought into one place, whiche with all diligence was done without any resistence. Then the miserable people knelyng on their knees, holding vp their handes, cried mercy, mercy, to whom the kyng gaue certaine comfortable wordes & bad them stand vp. And then as he was euer accustomed to do, he went on foote to the chief churche in the toune and rendred to God his most heartie thankes for his prosperous successe and fortunate chaũce. And yet that same night he would not slepe, but cõmaunded al his armye to watche in aray, either least his men of warre in the night tyme might fal to spoyle & sacke, or els the citizens fearyng the sequele that might ensue would priuely steale and conueigh them selues away.

IN the mornyng he called all the magestrates and gouernours into the Senate house, where some for their stony stubbernes and mad obstinacy were adiudged to dye, other were sore fined and highly raunsomed. Then he callyng together his souldiors and men of war, bothe gaue to thẽ high laudes and praises for their manly doynges, and also distributed to euery man accordyng to his desert the spoyle & gaine taken of the toune & the tounesmen, chiefly because at that assault he had tried to his honor their valiant corages and vnfearful hertes.

IT is to be imagined that kyng Henry in this conflict would principally shewe aswell his owne

owne force as the puissance and experience in warres of his nacion, ether to the intent that the Frenchemen should know that they mette with suche an enemy as both was able to inuade their countrie and defend their strength & malice, or els not obliuious that in makyng of warre euery prince muste study to obtain fame and renoune: and as the old prouerbe saieth, of a thyng well begone, succedeth a prosperous ende and a happy conclusion.

ALTHOVGH the toune were wonne, yet the castle whiche was strong and well fortified bothe with men and all thynges necessary for the defence, was yet in the Frenchmens possession: The capitain where of, to thentent to shewe hymself valiant and not willyng to breake his othe, nether to water from his allegeance, bosted that he would rather dye in the defence then frely yeld the castle. Kyng Henry was not minded to subuert the Castle (without whiche waie it was not easy to bee wonne) because it was beautifull and necessary, both to kepe the toune frō goyng backe, and also to defend the same when opportunitee should serue: Whiche Castle if he destroyed, he of very necessitee must again build and reedifie, or els another in the place. Wherfore he sent worde to the lorde Mountayny beyng capitain, that if he would yelde the castle by a daie, he should depart without dammage, And if he would be foolishe and obstinate, all clemency and fauor should be from hym sequestred. When the capitain and his compaignions had well digested his message, beyng in dispaire of cōfort, vpon the condicion offred, rendred the castle and yelded themselfes. And so kyng Henry obteigned bothe the toune and castle of Caen.

WHILE the Kyng of England was besiegyng this toune, the Frenchmen had nether a conuenient hoste to resist their power, nor wer ready or able to releue their frendes in this miserable necessite, because thei had such diuision and dissencion emongest themselfes, and a good cause why: for kyng Charles was of so small wit by reason of his sicknes, that he could not rule, and so he was spoyled both of his treasure and of his kyngdome, and euery man spente and wasted the common treasure. Charles the Dolphin being of the age of xvi. or. xvij. yeres onely lamented and bewailed the ruyne and decaye of his countrie: He onely studied thaduancement of the comon wealth, and he onely deuised how to resist his enemies: but hauyng nether menne nor money, he was greatly troubled and vnquieted. And in conclusion, by the counsaill of therle of Armynacke Constable of Fraunce he founde a meane to get all the treasure and riches whiche quene Isabell his mother had gotten and horded in diuerse secrete places: and for the comon vtilite of his countrie he spente it wisely in wagyng of souldiors and preparyng of thinges necessary for the war. The quene forgettyng the great perel that the realme then stode in, but remēbryng ȳ displeasure to her by this act dooen, declared her sonne and the Constable to be her mortall enemies, & promised that they should be persecuted to the vttermoste. And euen for very womanly malice, she set in the highest authoritie aboute the kyng her husband, Ihon duke of Burgoyn geuyng hym the regiment and direccion of the kyng and his realme with all preheminence and soueraintie. The duke of Burgoyn hauyng now the sworde of authoritie, for the whiche he so sore longed and glad to be reuenged of his old iniuries, began to make warre on the Dolphyn: and when he had once tamed and framed to his purpose this young unbrideled gentleman, then he determined as he might to refell and withstande the cōmē enemies of the realme. The same or like reason moued the Dolphin, for he myndyng first to represse and extincte the ciuill dissencion at home, before he would inuade forain enemies, prepared warre to subdew and destroy duke Ihō of Burgoyn as the chief hed & leader of that wicked and great mischief: Wherby the realme was muche vnquieted & more decayed, and in maner brought to a final ruyne and vtter destruccion. So Fraunce was inflamed and in euery part troubled with warr and deuision, and yet no man would ether prouide in so great a danger, nor once put furth their finger to hynder the mischief.

KYNG Henry not myndyng to lye still in Normandy, nor to leaue his enterprice vnperformed, sent the duke of Clarence to the sea coast, whiche with great difficulty gate the toune

toune of Bayeux. The duke of Glocestre also with small assault and lesse defence toke the citee of Liseaux. In the meane ceason Kyng Henry taried still at Caue fortefiyng the toune and the castle, and put out of the toune. xv. C. women and impotent persons, and replenished the toune with English people. While the kyng soiourned at Caen, he kepte there a solempne feast and made many knightes, and beside that, he shewed there an example of greate pitee & more deuocion. For in searchyng the castle he found there innumerable substance of plate and money belongyng to the citezens, wherof he would not suffre one peny to be touched or conueighed away, but restored the goodes to the owners and deliuered to euery mā his owne. When the fame of gettyng of Caen was blowen through Normandy, the Normans wer so sore afraied & so muche abasshed that you should not onely haue seen men, women & children ronnyng in euery waie by great plōpes frō toune to toune, not knowyng whether to flie: but also the rurall persones and husband men draue the beastes out of the villages into suche places where thei hoped of refuge or defence: so that a man would haue thought that Normandy had sodainly been left desolate and voyde of people and catell. But when the rumor was spred abroade of his clemencie shewed to captiues and of his mercy graunted to suche as submitted themselfes to his grace, all the capitaines of the tounes adioynyng came willingly to his presēce, offryng to hym them selfes, their tounes and their goodes. Wherupon he made proclamacion that all men whiche had or would become his subiectes and swere to hym allegeance should enioy their goodes and liberties in as large or more ample maner then they did before. Which gentle entreteinyng and fauorable hādlyng of the stubburne Normans, was the very cause why they wer not only content, but also glad to remoue and turne from the Frenche part and become subiectes to the croune of Englande.

WHEN kyng Henry had set Caen in a good ordre, he left there, for capitaines, the one of the toune and the other of the Castle, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile erle of Kyne, and sir Gilbert Talbot: and made bailife ther sir Ihon Pophane, and so departed frō Caen to Argenton whiche was shortly rēdred to hym. Then all these tounes folowyng without stroke striken yelded to hym, in whom he made captaines these persons whose names ensue.

At Creuly, sir Henry Tanclux an Almaine.
At Thorigny, sir Ihon Popham to whom the toune was geuē.
At Boyeux, the lorde Matrauerse.
At Argenton, the lorde Grey Codner.
At Chamboy, the lorde Fizghugh, and made him lord of the same.
At Vernoyle in Perche, sir Ihon Neuell.
At Alāsō the duke of Gloucester & his leuetenāt sir Raufe Lētal.
At Essay, sir William Hoddelston baylif of Alanson.
At Faloys, sir Henry Fitzhugh.
At Cruly, sir Loys Robset.
At Conde Norean, sir Ihon Fastolffe.

Diuerse tounes likewise yelded to the duke of Clarence wherein he putte these Capitaynes.

At ỹ cite of Lisieux, sir Ihō Kikley.
At Cowrton, Ihon Awbyn.
At Barney, William Houghton.
At Chambroys, Iames Neuell.
At Becheluyn, therle Marshall.
At Harecort, Richard Woduile esquyer.
At Fangernon, Ihon saint Albon.
At Creuener, sir Ihon Kerby to whom it was geuen.
At Anuilliers, Robert Horneby.
At Ragles, sir Ihon Arthure.
At Fresheney le Vicount, sir Robert Brent.

Likewise diuerse tounes in the country of Constantine wer surrendered to the duke of Gloucester, where he appoyncted these capitaines.

At Cauenton, the lorde Botraux.
At Seint Clow, Reignold West.
At Valoignes, Thomas Burgh.
At Chiergurg, the lord Grey Codner and after his decease, sir water Hungerford.

At

At Pont Done, Dauy Howel.
At the Hay Dupayes, sir Ihon Aston Bayly of Constantine.
At Cõstaces, the lord of Burgainy.
At Seint Saluior le Vicount, sir Ihon Robset.
At Pontorsõ, sir Robert Gargrane.
At Hambery the erle of Suffolke, lorde of the same place by gift.
At Briqueuile, thesaied Erle by gift also.
At Anranches, sir Philip Halle, Bayly of Alanson.
At Vire the lorde Matrauers.
At Sainct Iames de Bewron, the same lorde.

WHEN the Kyng of Englande wanne thus in Normandy, his nauy lost nothyng on the sea, but so skowred the stremes that nether Frencheman nor Briton durst once appere, howbeit one day there arose so hideous a tempest and so terrible a storme, that nether cable held nor anker preuailed, so that if the erles of Marche and Huntyngdon had not taken the haue of Southamptõ, the whole nauie had perished and the people had been destroyed, and yet the sauegard was straunge: For in the same hauen two Balyngers and two great Carickes laden with marchaundise wer drouned, and the broken Maste of another Caricke was blowen ouer the wall of Hãpton (as diuerse writers affirme) such is the power of the wynd, and suche is the rigoure of the tempest. Whẽ the fury of the wynd was asswaged and the sea waxed calme, therles of Marche and Huntyngdon passed ouer the sea with all their compaignie and landed in Normandy marchyng towarde the kyng, before whom the Normans fled as fast as the fearfull hare dooth before the gredy Greyhounde, or the sely Partridge before the Sparowhauke: And so they passed through the countrie destroiyng of villages and takyng paines till thei came to the kyng goyng towarde Roan. Duryng this marciall feactes and greate conquestes in Normandy, sir Ihon Oldecastle lord Cobham whiche was as you haue heard before was conuicted of heresy, and proclaimed a rebell, and vpon the same outlawed and brake out of the toure, was now as his fortune chaunced apprehended in the Marches of Wales by the Lorde Powes, and so restored to his olde lodgyng in the toure, where his kepers loked more narrowly to hym then thei did before. After whiche takyng, he was drawen from the toure on a hardell to Sainct Gilesfelde, and there hanged in chaynes and after consumed with fire. Well now leauyng the matters of Englande let vs returne to the affaires in Normandy.

¶ THE SIXT YERE.

The. vi. yere.

AFter kyng Henry had thus victoriously obteined so many tounes and so many fortresses from the possession of his enemies, and that his great fame and litle personage was the whole terror and feare of the Frenche nacion, he ymagined with hymself that he had nothyng doen nor any thyng gotten excepte he brought the famous citee of Roan beyng the Empery and diademe of the Duchy of Normandy into his possession & dominion, to the whiche out of euery parte the Normans had conueighed their money Iewelles and houshold stuffe: And whiche citee sithe his firste arriuall thei had not onely walled and fortressed with many rampiers & strong bulwarkes, but also with valiãt capitaines and hardy souldiours to no small numbre. Wherfore he set forward his army toward the toune called Pontlarche standyng vpon the Riuer of Seyne. viij. mile from Roan betwene Paris and Roan. When When the Frenchemen whiche kepte the passage heard of the kynges approchyng, thei gathered together a great numbre of men of warre redy to defend and probibite the passage, apointyng another a band of men if thei failed to kepe the farther side of the bridge and to watche and hourely attend that he nether by bote nor by vessel should eskape any maner of waye. When he came to the toune, first he sette forwarde towarde the bridge, whiche when he sawe it so well defended that it would not without greate losse be obteigned, sodainly he blewe the retraite and reculed almoste a myle backward, where in a pleasant place by the riuers side he pitched his Campe: and in the night season, what with botes and barges, what with hoggeshedes and pipes he conueighed ouer the brode riuer of Seyne a greate compaignie of his armie without any resistaunce of his enemies. For thei whiche wer on the hetherside of

Seyne, thynkyng that thenglishmen had gone to conquere some other place folowed thē not but studied how to defēd their toune (whiche was ynough for them to do). When the king saw that his men wer on the otherside of the water, he the next day earely returned to the toune and assauted it on bothe the sides. When thinhabitantes perceiued that contrary to their expectaciō they wer cōpassed & beset by their enemies and sawe no hope of refuge or succor, with humble hert and no great ioy rendered vp the toune. And so the kyng hauyng no let or impediment determined to besiege and assault the citee and castle of Roan for the whiche he had taken diuerse long and tedious iornayes, and sent before hym his vncle the lorde Thomas duke of Excester with a great compaignie of horssemen and Archers, whiche with banner displayed came before the toune and sent to the capitaines Wyndsore a heraulte at armes, willyng them to deliuer the toune to the kyng his Master, or els he would persecute them with fire, bloud and sworde. To whō they proudly answered, that none thei receiued of hym, nor none thei would deliuer, except by fyne force thei wer therunto cōpelled. And to declare theselfes valiant capitaines & hardy men of war, there issued out of the toune a great band of men of armes & encountred fiercely with thēglish men, whiche like men nether afraied nor astonied manfully them receiued & with fyne force draue them into the toune again, leuyng with the Englishmen xxx. of their compaignie prisoners and ded persons. The duke with this good spede and proude aunswer of the Frenche capitaines, returned to the kyng to whom was rendred alitle before ỹ toune of Louiers, whiche he gaue to his said brother the duke of Clarence, whiche made there his deputie sir Ihon Godard knight. The duke of Excester also had newly taken the citee of Eureux and made capitain ther sir Gilbert Halsall knight. When the duke of Excester was returned to Pontlarchas you haue heard, the capitaines of Roan set fire on the suburbes, but doune Churches, cut doune trees, shrede the busshes, destroyed the vines round about the citee, to thentent that thenglishmen should haue no relief nor comfort ether of lodgyng or fewell.

The citee of Roan besieged. WHEN the kyng heard of their dispitefull doynges, he with his whole army remoued from Pontlarche, and the last daie of July came before the citee of Roan and compassed it rounde aboute with a strong siege and a fearfull assaute. The king laie with a greate puissaunce at the hous of Charitee on the East side of the citee, & the duke of Clarence lodged before the port of Caux on the West part of the citee. The duke of Excester toke his place on the Northside at the porte Denise: betwene the dukes of Excester and Clarence was appoyncted the erle Marshall euen before the gate of the castle, to whom wer ioyned therle of Ormond and the Lordes of Haryngton and Talbot. And from the duke of Excester toward the kyng were encamped the lordes of Rosse, Willoughby, Fitzhugh and sir William Porter with a great band of Northremē euen before the port saint Hilarij. Therles of Mortaint and Salsbery wer assigned about the abbey of saint Katherines. Sir Ihon Grey was lodged directly against the Chapel called Mount. S. Mighell, sir Philip Leche treasorer of the warres kept the hil next the Abbey, & the Baron of Carew kept the passage on the riuer of Sayne, and to hym was ioyned a valiaunt esquire called Ienico, whiche twoo capitaines valiauntly kept the riuage of the water of Sayne. On the fartherside of the riuer wer lodged therles of Warren and Huntyngdon, the lordes Neuell and Ferrers, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile with a well furnished company of warlik souldiors directly before the gate called *port du* Pont. And to the intent that no aide should passe by the riuer toward the citee, a greate chaine of yron was deuised at Pōtlarche and sette on piles from the one side of the water to the other, and beside that chayne he set vp a new forced bridge, sufficient bothe for cariage and passage. At whiche therle of Warwicke whiche had gotten Dampfrōt was sent to the toune of Cawdebeck standyng on the riuerside betwen the sea and the citee of Roan, whiche toune he so hardly assaulted, that the capitaines offerd to suffre the Englishe nauy to passe by their toune without hurte or detriment to the citee of Roan: And also if Roan yelded, they promised to rendre their toune without any fayle or farther delaie. And this composicion they sealed, and for performaunce of the same thei deliuered pledges. This appoynctment the Englishe nauy to the numbre of. C. sailes passed by Cawdebeck and came be-

fore Roan and besieged it on the water side. To this siege came the duke of Gloucester with therle of Suffolke and the lorde of Burgainy whiche had taken the toune of Chierburgh and wer lodged before the porte of Sainct Hillarij nerer their enemies by fortie roddes then any other persones of the armie.

DVRYNG this siege arriued at Harflew the lord of Kylmaine in Ireland with a band of xvi. hundreth Irishmen armed in mayle with dartes and skaynes after the maner of their countrey, all talle, quicke and deliuer persons, which came and presented them selues before the kyng liyng styl at the siege: of whom they were not onely gentely entertained, but also (because that the kyng was informed that the Frenche kyng and the duke of Burgoyn would shortly come, and either rayse the siege or vitaile or mā the toune at the North gate) thei wer appointed to kepe the Northsyde of the army, and in especial the way that cōmeth from the forest of Lyons. Whiche charge the lord of Kylmaine & his company ioyfully accepted & did so their deuoyre, that no men wer more praised nor did more damage to their enemies then they did for surely their quicknes and swiftnes did more preiudice to their enemies, then their great barded horses did hurt or damage the nimble Irishmen.

THVS was the fayre cytie of Roan compassed about with enemies besieged by princes, and beset about both by water and lande, hauyng neither comfort nor aide of kyng nor dolphyn. And although the army were strong without, yet within there lacked neither hardy capitaynes nor manful souldiors. And as for people, they had more then ynowe, for as it was written by him that knew the nombre and had no occasiō to erre from the trueth, there were at the time of the siege within the citie, of christen people CC. and ten thousand persons. Dayly wer issues made out of the cytie at diuers portes, sometyme thenglishmen gat, at another time the Frenchmen saued, somtyme neither of both either got or saued: for surely the capitaines and men of warre within the toune settyng more by honor then by life, preferryng fame before worldly riches, dispisyng pleasure & vilependyng fearfull heartes, sware eche to other neuer to render or deliuer the toune while they might either hold sworde in hand or put spere in rest. The kyng of England beyng aduertised of their haute courages and high stomackes, determined to conquere them by famyne whiche would not be tamed by weapon. Wherfore he stopped all the passages both by water and land that no vitaile could be cōueighed to the cytie, he cast trenches rounde about the walles and set them ful of stakes and defended the with archers, so that they within could haue no way out either to inuade their enemies (or if they could) to depart and relinquishe their fortresse and cytie. One day tidynges wer tayned that the Frenche kyng approched with al his power to raise the siege & reskew the cytie: Wherfore kyng Hery cōmaunded al men to lye in their harneys lest they might by some subtile cautel be surprised vnware and taken vnprouided. But the Frēche kyng neither came nor sent, to the great wonder of thenglishmen. This siege thus continuyng from Lammas almost to Christmas, diuers enterprises were attempted and diuers polices were deuised how euery part might damage and hurte his aduersary and enemy, but no part muche reioysed of their gaine. Duryng whiche tyme, vitayle began sore to faile within the toune, so that only vineger & water serued for drinke. If I should reherse accordyng to the writyng of diuers authors, not onely howe deare dogges, rattes, myse and cattes wer solde within the toune: but how gredely they were by the poore people eaten and deuoured, and also howe the people died dayly for faute of foode, and how yong infātes lay suckyng in the stretes on their mothers brestes liyng dead, starued for hunger, you would more abhorre the lothsome doynges then reioyse at their miserable mischāce. The riche men within the toune put out at the gates the pore and indigent creatures whiche were by thenglishmen that kept the trenches beaten & driuen backe againe to the gates of the toune, whiche against them were closed and barred. So this miserable people vncomfortably forsaken & vnnaturally despised of their owne nacion and housholde felowes, betwene the walles of their cytie and the trēches of their enemies lay styl cryyng for helpe and relief, for lacke wherof innumerable sely solles dayly died and hourely starued. Yet kyng Henry moued with pitie & stirred with cōpassion in the honor

of

of Christes natiuitie on Christmas day refreshed all the poore people with vitayle to their great comfort & relief: for the whiche act they not only thanked, lauded and praised the kyng of England, but also praied to God for his preseruacion and furtherance, and for the hynderance and euil successe of their vnkynd citezens & vncharitable country men. This miserable famyne dayly more and more encreasyng so daunted the heartes of the bold capitaynes, & so abated the courages of the riche burgesses, and so turmẽted the bodies of the poore citezens, that the stout souldiour for faintnes could skase welde his weapon, nor the riche marchaunt for money could not bye a sheuer of bread: so that the cõminaltie cried to the captaines, and the nedy people besought the lordes to haue compassion on them, and to inuent some way for their succor and comfort. The gouernours of the toune, after long consultacion had, consideryng the great necessitie that they were in, and seyng none apparence of succour or relief, determined it both necessary and conuenient to treate with the kyng of England. And so vpõ Newyeres euen ther came to the walles at the gate of the bridge diuers cõmissioners appoincted by the capitaines, whiche made a signe to the englishemen liyng without to speake with some gentleman or other person of authoritie. The earle of Huntyngdon whiche kept that part sent to them sir Gilbert Vmfreuile, to whõ they declared that if they might haue a guyde or a safeconduite they would gladly speake with the kyng. Syr Gilbert promised not onely to do theyr message, but also to certifie thẽ of the kinges pleasure & purpose. Whiche cõmunicacion ended, he repaired to the duke of Clarence and other of the kynges counsail, aduertisyng thẽ of the request of the citezens, whiche incõtinent assembled theselues in the kynges lodgyng, where sir Gilbert Vmfreuile wysely and soberly declared to the kyng the myndes and intentes of the citezens. The kyng like a graue prince consideryng that a thyng gotten without effusion of Christen bloud is both honorable and profitable, and sawe that the haute corages of the braggyng Frenchmen wer now by his hard besiegyng sore abated and almost tained, thought it conuenient to heare their lowly peticion and humble request, and so willed sir Gilbert to aduertise them that he was content to heare. xii. of them whiche should be safely cõueighed to his presence: With this answere sir Gilbert departed and made relacion therof to the capitaynes standyng at the gate. Whiche on the next day in the mornyng appointed. iiii. knightes. iiii. lerned men and. iiii. sage burgesses al clothed in blacke to go to the kyng of Englãd. These. xii. persons were receiued at the port sainct Hillarij by sir Gilbert Vmfreuile accompanied with diuers gentlemen and yomen of the kynges houshold, comonly called yomen of the croune, and. conueighed to the kynges lodgyng, whõ they found at Masse. When the deuine seruice was finished king Henry gorgeously apparelled and sumpteously adourned came out of his trauers, fiersely and princely beholdyng the Frenche messẽgers and passed by them into his chambre. After him incontinently the. xii. ambassadours wer conueighed, amongest whõ one learned in the ciuile law, more arrogant then learned & yet not so arrogant as vndiscrete sayd these wordes. Right high and mightie prince, right noble and puissant kyng, if you wyl with your selfe diligently cõsider wherein consisteth the glory of victorye and the triumph of a conquerour, you shall plainly perceiue, that the type of honor is in the tamyng of proud men, ouercõmyng of valiant souldiors and subduyng of strong cyties and populus regions, and not in slaiyng christen people by hunger thirst and famine, in whiche consisteth neither manhod, wit nor policy. Alas, regard you your honor, and se yonder great multitude of miserable people criyng for meat and wepyng for drinke and diyng for lacke of succour and relief. What glory shall you obtayne in killyng of wretches by famyne, whiche death of all deathes is most to be despised and abhorred. If you wyl shew your selfe charitable before God, or merciful before men, let al our poore people whiche wyl depart out of our cytie passe through your campe to get their liuyng in other places, and then manfully assaut our cytie, & by force (if you dare) subdue and conquere it. And if your enterprise succede fortunately (as a thing that is very doubtful) in this doyng you shall not onely obtaine worldly glory and terrestrial victory for ouercommyng the strong and puissant men of armes and the riche cytie, but also merite much before God

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for deliueryng and hauyng compassion of the poore nedy and indigent persons. When this Orator had sayd, the kyng, whiche no request lesse suspected then that whiche was thus desired, began a while to muse: And when he had wel perceiued the crafty cautel and fraudulent inuencion of the Frenche messengers, he with a fierse countenance and a bold spirit made to them this answer saiyng: Thynke you O fatastical Frenchmen that I am so ignorant and so brutal that I cannot perceiue your double dealyng and crafty conueighaunce: Iudge you me so simple that I know not wherin the glory of a cõqueror cõsisteth. Esteme you me so ignoraunt that I perceiue not what crafies and warlike pollices by strong enemies are to be subdued and brought to subiection: yes, yes, I am not so loiteryng a truand as to forgette so good a lesson. And if these thynges be to you blynd and obscure I wyl declare and open them to you. The goddesse of warre called *Bellona* (whiche is the cor- Bellona, the Goddesse of battaile.
rectrice of princes for right witholdyng or iniurie doyng, and the plage of God for euil liuyng and vntrue demeanor amongest subiectes) hath these. iii. handmaides euer of necessitie attendyng on her, bloud, fyre, and famine, whiche thre damosels be of that force & strength that euery one of them alone is able and sufficient to turment and afflict a proud prince: and they all ioyned together are of puissance to destroy the most populous countrey and most richest region of the world. If I by assaultyng of your toune should seke your bloud (although I gained as I doubt not but I should) yet my gaine wer not cleare without some losse of my people. If I set your cytie on fyre, and so consume it and you also, then haue I lost that precious iewel for the whiche I haue so sore longed and so long laboured. Therfore to saue myne owne people (which is one poinct of glory in a capitaine) and to preserue the toune whiche is my lauful and iust inheritaunce: And to saue as many of you as wil not willyngly be destroied, I haue appointed the mekest maide of the thre damosels to afflict and plage you tyll you be bridled and brought to reason, which shalbe when it shal please me and not at your appointment: And therfore I say and affirme that the gayne of a capitaine by any of these thre handmaides is bothe glorious, honorable and triumphant, but of all thre the yongest maide is in all thinges most profitable and cõmodious. Now to answer to your demaundes, as touching the pore people liyng in the ditches, I assure you I more lament your lacke of charitie toward your christen brethrē ye and your owne nacion of one language and one countrey, then I reioyce at the vndoyng of so many creatures and castyng away of so many enemies. You like tirantes put thē out of the toune to thentent that I should slay them, and yet I haue saued their liues. You would neither geue them meat nor drinke, and yet I beyng their mortal enemy haue succoured and releued them: so that if any vncharitie be, it is in you, if any shame or reproche be taken, receiue it your selfe, for you be the doers. If I haue done them good let God rewarde me, for I loke of them no thankes, if you haue done them euil so shal you be done to. And as to suffre your pore people to passe out of the cytie through my campe, no, no, I wyll not so accomplishe your cloked request, but you shall kepe them styl to helpe to spend your vitailes: And as to assault your toune, I wil you know it that I am therto both able and willyng as I se tyme & occasion: but seyng the choice is in my hand to tame you either with bloud, fyre, or famyne, or with all, I wyl take the choice at my pleasure & not at yours. And with that the kyng with a frownyng countenaunce departed frō them to his chambre and cõmaunded them to dine with his officers.

WHEN he was departed, the Frenchmen began to marueil at his excellent wit, and to muse at the hautnes of his courage, and after they had dined and consulted together, they required once againe to haue accesse to his royal presence, whiche when it was to them graũted, they humblyng them selues on their knees besought him to take a truce for. viii. daies, in the whiche they might by their commissioners take some ende and good conclusion with him and his counsail. The kyng like a piteous prince rather couetyng the preseruacion of the people, then their distruction, after good deliberacion taken, graũted to them their askyng, with the whiche answere they ioyously returned.

AFTER their departure were appointed and set vp. iii. riche tentes, the one for the lordes of

of England to consult together, the second for the commissioners of the cytie, and ỹ third for both partes to argue and debate the matter. The cõmissioners for the Englishe part wer the erles of Warwike & Salsbury, the lord Fitzhugh, sir water Hungerford, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile, sir Ihon Robsert & Ihon de Vasques de Almada. And for the French part wer appointed sir Guy de Butteler &. vi. other.

DVRYNG this truce, euery day the cõmissioners met, the Englishmen accused, and the Frenchmen excused, the Englishmen demaunded muche, and the Frenchmen profered lytle. Thus with arguyng & reasonyng the. viiii. day came and nothyng was done, nor one article concluded. Wherfore the Englishmen toke doune the tentes & the Frenchmen toke their leaue, but at their departyng, they remembryng them selues required the Englishe lordes for the loue of God that the truce might continue tyl the sunne risyng the next day, to the whiche the lordes sone assented. When the Frenchmen wer returned to Roan, sodenly in al the toune sprong a rumour that the truce was expired and nothyng determined. Then the poore people ranne about the stretes like frantike persons, shoutyng and criyng and callyng the captaines and gouernors murtherers and manquellers, saiyng that for their pride & stiffe stomacke al this misery was happened in the toune, threatenyng to slay them if they would not agre to the kyng of Englãdes demaund and request. The Magistrates beyng amased with the fury of the people, called al the toune together to knowe their myndes and opinions. The whole voice of the cõmons was to yeld, yeld, rather than starue. Then the Frenchmen in the euenyng came to the tent of sir Ihon Robsert, requiryng him of gẽtlenes to moue the kyng that the truce might be prolonged for. iiii. daies. The kyng *therunto* agreed and appointed tharchbishop of Cantorbury and the other. vii. before named for his part, and the citezens appointed an egal nomber for them. So the tentes were againe set vp, dayly was assembles and muche treaty on both parties, and on the fourth day by the helpe of God, the treaty was concluded and finished to the great reioysyng of the poore citezens, the copy wherof foloweth worde by worde.

¶ The appointmentes of the yeldyng vp of the cytie and castle of Roan.

1 FIRST it is accorded that Guy de Botellier capitaine of the Cytie and castle of Roan with the consent of the noble citezens & other dwellyng and beyng in the sayd cytie and castell shall yelde and deliuer into the handes of the ful excellent kyng of England or other what so he be by him deputed, the cytie & castle aboue sayd without fraude or male engine, what tyme after the middes of the. xix. day of this present moneth of Ianuary our sayd lord the kyng wyll the cytie and the castel to be deliuered vnder maner and forme within written.

2 ALSO it is accorded that the day & houre the sayd nobles and citezens & other what so they be dwellyng & beyng in the sayd cytie & castel shal submit them in al thinges to the grace of our sayd lorde the kyng.

3 ALSO it is accorded that from this houre vnto real & effectual yeldyng of the sayd cytie & castle, none of the sayd nobles or other beyng in the sayd cytie or castle shal not go out of the foresayd cytie and castle without special grace of our sayd lord the kyng.

4 ALSO it is accorded that from this houre vnto the deliuerance of the cytie, euery of the parties shall abstaine from all deedes of warre to make againe that other partie of them.

5 ALSO it is accorded that the foresayd nobles, citezens and other beyng in the sayd cytie & castle shall pay to our foresayd lorde the kyng CCC. thousand scutes of golde, wherof alwayes two shalbe worth an Englishe noble, or in the stead of euery scute. xxx. great blankes whyte or. xv. grotes. Of whiche. CCC. thousand scutes, the one halfe shalbe payde to our sayd lord the kyng or to his deputies within the cytie of Roan beforesayd the. xxii. day of this present moneth of Ianuary. and that other halfe shalbe paide to our sayd lord the kyng or to his deputies in the feast of saint Mathew the Apostle next cõmyng that shalbe the. xxiiii. day of February next, without any vtter delay.

6 ALSO it is accorded that all and euery horse, harneys, armures, artileries for shot and all other habilimentes of warre longyng to souldiors or other straungers beyng in the sayd cytie and

and castle, shalbe put together by them in two houses by our sayd lord the kyng to be assigned, & they shalbe deliuered by the capitaine of the sayd cytie to our forsayd lord the kyng after the middes of the. xix. day of Ianuary therupon to be required.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery armour, artilleries and all habilimentes of war of 7
the sayd castle shalbe put together in one house within the same castle, and they shalbe deliuered to oure sayd lorde the kyng or to his deputies in that partie, the day that the same castle shalbe fallen to be deliuered to our sayd lord the kyng.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery armures, artilleries & other habilimentes of warre 8
of thesaid citee or of al maner of citezens and of al other dwellyng therin, by them shalbe brought and put together in one hous or mo houses there by theim to be deliuered to our Lord the kyng, & by the capitain of the same citee shalbe deliuered to our forsaid Lorde the kyng or to his deputie in what tyme the said capitain by the partie of our moste doubtfull lorde the kyng, after the middaie of this present moneth of Ianuarij thervpon be required, out take the armuries that belong to Marchauntes which were wont for to sell theim ceassyng fraude and maleengine. And if it befal any marchauntes any suche armures that be not theirs, vnder colour of theirs to colouren or hidē in any maner, tho armures so hid and coloured and al other what that thei been that diden, to our Lorde the kyng shal been forfeted, and the body of thesame marchaunt to been punished at the kynges will.

ALSO it is accorded that in no maner shalbe made, brennyng, hynderyng, harmyng or 9
appairyng, wastyng or destroiyng of horsse, of armures, of artilleries or of any other habilamentes of warre within the forsaied citee and Castle beyng, but that all and euery without fraude or maleengine shalbee kept whole and vnhurt to our Lorde the kyng as it is beforesaied to be deliuered.

ALSO it is accorded that al & euery chayre that wer wont to be layed ouerthwart the 10
stretes and lanes of thesaid citee, shall bee put into an hous to be turned to the profite of the citezens of thesame citee.

ALSO it is accorded that our forsaid lord the king shal haue place and space of lande, 11
of the frewil of his highnesse to bee chosen to hym a paleis to be made within thesaied citee or within the walles of the same citee where it shal seme moste behouefull. So neuerthelesse that if it fall within thesaid place or space to be included any hous or edifice or place of ground longyng to any of thesaied citezens or dwellers of thesame citee, or saied lorde the kyng to hym whom that suche maner of houses, edifices or places of ground longeth or apperteineth shal satisfie, & of other houses & edifices or places congruely shal recōpence.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery subiectes of our said lord the kyng that now be or 12
wer prisoners to any persone beyng in the said cite or castle and their pledges, shalbee vtterly free as aneyntz their persones and the somes that thei are bounde in at the daie of this presente date and accorde.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery souldier and strāger beyng in thesaid citee and 13
castle shall swere on the Euangelies of God before their departyng, that thei shall not beare armes against our lorde the kyng or his, vnto the first daie of Ianuarij next to come, for no maner of commaundemēt that to them or to any of them of any maner of persone in contrary maie be doen and enioyned.

ALSO it is accorded that all and euery reliques & other goodes longyng to the Abby of 14
sainct Katheryn within thesaied citee and castle beyng all holy, shalbeen deliuered to hym whom the kyng shall depute them to receiue the deliuerance of thesaid citee.

ALSO it is accorded that the forsaid nobles, citezēs & other within thesaid citee and 15
Castle beyng, shall cause thesame citee and Castle before thesaied. xix. daie of this present moneth of Ianuarij sufficiently and honestly to be made cleane, and also diligently and honestly all the ded bodies now ded and to be ded vnto that daie of deliuerance of the said citee honestly and diligently shall do to be buried.

ALSO it is accorded that the forsaid nobles citizens & all beyng in thesaid citee and castle 16
furthwith shall receiue and suffre to entre into thesame citee all and euery poore persone beyng

yng in the diches or aboute the diches of thesame cite, whiche for penury did go out of thesame cite whom they shalbee bounde to succor vnto the. xix. daie of Ianuarij aboue saied, as they will aunswere to God and to the kyng, and els thei shall receiue none other person into thesame citee or castle vnto the forsaied day without speciall licence of our saied Lorde the kyng, but if it happe any messenger or herauld of the party aduersary of the kyng to come to the gates or diches of thesaied castle or citee.

17. WHICHE articles and apointmētes as it is beforsaid, all & euery in maner as it is accorded, the forsaied capitain, nobles, citezēs & other within thesaied castle and citee beyng, wel and truly without fraude or malengine to hold, obserue and kepe they behoten, and tho to be kept & fulfilled they bynden them. So but if it befall our forsaid moste doubtfull lorde the kyng that God forbid, to be ouercome in battaill to hym ymade by Charles his aduersary of Fraunce or the duke of Burgoyn or any other to come, the siege of our lord the kyng to remoue from the forsaid citee, that neither theforsaid capitain ne none of the nobles, citezens, souldiors of other beyng within theforsaid cite and Castle shall gone out, ne no maner help thei shal deliuer, nor leane to them so again our lorde the kyng commyng in no maner wise.

18. ALSO that all these appoyntmentes, couenauntes and accordes and euery of theim as it is beforsaied well and truly and vnbroken bee kepte, and for the more suretie of thesame couenauntes and accordes, theforsaid capitain nobles and citezens and other abouesaid shalbe taken at the tyme ymediatly into the handes of our lorde the kyng. lxxx. notable pledges wherof. xx. shalbe knightes and esquires and the remnant citezens of thesame citee, at their owne costes to be sustained.

19. ALSO for the partie sothly of our moste doubtfull lorde the Kyng aforsaid, graciously and beningly cōsidryng the meke submittyng and yeldyng of the same citee and Castle abouesaid, hath graunted that all and euery person of what estate or degree or condicion that he be with in thesaid citee and Castle being, except certain persons within expressed that will become lieges and subiectes of our lord the kyng, and frō hencefurth will dwell vnder his obedience, shall haue their heritages and goodes, moueables and vnmouables within the dutchy of Normandy constitute, and whiche before the date of these present letters by our forsaid lord the kyng to other persons haue not been graunted, except armurs & artillaries abouesaied, making and doing for their heritages and their vnmouable goodes to our forsaied lorde the kyng the seruice therof accustomed, or to other to whom suche maner services of the graunt of our lorde the kyng owen to long.

20. ALSO it is graunted on our lorde the kynges behalfe that all the citezens and dwellers of the citee of Roan that now been or in tyme to come shall been, shall haue all and euery franchises, liberties and priuileges which of worthy mynd the progenitors of our lorde the the kyng kynges of Englande & dukes of Normandy, to thē and to the said citee were graunted in possession wherof they weren the first day that our forsaid lorde the kyng came before theforsaid citee. And also of our large grace of his benygnitie hath graunted, that the self citezens and dwellers of the citee shall haue al their liberties franchises and priuileges wherof they wer in possession theforsaid first daie of the comyng of our lorde the kyng before the citee, of the graunt of any of his progenitors kynges of Fraunce whiche were before the tyme of Philip de Valoys aduersary to our said lorde the kyng & daily warryng vpō his realme.

21. ALSO it is graunted and accorded on our lorde the kynges behalf that all the straungiers souldiours and other in theforsaied citee and castle beyng at this tyme, not willyng to become lieges of our lord the kyng, *theforsaied* citee and castle so yeldyng as it is beforsaid, frely to departen, leauyng to our saied lord the kyng all their armures, horsse artillaries and other thynges and harneis and goodes, except the Normans will not be lieges of our lorde the kyng, whiche all & euery shall abide prisoners to our lorde the kyng, and except Luca Italico, which also shalbe prisoner of our lorde the kyng, and also other whose names be not set in this boke, for it longeth not to clerkes to intermete of thē.

ALSO it is graunted on our lord the kynges behalf that the warre and also shrewed speches that duryng this siege the folke aboue mencioned of what condicion that they been against his royall person haue done, or with defamed lippes haue spoken against our moste derest lorde the kyng, cõsidrryng the daie of pitie mekely shalbe forgeuen, out take the prisoners that abouen in speciall be excepted. 22.

ALSO it is accorded on our lorde the kynges behalfe teat theforsaied souldiors and straungers by the forme of this present treatie and accorde willyng for to departen, our Lorde the kyng shall ordain and make a saueconduite in forme accustomed. 23.

¶ And so the forsaied citee was yelden to our souereigne lorde the kyng vpon s. Wolstones daie beyng the. xix. daie of Ianuarij. and then afterward he gat many strong tounes and Castles, as Depe, Caudebec, Torney & many mo as it shalbe after written.

WHEN the daie of apoinctment came, which was the daie of. S Wolston, sir Guy de Butteler and the Burgesses of the toune in good ordre came to the kynges lodgyng, and there deliuered to hym the keyes of the citee and castle, besechyng hym of fauor and cõpassion. The kyng incontinent appoyncted the duke of Excester with a greate compaignie to take possession of the toune, whiche like a valiaunt capitain mounted on a goodly courser and entred into the toune and so into the castle, and appoynted watche and ward in euery toure, bulwarke and fortresse, and garnished the walles with banners, standers and penõs of the kynges armes, badges and deuises. The nexte daie beyng Frydaie the kyng in greate triumphe like a conqueror, accõpaignied with iiii. Dukes, x. Erles. viii. Bishoppes, xvi. Barones and a greate multitude of knightes, esquires and men of warre entred into Roan where he was receiued by the Clergie with. xlii. Crosses which sang diuerse swete sõges, outwardly reioysyng whatsoeuer inwardly they thought. Then met him the Senate and the burgesses of the toune, offeryng to hym diuerse faire & costly presentes. In this maner he passed through the citee to our Lady Churche, where with al solempnitie he was receiued by the bishop and Cannons, and after he had said his Orisons, he caused his chapelaynes to syng this Antheme *Quis est magnus dominus.* Who is so greate a Lorde as is our God. &c. And that done he came to the Castle where he continued a good space after, receiuyng homages and fealties of the burgesses and tounes men, settyng ordres emõgest them and reedefied diuerse fortresses and toures. Duryng which time he made proclamacion that all men whiche would become his subiectes should enioye their goodes, landes and offices, whiche proclamacion caused many tounes to yeld, and many men become English. At whiche ceason the duke of Britain seyng that the power of Fraunce began to decaye, came to the kyng to Roan and concluded with hym a league of his owne mere mocion: Fearyng that ether he should afterward be compelled therunto, or els if he offred to late it would not be accepted.

WHEN the renderyng of Roan was blowen through Normandy and the kynges proclamacion diuulged through the countrie, it is in maner incredible to heare how many tõunes yelded not once desired, and how many fortresses gaue vp without contradicion, wherof I wil shewe you a small nombre and the names of theim who were appoyncted capitaines of thesame.

AT Caudebec, sir Loys Robsert.
At Depe, William lorde Burcher erle of Ewe.
At Ewe, thesame erle.
At Aubemerle, therle of Warwick and his deputie there sir Willia Mountford.
At Bell Encomber, Sir Thomas Rampston lorde by gift.
At Lõgeuile, the capitain of Beffe erle therof by gift.
At the Roche Guyon, sir Guy Butteler late capitain of Roan, and by the kyng lorde of the same.
At Danuile, sir Christopher Bourden.
At Couches, sir Robert Marbury.
At Chierburgh, sir Ihõ Geddyng.
At Bacquiuile, the lord Rosse, lord therof by gift.
At Gaylard, the same lorde.
At Dangew, Richarde Woouile.
At Arques, sir Iames Fines bayly of Caux.

At Newcastle, sir Philip Leche.
At Monceaux, the same sir Philip.
At Gourney, sir Gilbert Vmfreuile.
At Estripagny, Richard Abraham esquire.
At Senclere Surgette, Willyam Basset.
At Nanffle, therle of Worcester.
At Gysors, the said erle.
At Maunt, therle of Marche.
At Boncouilliers, Ihon Aburgh Baylife of Gysors.
At Vernon, sir William Porter.
At Melans, sir Thomas Rampsō after hym sir Ihon Fastolffe.
At Homflewe, therle of Salsbury and after the duke of Clarence by gift.
At Bretnell, sir Henry Mortimer baylife of Homflew.

If I should here reherse what tounes wer conquered, what fortresses were yelded, and who wer made capitaines of thesame, this Pamphlet would turne to a volume more tedious then pleasaunt, and therfore I ouer passyng small names and muche doyng, will returne again to the principall thynges touchyng the sequele of this historye. And who so desireth to know all the circumstances of the deliuery, lette hym ouerloke the Frenche writers, whiche to aduoyde shame confesse and write the veritee.

¶ THE SEUENTH YERE.

The. vii. yere.

WHEN the gettyng of Roan and the deliuery of the other tounes wer blased and blowen through the whole realme of Fraunce, wonder it is to tell and more to beleue howe the hertes of the Frenchmen wer sodainly heuy and their courages sone coled, mournyng and lamentyng the imminent mischief whiche they sawe by the diuision of the nobilitee like shortely to fal on their heddes: and the more sorowyng their euil chance because they sawe no remedy prepared, nor yet none help at hand thought on. But whosoeuer kicked or wynched at this matter, Ihon duke of Burgoyn raged and swelled, ye and so muche freated that he wist not what to saie and lesse to doe: And no meruaill, for he was vexed and troubled with a doble disease at one only tyme. For he only ruled both kyng Charles and his, and did all thynges at his will whether reason agreed or no, and for that cause he knewe that he was neither free from disdain nor yet deliuered from the scope of malice. And therfore he imagined that all mischiefes and calamities whiche chaunced in the common wealth should be imputed and assigned to his vnpolitike doyng or to his negligent permission: wherfore he ymagined it profitable to the realme and to hymself moste auaylable, if he by any meanes possible could deuise, practise or inuent any waie or meane by the which he might reconcile and ioyne in amitee the two great and mightie kynges of Englande and of Fraunce. Whiche thyng once obteigned and beyng deliuered from all feare of exterior hostilitee, he determined first to reuenge his quarell against Charles the Dolphyn, and after to represse all causes of grudge or disdain, and to recouer again both the fauor of the commonaltee and also to put awaie all causes of suspicion or imagined infamy against hym and his procedynges. And intēdyng to buyld vpon this fraile foundacion, sent letters and Ambassadors to the kyng of Englande, aduertisyng hym that if he would personally come to a communicacion to bee had betwene hym and Charles the Frenche kyng, he doubted not but by his onely meanes, peace should be induced and blouddy battaill clerely exiled.

KYNG Henry heard gentely the Ambassadors and agreed to their request and desire, and so came to Manate, where at the feast of Pentecost he kept a liberall hous to all commers, and sat hymself in greate estate. On which daie ether for good seruice before by them done, or for good expectacion of thynges to come, he created Gascon de Foys a valiaunt Gascoyn erle of Longeuile, and sir Ihon Grey was likewise made erle of Tankeruile, and the Lorde Burshier Erle of Ewe. After this solempne feast ended, the place of the enteruiewe and metyng was apoynted to be beside Melans on the riuer of Seyne, in a faire playne euery parte was by comissioners appoynted to their grounde. The Frenchmen dicked, trenched, and paled their lodgynges for feare of afterclappes: But the Englishmen had their parte only barred and ported. The kyng of Englande had a large tent of blewe veluet

veluet and grene richely embrodered with two deuises, the one was an Antlop drawyng in an horse mill, the other was an Antlop sittyng in an high stage with a braunche of Olife in his mouthe: And the tente was replenished and decked with this poysie. After *busie labeure commeth victorious reste*, and on the top and heigth of thesame was set a greate Egle of golde, whose iyes were of suche orient Diamondes that they glistered and shone ouer the whole felde.

THE Frenche kyng likewise had in his parke a faire pauilion of blew veluet richely embrodered with flower deluse, on the toppe of the same was set a white Harte flyyng; made all of fyne siluer with winges enameled. Betwene these two Campes or enclosers was apoynted a tent of purple veluet for the cousailers to mete in and euery part had an egall nombre to watch on the night and to se good ordre on the day.

WHEN the day of appoinctment approched, the kyng of England accompaignied with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, and the duke of Excester his vncle, and Henry Beauford Clerke his other vncle which after was bishop of Winchester and Cardinall and the earles of Marche, Salisbury and other to the numbre of a thousand men of warre, entered into his parke and toke his lodging. Likewise for the Frenche part, thether came Isabell the Frenche quene because the kyng her husband was fallen into his old frenaticall disease hauyng in her compaigny the duke of Burgoyn and therle of Sainct Paule, and she had attendyng on her the faire lady Katheryn her doughter and. xxvi. ladies and damoselles, and had also for her furniture a thousande men of warre.

AFTER these estates had reposed themselfes one night in their tentes, the next day all such as were appointed repaired toward the pauilion ordained for the consultacion. Where the kyng of England, like a prince of great stomacke and no lesse good behauior receiued humbly the Frenche quene and her daughter and them honorably embraced & familierly kissed. The duke of Burgoyn made lowe curtesy and bowed to the kyng, whom the kyng louyngly toke by the hand and honorably entertained. After salutacions and embrasynges finished, they fel to counsel within the pauilion assigned, whiche was kept with a garde appointed by both the parties that none but comissioners shuld once attempt to enter. After the kynges requestes made & his demaundes declared, the French quene and her company toke leaue louyngly of the kyng of England and returned to Ponthoyse to certifie her husband of her demaundes and claymes. And kyng Henry returned to Mante. The next day after they assembled againe, & the Frenche part brought with them the lady Katherin, only to thentent that the king of England seyng and beholdyng so fayre a lady and so minion a damosel, should so be inflamed and rapte in loue, that he to obtayne so beautiful an espouse, should the soner agre to a gentle peace & louyng composicion. This company met together viij. seueral tymes, sometyme the one party was more and sometyme the other. And notwithstandyng that the Englishmen and Frenchmen were lodged no great distance asunder, yet was there neuer fraye nor occasion of tumulte or riot prouoked or stirred of any of both the parties, whiche (bothe their natures considered) is somewhat to be marueiled at.

IN this assemble many wordes were spent and no dedes done, many thinges required and few offered, many argumentes made and no cõclusion taken. Some authors write that the dolphyn to let this treatie sent to the duke of Burgoyne sir Tauegny du Chastel, declaryng to him that if he would let this agrement, he would cõmen with him and take suche an ordre, that not only they but the whole realme of Fraũce should therof be glad and reioyce: But what was the very cause of the breche, no man certainly declareth. When no effect ensued of this long consultacion, both parties after a princely fashion departed, the Englishmen to Mantes and the Frenchmen to Ponthoyse.

THE kyng of England was nothing pleased nor yet contented that this cõunicacion came to none ende, wherfore he mistrustyng the duke of Burgoyn to the very let and stop of his desires and requestes, sayd vnto him before his departyng: fayre cosin,

we wil haue your kynges daughter and al thinges that we demaund with her or we wil driue your kyng & you out of his realme. Well sayd the duke of Burgoyn, before you driue the kyng and me out of his realme, you shalbe wel wēried, and therof we doubt lytle.

AFTER this departure, the duke of Burgoyn beyng nobly accompanied, roade to the toune of Melune wher the dolphyn then soiorned where in the plaine feldes they. ii. like frendes cōmoned together & cōcluded apparantly an open amitie & sure frendship, which was written by notaries and signed with their handes and sealed with their great seales and armes, but as the sequele sheweth, heart thought not that tong talked, nor mind meant not that hand wrote. This treaty was concluded the. vi. day of Iuly in the yere of our lord 1419 and was proclaimed in Paris, Amience and Ponthoyse.

THIS newe alience notified shortly to the kyng of England liyng at Maunt, which therwith was sore displeased, and not without cause For he perceiued that the force of these two princes were much stronger now beyng vnited in one, then they were before beyng seperated & deuided. Yet notwithstandyng this great sworne and sealed amitie, he nothyng more minded then to set forward his intended enterprise with the ayde of God to performe his conquest maugre and euil wyll and puissance of his enemies. Wherfore he sent the capitayne of Bueffe brother to the earle of Foys newly created earle of Longuile with. xv. C. men secretly to the toune of Ponthoyse, whiche on Trinitie sonday erly in the mornyng came to the toune, and so sodainly and so shortely set vp their skalyng ladders to the wall, that they were entred into the toune or the watche perceiued them, cryyng saint George, saint George the lord Lisleadam capitain of the toune perceiuyng the walles skaled and the market place gained, opened the gate toward Paris, at the whiche he withal his retinue and diuers of the tounes men to the nombre of. viij. thousand fled. For the Englishmen durst not because their nombre was smal ones deuide them selues or fal to pilferyng, til about prime the duke of Clarence came to their ayde with. v. thousand men, and by the way he encoūtred diuers burgesses of the toune flyyng with al their substance toward Beauuoys whō he toke prisoners & brought them againe to their olde dwellyng place. When the duke was come to Ponthoyse, he muche praised the valiantaes of the assailantes and gaue to them the chief spoyle of the toune and marchauntes of the which they had great plenty and foyson. Then the duke with a great puissaunce came before Paris and lay before the cytie two daies and two nightes without any proffre either of issue by his enemies or of defēce if he had the same assauted, whiche he could not wel do because it was long and ample, and his nōbre small, and for so great an enterprise not furnished: Wherfore seyng that his enemies durst not ones loke on him, he returned againe to Ponthoyse, for the taking of whiche toune, the countrey of Fraunce, & in especial the Parisiens were sore dismayed and astonied, for there was no fortresse hable to resist or withstand. In so much the Irishmen ouercame al the Isle of Fraunce and did to the Frenchmen dammages innumerable (as their writters affirme) and brought dayly praies to the Englishe armye. And beside that, they would robbe houses and lay beddes on the backes of the kine and ride vpon them, and cary yong children before them and sell them to the Englishmen for slaues: whiche straung doynges so feared the Frenchemen within the territory of Paris and the coūtrey about, that the rude persons fled out of the villages withal their stuffe to the cytie of Paris.

THE French kyng and the duke of Burgoyn liyng at S. Denise hearyng of all these doynges, departed in all the hast with the quene and her daughter to Troys in Champaigne, there takyng great deliberacion what was best to be done, leauyng at Paris the earle of S. Paul and the lord Lisleadam with a great puissance to defende the cytie. At the same tyme the duke of Clarence toke the strong toune of Gysors, & after that was taken the toune of Gayllard: and all the tounes of Normandy shortly after were either taken by force or rendred, except the Mount saint Michel, which because the gayne therof was very lytle and

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the losse in assautyng semed to be very muche, and also it could do small harme or none to the countrey adioynyng, was neither assaulted nor besieged.

AND thus as you haue heard, was the duchy of Normandy reduced agayne into the right line and restored to the possession of the right heyre, which had bene frō the tyme of kyng Henry the third, in the yere of our lord 1255 wrongfully detained from the kynges of England.

THE wisemen of Fraunce sore lamentyng the chaunce of their coūtrey and the misery of their people sawe and perceiued that they had puissance ynough to defende their enemies if they were at a perfite cōcord amongest themselues. For they apparantly sawe that although there wer a peace openly concluded betwene the dolphyn and the duke of Burgoyn, yet they imagined that no good fruit succeded of the same for the duke either for secret displeasure that he bare to the dolphyn, or for the doubt that he had of thenglishmē, neuer assailed by him self the army of kyng Henry, nor neuer sent ayde or succours to the Dolphyn. Wherfore by meanes of frendes a new cōmunicacion was appointed to thentent that the corrupt dregges of their olde malice and inwarde grudges might be clearely cast out and extinct. The place of this metyng was appointed at the toune of Monstrel fault Yonne, so called because a small brooke called Yonne runneth there to the riuer of Sein ouer which riuer was made a bridge, with diuers barres ouerthwart so that the princes openyng the barres might eche embrace and touche other, and kepyng the barres shut, eche might se & common with other at their pleasure. The day was appointed when these. ii. great princes should mete on this bridge, to thentent that all ciuile discord should by this cōmunicacion be cleare forgotten, or at the least should be suspended tyl the enemies were vanquished and driuen out of their coūtries and confines. But this mocion worse succeded then the entreators deuised, for while euery man was fulfilled with hope of peace and concord, crafty imaginacion crepte out of cancard displeasure had almost brought al thinges from libertie into bondage.

WHEN the day and place of the solempne enteruiew was agreed & assigned, Tauagny du Chastel, a mā prompt and prone to all mischief, called to his remembraunce the shamefull murder of Lewes duke of Orleaunce (vnder whom he had long bene a capitaine) done and committed by this duke of Burgoyne as before you haue heard, determined with him selfe to reuenge the death of his olde Maister and lorde. Some say that he was therto stirred & prouoked by the dolphyn (and not vnlike) for the dolphyn whiche bare a continual hatred to the duke of Burgoyn, imagined paraduenture by this meanes to represse and subdue the whole power and high pride of this duke, without any suspection of fraude or reproche of vntruth or vilany. Wel the day came, which was the. xii. day of August, and euery prince with his nombre appointed came to this bridge. The duke of Burgoyne beyng warned by his frendes to kepe his closure and the barres on his side shut, lytle regarded his frēdes mōnicion as a mā that could not auoide the stroke for him prouided, and so opened the barres and closure and came to the dolphyns presence, whiche was cleane armed, and kneled doune on the one kne, shewyng to him great reuerence and humilitie. The dolphyn shewed him no louyng countenaunce, but reproued him, laiyng to his charge muche vntruth and great dishonor. The duke againe boldly defended his cause. Nowe the duke duryng this cōmunicacion kneled styl and his sworde was at his backe with often turnyng and mouyng in answeryng the dolphyn and his counsel, and so he put his hād backe to plucke his sworde forwarde: what quod sir Robert de Loyer, wyll you drawe your sworde against my lorde the dolphyn? when Tauagny du Chastel apperceiued that an occasion was geuen to performe his enterprise, incontinent he strake him with a hatchet on the head so that he could not speake, other standyng by shortly dispatched him of his life. Diuers of his part, thinkyng him not dead, began to draw weapon, amongest whom the lord Nouale was slaine, and the other taken. For this murther were condempned (but not apprehended) by Parliament the president of Prouynce, the vicount of Narbone, Guylliam Battelier, Tauagny du Chastel, Robert Loyre and. iiij. other. This was the ende of Ihon called the proude duke of Burgoyne,

whiche more regarded ciuile warre and intestine dissencion, then his owne life & welfare. And this sodein death as I thinke came to him not without desert for shamefully murtheryng Lewes duke of Orleance the French kings brother. Such is the iustice of God, that bloud for the most parte is recompensed with bloud, & vnnatural homicide is requited with shameful death or sodein destruction.

AFTER this heynous murder, thus committed, I might reherse how the dolphyns seruauntes despoyled the duke of all his garmentes to his sherte, and couered his face with his hosen. I could declare how the dolphyn sent his letters to Paris and other cities and townes, publishing vntruely diuers opprobious wordes spoken, & diuers great and outragious offences done by the duke against the kyng and the whole realme. I could further declare how the wisemen of Fraunce detested and abhorred this abhominable act, perceiuyng the ende that was like to ensue, and how the contrary side, whiche was the linage of Orleance reioysed and laughed at this miserable chaunce and sodain fal: but because thenglish nacion was partie neither to the facte nor to the counsel, I wyll declare what the kyng of Englande did after this notorious dede done and committed.

¶ THE. VIII. YERE.

The. viii. yere.

WHen Philip erle Charoloys sõne and heyre to this duke Ihon, and now by this murther and death of his father duke of Burgoyn and erle of Flaũders was enformed lyyng at Gaunt of this misfortune and final ende of his noble parent and louyng father, he toke the matter as he had cause, greuously and heauily, insomuche that no mã of his cõusel durst ones speake to him, and in especial the lady Michel his wife, syster to the dolphyn and daughter to the kyng, was in great feare to be forsaken and cast out of his house and fauoure: But as all thinges ende, so sorow asswageth. When his doloure was somewhat mitegate he fyrst by thaduise of his counseil receiued to his fauor and company the fayre duches his louyng wife, and after sent diuers notable ambassadours to the king of England lyyng at Roan to treate and conclude a peace betwene them both for a certain space. To which request in hope of a better chaunce kyng Henry agreed. After that knot knit, he kept a solempne obsequy for his father at saint Vaas in Arras wher were. xxiii. prelates with crosses: Duryng which tyme the earle of saint Paule and the Parisiens sent to hym ambassadours to know what they should do, and how they should defend them selues against the Englishmen. He gently answered the messengers, that he trusted shortly by the ayde of God and licence of the kyng to conclude a peace and perpetual amitie to their great cõfort & relief. When these ambassadors were departed to make relacion to the Magistrates and gouernors of the cytie of Paris, he after long cõsultacion had aswel with men of the spiritualtie as temporal and lay persons, sent the bishop of Arras and two notable persons to the kyng of England with certaine articles and clauses which the duke of Burgoyn offred to him for very loue as he sayd. The kyng of England consideryng with him selfe that the duke of Burgoyn was a cõuenient organe and a necessary instrument to conueigh his desires to his purpose, louyngly receiued & honorably enterteined the dukes ambassadours, declaryng vnto them that he would without prolongyng of tyme send to hym his Ambassadours, whiche should open his lawful requestes & reasonable desires. With this answere, the dukes messengers departed towarde Arras and incontinent after their departure, kyng Henry sent the erle of Warwike and the bishop of Rochestre with many knightes & esquiers to the duke of Burgoyn, whiche to hym declared the effect and purpose of their ambassade and cõmyng: he gently heard their requestes, and some he alowed and some he augmented, and some he altred and disalowed, but in cõclusion, by often sendyng betwene the kyng & the duke they were agreed, so the kyng and his cõmons would assent. Now was the Frenche kyng and the quene and his daughter Katheryn at Troys in Champaigne, gouerned and ordred by them whiche would rather. x. tymes spurre forward the purpose & ententes of the duke of Burgoyn

Burgoyn then once with a bridle to pul backe any one iote preferred by him. What should I say, a truce tripertited betwene the, ii. kynges and the duke and their countreys was determined, so that the kyng of Englād should send in the cōpany of the duke of Burgoyn his Ambassadors to Troy in Chāpaigne sufficiently authorised to cōclud so great a matter. The kyng of England beyng in good hope that all his affaires should prosperously succede and go forward, sent to the duke of Burgoyn his vncle the duke of Exceter, the erle of Salsbury, the bishop of Ely, the lord Fanhope and lord Fitzhugh, sir Ihon Robsert and sir Philip Hal with diuers doctors to the nombre of CCCCC. horse, whiche in the cōpany of the duke of Burgoyn came to the cytie of Troys the xxi. daye of Marche. The kyng, the quene and the lady Katherin them receiued and heartely welcōmed, shewyng great signes and tokens of loue and amitie. After a fewe daies they fel to counsel, in the whiche it was cōcluded that kyng Henry of England should come to Troys and mary the lady Katherin, and the kyng should make him heyre of his realme, croune and dignitie after his death and departure out of this naturall life with many other articles whiche hereafter in a place more conuenient you shal heare rehersed.

WHEN all these thynges were done and concluded, the Ambassadors of England departed toward their kyng leauyng behynde them sir Ihon Robsert to geue his attendaunce on the lady Katherin. When kyng Henry had heard his Ambassadors reherse the articles and pointes of the treatie and amitie concluded, he condiscended & agreed with all diligence to set toward Troys, lōgyng for the sight of his darlyng the fayre lady Katherin. And althoughe he reioysed that all thynges succeded more luckely to his purpose then he before imagined, yet he trusted not so much to the glosyng wordes and golden promises of the Frenche nacion beyng his auncient enemies, that he would rashely aduenture his person without a perfite serch and diligent inquirie of the doynges and attemptes of his doubtful and newe reconciled frendes, beyng warned and admonished by the late mischance of Ihon duke of Burgoyn yet recent in euery mans eye. But when he sawe the sunne shyne and ayre clere on euery syde, he accompanied with the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester his brethren, the earles of Warwike, Salsbury, Huntyngdon, Ewe, Tankeruile and Lōguile and, xv. thousand men of warre, departed from Roan to Ponthoyse, and from thence to sainct Denis two leagues from Paris, and from thence to Pontcharenton where he left a garison of menne to kepe the passage, and from thence by Prouynce, he came toward Troys, whiche the duke of Burgoyn accompaignied with many noble men receiued hym two leagues without the toune and cōueighed hym to his lodgyng and his princes with hym, and all his armie was lodged in small villages theraboute. And after he had reposed himself, he went to visete the kyng, the quene and the lady Katheryn, whom he founde in Saincte Peters Churche, where was a ioyous metyng, honorable receiuyng and a louyng embrasyng on bothe partes, whiche was the twenty daie of Maie. And ther wer the kyng and the lady Katherin made sure together before the high Aultare, and on the third daie of Iune nexte folowyng, thei were with all solempnite espoused and maried in the same Churche. At whiche mariage the Englishmen made suche triumphes, pompes and pagiauntes as though the kyng of all the worlde had been present. In so muche (as three Frenche writers affirme) that the nobles of Fraunce more merueled at the honor and glory of the Englishmen, then thei disdeigned or maligned at their owne fortune.

AND when these solempne ceremonies wer honorably finished and the mariage consummate, the twoo kynges and their counsail assembled together diuerse daies, wherin the former league and treatie was in diuerse poyntes altred and brought to a certaintie by the deuice of the kyng of Englande and his brethren. When this great matter was finished, the kynges sware for their part to obserue this agrement and league in all poyncte. Likewise sware the duke of Burgoyn and a great nombre of princes and nobles whiche wer presente, and that the soner because they marueiled before at his noble Actes dooen by kyng Henry, of whom thei had knowledge only by report, and now thei more marueled when thei sawe and beheld the honor, estate & wisedome of his persone. But whether thei sware with outwarde

warde countenaunce and inwardly thought the contrary, let them whiche knowe the Frenche constancy iudge and tell truthe. But assuredly thei perceiued hym to bee prudent bothe in askyng and geuyng counsaill. Thei sawe hym expert and apt to marciall feates, and nymble in all thynges apperteignyng to warre. Thei thought hym strong against all perelles and imagined hym fortunate in all chaunces and doynges, wherfore as I saied, their muche marueled at hym, and more regarded his persone. Then was he named and proclaimed heire & Regent of Fraunce. And as the French kyng sent the copie of this treaty to euery toune in Fraūce, so the kyng of Englande sent the same in Englishe to euery citee and market toune to be published and deuulged, the very copie whereof as it was then written, woorde by woorde ensueth.

¶ The Articles and appoyntementes of the peace betwene the realmes of Englande and Fraunce.

HENRY by the grace of God kyng of Englande, heire and Regent of Fraunce, lorde of Irelande, to perpetuall mind to Christen people and all tho that be vnder our obeisance we notefie and declare that though there hath been here aforne diuerse treaties betwene the moste excellent Prince Charles our father of Fraunce and his progenitors for the peace to be had betwene the twoo realmes of Fraunce and Englande the whiche here before haue borne no fruite: We considerynge the greate harmes the whiche hath not onely fallen betwene these twoo realmes for the great deuision that hath been betwene the, but to all holy churche. We haue taken a treaty with our saied father, in whiche treaty betwixt our saied father and vs, it is concluded and accorded in the forme after the maner that foloweth.

1 FIRST it is accorded betwixt oure father and vs, that forasmuche as by the bond of Matrimony made for the good of the peace betwene vs and our most dere beloued Katheryn doughter of our saied father and of our moste dere mother Isabell his wife, thesame Charles and Isabell been made father and mother, therfore them as our father and mother we shall haue and worship as it sitteth and semeth so a worthy prince and princesse to be worshipped principally before all other temporall persones of the world.

2 ALSO we shall not distroble, disseason or letten our father aforsaid, but that he holde and possede as long as he liueth as he holdeth and possedeth at this tyme the croune and the dignitee royall of Fraunce, and rentes and proffites for thesame of the sustenance of his estate and charges of the realme. And our forsaid mother also hold aslong as she liueth thestate & dignitee of Quene, after the maner of the same realme with conuenable conuenience part of the said rentes and proffites.

3 ALSO that the forsaid lady Katherin shall take and haue dower in our realme of Englande as Quenes of England here afore wer wont for to take and haue, that is to say, to the some of xl. M. Scutes, of the whiche two algate shalbe worth a noble Englishe.

4 ALSO that by the waies maners and meanes that we maie without transgression or offence of other made by vs, for to kepe the lawes, customes, vsages and rightes of our saied realme of Englande shall doen our labor and pursute that thesaid Katheryn al so sone as it maie be doen, be made sure to take and for to haue in our said realme of Englande from the tyme of our death thesaied dower of xl. M. scutes yercly, of the whiche twayne algate be worth a noble Englishe.

5 ALSO if it hap the said Katheryn to ouerliue vs, she shall take and haue the realme of Fraunce ymediately, from the tyme of our death, dower to the some of. xx. M. Frankes yerely of and vpon the landes, places and lordshippes that held and had Blaunch somtyme wife of Philip Boscele to our saied father.

6 ALSO that after the death of our father aforsaied, and from thence forwarde, the croune and the realme of Fraunce with all the rightes and appurtenaunces shall remain and abide to vs and been of vs and of our heires for euermore.

7 ALSO forasmuche as our saied father is witholden with diuerse sicknes, in suche maner as

as he maie not intende in his owne persone for to dispose for the nedes of theforsaied realme of Fraunce: therfore duryng the life of our saied father, the faculties and exercise of the gouernance and disposicion of the publique and common proffite of the saied realme of Fraunce with counsaill and nobles and wise men of the same realme of Fraunce shalbe and abide to vs: So that from thencefurthe we maie gouerne the same realme by vs. And also to admit to oure cõsaill and assistence of thesaid nobles suche as we shall thynke mete the which faculties and exercise of gouernance thus being toward vs, we shall labor and purpose vs spedefully, diligently and truly to that that maie be and ought for to be to the worship of God and our saied father and mother, and also to the common good of thesaied realme, and that realme with the counsaill and help of the worthy and great nobles of thesame realme for to be defended, peased and gouerned after right and equitie.

ALSO that we of our owne power shall do the courte of the Parliament of Fraũce to be kept & obserued in his authorite and soueraignte and in all that is doen to it in all maner of places that now or in tyme commyng is or shalbe subiect to our saied father. 8

ALSO wee to oure power shall defende and helpe all and euery of the Peres, nobles, cities, tounes, commonalties and syngular persons now or in tyme commyng subiectes to our father in their rightes, customes, priueleges, fredome and fraunchises longyng or dewe to them in all maner of places now or in tyme commyng subiect to our father. 9

ALSO we diligently and truly shall trauaile to our power and do that iustice be administered and doen in the same realme of Fraunce after the lawes, customes and rightes of thesame realme, without personalx excepcion. And that we shall kepe and holde the subiectes of the same realme in tranquilitie and peace, and to our power we shall defend them against all maner of violence and oppression. 10

ALSO we to our power shall prouide, and do to our power that able persones and proffitable been taken to the offices aswell of iustices and other offices longyng to the gouernaunce of the demaynes and of other offices of the said realme of Fraunce for the good, right and peaceable Iustice of the same, and for thadministration that shalbe comitted vnto them and that they be suche persons that after the lawes and rightes of the same realme and for the vtilitee and proffite of our saied father shall minister, and that the forsaied realme shall bee taken and deputed to thesame offices. 11

ALSO that wee of our power so sone as it maie commodiously bee doen, shall trauaile for to put into the obedience of our saied father, all maner of cities, tounes and Castles, places, countrees and persones within the realme of Fraunce disobedient and rebelles to our saied father, holdyng with them whiche been called the Dolphin or Arminack. 12

ALSO that we might the more comodiously, surely and frely doen exercise and fulfill these thynges aforsaid. It is accorded that all worthy nobles and estates of the same realme of Fraunce aswel spirituals as temporalles, and also citees notables and cominonalties, and citezens, burgeis of tounes of the realme of Fraunce, that been obeysaunt at this tyme to our saied father shall make these othes that folowen. 13

FIRST to vs hauyng the facultie, exercise, disposicion and gouernaunce of the forsaied common proffite to our hestes and commaundementes thei shall mekely and obediently obeye and intende in all maner of thyng concernyng the exercise of gouernance of thesame realme. 14

ALSO that the worthy greate nobles and estates of the saied realme aswell spirituals as temporalles and also citees and notable commonalties and Cittezens and Burgeses of the same realme in all maner of thynges well and truly shall kepe and to their power shall do to be kept of so muche as to theim belongeth or to any of theim all, those thynges that been apoyncted and accorded betwene our forsaid father and mother and vs, with the counsaill of them whom vs lust to calle to vs. 15

ALSO that continually from the death and after the death of our saied father Charles, they shalbe our true liegemẽ and our heires, and they shall receiue and admit vs for their liege and soureigne and verie kyng of Fraunce, and for suche to obeye vs without opposicio, contradiccion or difficultee, as they been to our forsaid father duryng his life, neuer 16

after this realme of Fraũce shall obey to man as kyng or regent of Fraunce, but to vs and our heires. Also they shall not be in counsaill helpe or assente that we lese life or lymme, or be take with euill takyng, or that we suffre harme or diminicion in person, estate, worship or goodes, but if thei knowe any suche thyng for to be cast or ymagined against vs, thei shall let it to their power, and they shall doen vs to weten therof as hastely as thei maie by theimself, by message or by letters.

17 ALSO that all maner of conquestes that should bee made by vs in Fraunce vpon the saied inobedientes out of the Duchie of Normandy shalbe doen to the proffite of our said father, and that to our power we shall do that al maner of landes and lordshipes that been in the places so for to be conquered longyng to persones obeyng to our saied father, whiche shall sweare for to kepe this presente accord shalbee restored to thesame persones to whom they long to.

18 ALSO that all maner of persones of holy Church beneficed in the Duchy of Normandy or any other places in the realme of Fraũce subiect to our father and fauouryng the partie of the dukes of Burgoyne whiche shall sweare to kepe this present accord, shall reioyce peaceably their benefices of holy Churche in the Duchy of Normandy, or in any other places next aforsaied.

19 ALSO likewise all maner persones of holy Churche obedient to vs and beneficed in the realme of Fraunce and places subiect to our father that shall swere to kepe this presente accord, shall enioye peaceably their benefices of holy Churche in places next abouesaied.

20 ALSO that all maner of Churches, Vniuersitees and studies generall, and all Colleges of studies and other Colleges of holy Churche beyng in places now or in tyme commyng subiecte to our father, or in the Duchy of Normãdy, or other places in the realme of Fraunce subiect to vs, shall enioye their rightes and possessions, rentes, prerogatiues liberties and fraunchises longyng or dewe to theim in any maner of wise in the said realme of Fraunce, sauyng the right of the croune of Fraunce and euery other persone.

21 ALSO by Goddes help, when it happeneth vs to come to the croune of Fraunce, the Duchy of Normandy and all other places conquered by vs in the realme of Fraunce shall bowe vndèr the commaundement obeysaunce añd Monarchy of the croune of Fraunce.

22 ALSO that we shall enforce vs and dooe to our power that recompence bee made by our said father without diminicion of the croune of Fraunce, to persones obeiyng to hym and fauoryng to that partie that is said Burgoyn, to whom longeth landes, lordshippes, rentes or possessions in the said Duchy of Normandy or other places in the realme of Fraunce conquered by vs hethertoward, geuen by vs in places, and landes gotten or to be gotten and ouercome in the name of our said father vpon rebelles and inobedientes to hym. And if it so bee that suche maner of recompence bee not made to the saied persones by the life of our saied father, we shall make that recompence in suche maner of places and goodes when it happeneth by Goddes grace to the croune of Fraunce. And if so be that the landes, lordshippes, rentes or possessiõs the whiche longeth to suche maner of persones in the saied Duchy and places be not geuen by vs, thesame persones shalbee restored to theim without any delaye.

23 ALSO duryng the life of our father in all places nowe or in tyme commyng subiect to him, letters of common iustice and also grauntes of offices and giftes, pardõs or remissions and priuileges shalbe written and procede vnder the name and seale of our saied father. And forasmuche as some synguiar cace maie fall that maye not bee forseen by mannes witte, in the whiche it might be necessary and behouefull that we do write our letters, in suche maner cace if any hap for the good and surety of our saied father and for the gouernaunce that longeth to vs as is beforsaied, and for to eschewen perilles that otherwise might fall to the preiudice of our saied father to write oure letters, by the whiche we shall commeaunde, charge and defende after the nature and qualitie of the nede in our fathers behalfe and oures as Regent of Fraunce.

24 ALSO that duryng oure fathers life wee shall not calle ne write vs kyng of Fraunce, but vtterly we shall absteyne vs from that name as long as our father liueth.

ALSO that our saied father duryng his life shall nempne, call, and write vs in French in this maner *Nostre treschier filz Henry Roy Dengleterre heretere de Fraunce*, and in latin in this maner. Precharissimus filius noster Henricus Rex Angliæ & heres Franciæ. 25

ALSO that we shall put none imposicions or exacciõs, or do charge the subiectes of our said father without cause resonable and necessary, ne otherwise then for common good of the realme of Fraunce, and after the saiyng and askyng of the lawes and customes reasonable, approued of thesame realme. 26

ALSO that we shall trauaile to our power to the effect and intent, that by thassent of the three estates of either of the realmes of Fraunce and Englande, that all maner of obstacles maie be doen awaie, and in this partie that it be ordeigned and prouided that frõ the tyme that we or any of our heires come to the croune of Fraunce, bothe the crounes that is to saie of Fraunce and England perpetually be together in one and in thesame persone, that is to saie from our fathers life to vs, and from the terme of our life thence forward in the persones of our heires that shalbee one after another. And that bothe realmes shalbee gouerned fro that wee or any of our heires come to thesame, not seuerally vnder diuerse kynges in one tyme, but vnder that same person whiche for the tyme shalbe kyng of bothe the realmes and souereigne lorde as it is beforesaid, kepyng neuerthelesse in all maner of other thynges to ether of ỹ same realmes their rightes, liberties, customes, vsages and lawes, not makyng subiecte in any maner of wise one of thesame realmes to the rightes, lawes or vsages of that other. 27

ALSO that henceforwarde, perpetually shalbee still reste, and that in all maner of wise, discencions, hates, rancoures, enuies, and warres betwene thesame realmes of Fraunce and England, and the people of thesame realmes, drawyng to accorde of thesame peace maie cease and bee broken. 28

ALSO that there shalbe fro hence forwarde for euermore peace and tranquillitee and good accord and common affeccion and stable frendship betwene thesame realmes and their subiectes beforesaied: the same realmes shall kepe thẽselfes with their counsaill helpes and comon assistence against all maner of men that enforce theim for to doen or to ymagine wronges, harmes, displeasours or greuaunce to theim or to ether of theim. And thei shalbe conuersaunt and Marchandisen frely and surely together paiyng the custome dew and accustomed. And thei shalbe conuersaunt also, that al the confederates and alies of our said father and the realme of Fraunce aforsaid, and also our confederates, of the realme of Englande aforsaied, shall in. viij. monethes from the tyme of this accord of peace as it is notified to thẽ, declare by their letters that they wolle draw to this accord and woll be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauyng neuerthelesse ether of the same Crounes, and also all maner accions rightes and reuenues that longen to our sayd father and his subiectes and to vs and to our subiectes againe such maner of allies and confederacies. 29

ALSO neither our father neither our brother the duke of Burgoyn shall begynne ne make with Charles elepyng himselfe the dolphyn of Vyennes any treaty or peace or accorde but by counsel and assent of all and eche of vs thre or of other thre estates of either of the sayd realmes aboue named. 30

Also that we with assent of our sayd brother of Burgoyn & other of the nobles of the realmes of Fraũce the whiche therto owen to be called shal ordaine for the gouernance of our sayd father sekyrly, louyngly and honestly after the askyng of his royal estate and dignitie by the maner that shalbe to the worship of God and of our father and of the realme of Fraunce. 31

ALSO all maner of persons that shalbe about our father to do him personal seruice, not onely in office but in all other seruices aswell the nobles and gentles as other shalbe suche as hath bene borne in the realme of Fraunce or in places longyng to Fraunce, good, wise, true and able to that foresayd seruice. And our sayd father shall dwell in places notable of his obedience and nowhere els. Wherfore we charge & cõmaunde our sayd liege subiectes and 32

other beyng vnder our obedience that they kepe and do to be kept in all that longeth to them this accord and peace after the forme and maner as it is accorded. And that they attempte in no maner wyse any thyng that may be preiudice or cõtrary to the same accorde and peace vpon paine of life and lymme and all that they may forfaite against vs. Youen at Troys the. xxx. day of May 1420 and proclaimed in London the. xx. day of Iune.

33 ALSO that we for the thinges aforesayd and euery one of thẽ shall geue our assent by our letters patentes sealed with our seale vnto oure sayd father with all approbacion & confirmacion of vs and all other of our bloud royal and all other of the cities and tounes to vs obedient sealed with their seales accustomed. And further oure sayd father beside his letters patentes sealed vnder his great seale shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory and confirmacions of the peres of his realme and of the lordes, citezens and burgesses of the same vnder his obedience, all which articles we haue sworne to kepe vpon the holy Euangelistes.

HERE I ought not to forget howe. ii. men named learned in bothe the lawes, the one called master Ihon Bouchet the Aquitanical writer & Archedeacon of Terbe, & the other Master de Prato a solempne prothonotary his pratyng gloser wrote of this treaty and composiciõ, and make therof so a great matter as by the makyng of this peace it shuld appeare that England had no right to Fraũce, nor by this graunt nothyng to England was geuen. Fyrst Ihon Bouchet saieth that this treaty was the worst cõtract that euer was made for the kynges of England, for by this saith he it is apparant that the kyng of Englãd hath neither tytle nor right to the croune of Fraunce but by this cõposicion, for if they had right, why did they take it by cõposicion? vpon this text Master gloser saieth, that this composicion geueth a new right, and if there wer any old it taketh it away and geueth a new, whiche new gift was of litle value and lesse efficacie in the law because the issue female may not enherite accordyng to the lawe Salique, & therfore he cannot make his doughter heyre to the croune of Fraunce. If I might be so bold I wold axe Maister Ihon Bouchet this question: if a mã wrongfully kepe me out of the possession of my true and lawful inheritaunce (with whom I am neither able with purse neither with power to prosecute my cause before a competent iudge by proces of the lawe) wyll of his owne mere mocion (moued paraduenture with conscience) render to me my right, so I wyl suffre him to enioy my lande duryng his life, or that I wyl mary his daughter, haue I this land by his gift or as a thyng to me iustly by law and equitie rendred and receiued. Likewise if a riche man owe to a poore man an hundreth poundes, whiche is not able in substance or for feare of displeasure dare not attempt any suyte or quarel against his detter, if he wyl offer to pay his money at dayes, to the whiche request the poore man agreeth, is this a newe gift of the money or a payment of the det. In the fyrst question if the demaũdant had no tytle, how could he graunt to him the accion of the land duryng his life, and in the second, if the plaintiffe had none interest how could he geue him *daies of* payment and yet in both the cases if the one part had no right why would the other make an offre or cõpound, for all cõposicions haue respect to a right precedent. But in this matter, who would iudge that a kyng of so great & puissant a realme with the assẽt of his own counsel would disherite his onely sonne & surrendre his title without an apparant right and open tytle knowen and shewed by the partie, for the olde prouerbe sayeth, long sufferaunce is no acquittance, nor prolongyng of tyme derogacion to right, also restitucion is no graũt, nor payment of duetie is no gift. Doctors write and clerkes afferme that these treaties, arbitrementes and composicions be bothe godly, charitable and honest, both to restore the one partie to his auncient right (whether it be in landes or goodes) and to dispence & releue the other with the takyng of the profites of the land and vsyng in marchandies the occupacion of the money. Now to Master gloser whiche affirmeth that a composicion taketh away an old right & geueth a new and that this cõposicion is of no value: surely Master Ihon de Prato I would haue suche a peuyshe proctor reteined against me for you say that euery cõposicion geueth a new right and taketh away the aunciẽt title, yet you sayd before ỹ this cõposicion neither geueth nor can geue any right, whiche cõclusion is manifestly repugnant to the antecedent therfore you must be answered thus, if nothyng

nothyng be geuen nothyng is taken away, & so consequently no cõposicion, & if there be no cõposicion then remaineth styl the olde and auncient tytle in the state that it was. Paradventure Master gloser wyl say and allege the tytle of England to be abrogated because the house of Valoys may lawfully prescribe against the kynges of England and haue had the possession fortie yeres and more, & so by this meane kyng Hëry had no tytle to clayme or chalenge any part of the realme of Fraunce. Then I pray you remember the yeres & accompt the doynges and you shall euidently perceiue that kyng Edward the third the very indubitate heyre general to the croune of Fraunce kyng Richard the second, kyng Henry the fourth and this noble kyng Henry the fift neuer desisted. vi. or. viii. yeres at the moost either by battaile or treatie to chalenge and clayme their aũcient right and old enheritaunce to thẽ by quene Isabel discended, so the title was euer in strife and neuer quiet tyll nowe the right lyne is restored: And as for your law Salique put it in your boget among lyes & fayned fables. Thus you may se the affections of Frenchemen, that an Arche foole cannot forge a lye for his pleasure, but a prothodawe wyll faine a glose to maintaine his folish fãtasie. Let vs now leue these wylful writers and returne to the kyng of England, which after al these articles of the treaty beyng concluded and sworne, made the Frenche kyng the duke of Burgoyn and other the Frenche lordes a solempne and sumptuous supper and banket, and before their departyng he sadly and soberly sayd to them these wordes.

All my thought care & study is (you noble princes & men of high honor) to inuent the meane, study & way, how both my kyngdomes by the benefite of almightie God enlarged & amplified, by the cõnexyng & ioynyng the one to the other may be left to my posteritie clene & pure without domestical dissẽcion or ciuile discorde, to thentent that as no prince nor potestate hath at this day in all Europe a greater gouernance, a richer regiment nor a more puissant empire: So I trust to leue it that hereafter ther shal no power or dominion be able to be to it cõpared or equyolent. Wherfore I entende fyrst to extirpate & plucke away the rotes & leuynges of the ciuile discẽcion in this realme lately begon which ly in the brest of Charles the kynges sõne, by your decre, iudgement and assent, of the newe state and dignitie of the Dolphyn vtterly deprined and disgraded, against whom it is eõuenient and decent that you beare armure not so muche to destroy & confound him, as to bring him to dõ obaysance and reasonable cõformitie. What maner a prince thinke you he would proue, when he should obtaine & possesse a kyngdome, which beyng but a lusty yong striplyng not fearyng God nor regardyng his honor contrary to his promise & against all humaine honestie, was not ashamed to polute & staine him selfe with the bloud and homicide of the valeaunt duke of Burgoyn, O cancard stomacke in the brest of a yong prince, oh tyrannical heart in the body of a gentle man, O vntrue tong in the mouth of a Christen man, a Christian, no a Pagane, whiche neglecting his honor, violatyng his promise and dispisyng honestie, would procure or cõsent to so abhominable a fact and sedicious a murder. Wherfore these thynges well pondered and iustly considered I require you to ioyne, stand, and cleue with me as the very heyre & successor of my dere & welbeloued father in lawe kyng Charles in this realme & kyngdome, fyrst to my noble auncesters, & after to me by right title and iust clayme lawfully discended. Grudge not I pray you because I that am an Englishman shall succede in the croune of Fraũce: I assure you I am not nor wil not be noted to be to you a mere alien and straunger, was not my great grandfather kyng Edward the third sõne to quene Isabel daughter to Philip the fayre and sister and heyre to iii. kynges of this reime dead without issue? was not my great graundmother quene Philip discended of the noble house of Valoys? if the old & trite prouerbe be true that the womans side is the surer side and that the childe foloweth the wombe, although the one part be Englishe yet the surer part is Frenche, and of the Frenche floure budded & brought furth. And therfore remembre not that I am an English mã put out of your mindes in what-coũtrey I was borne: and cõsider that I am a christen man & an anoynted kyng, to whõ by both the professions it apertaineth not onely to defend & protect their people & subiectes from foreign powers & outward inuasions, but also to minister to them indifferent iustice, to conserue them in pollitike ordre & moderate

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moderate quietnes: & finally accordyng to their desert and merites, thē to promote auance, & prefer to riches, honors and estates: which thinges if I would not do to you my trusty frendes whose louyng heartes and beneuolent myndes I shall neuer forgette nor put in obliuion, I should not do my dutie to God I shuld not do the office of a kyng nor I shuld not do that whiche by the lawes of nature and reason I ought to do, which is to rendre kyndnes for kyndnes, goodnes for desert, and honor for merite. Therfore to cōclude I humbly require you to stande strong with kyng Charles my father in lawe (who in the stede of myne owne parent I worship, loue and honor) in this concord and agrement whiche I both call & trust to be a peace final, and after his mortal ende to loue, serue & be true to me and my posteritie, and I assure you for my part that the Occean sea shall soner leue his flowyng and the bright sunne shal soner leue his shinyng, then I shall ceasse to do that whiche becommeth a prince to do to his subiecte, or that a father ought to do to his natural child.

WHEN he had thus persuaded the nobilitie, he with all his army, hauyng with him the Frenche kyng and the duke of Burgoyn came before the toune of Sene in Burgoyn whiche toke part with the dolphyn: and after that he had destroied the countrey about it, at the. xv. day the toune was yelded and there he made capitain the lorde Ienuale. And from thence he remoued to Monstreau fault yone, where the duke of Burgoyn was slain as you haue heard, whiche toune was taken by assault and many of the dolphyns parte apprehended before they could get to the castel. After the gettyng of the toune, the castle whiche was newly replenished with men and vitayle, denied to rēdre, and so it was strongly besieged: duryng whiche assault the duke of Burgoyn was enformed by diuers in what place the duke his father was buried, whose corps he caused to be taken vp & sered and so cōueighed it to Diron in high Burgoyn and buried it by duke Philip his father.

THE kyng of England sent certaine of the prisoners that he had taken in this toune to aduise the capitaine of the castle to yeld the same, but they obstinatly denied the request, geuyng opprobrious wordes to the kynges Herault, wherfore the kyng of Englād caused a gybbet to be set vp before the castle, on the whiche were hanged. xii. prisoners all gentlemen and frendes to the capitaine. When the lord of Guytry lieftenant of the castle perceiued that by no meanes he could be succoured, and fearyng to be taken by force, he beganne to treat with the kyng of Englād, whiche in. viij. daies would take none of his offers, but in cōclusion he and his rendred them selues simply, their liues onely saued, and after. vi. wekes siege the castle was deliuered, & the earle of Warwike was made capitain of the toune and castle, whiche fortefied the same with men, ordinance and artillerie. From thence the king of England departed to Molyn vpon Seyne and besieged it round about in whose company were the Frenche kyng, the yong kyng of Scottes, the dukes of Burgoyn, Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester.

The duke of Barre.
The prince of Oreng.
The earle of Niche in Auerne.
Therle of Huntyngdon.
Therle of Stafford.
Therle of Sommerset.
Therle Marshal.
Therle of Warwike.
Therle of Worcester.
Therle of Suffolke.
The archbishop of Britayne earle of Yury.
The lord Charles of Nauer.
Therle of Perche.
Therle of Mortaine.
Therle of Ormond.
Therle of Desmond.
Therle of Ewe.
Therle of Tankeruile.
Therle of Longuile.
Therle of saint Paule.
Therle of Brayne.
Therle of Ligny.
Therle of Vatedeuontur.
Therle of Ioiuigny.
The Lord Rosse.
The Lord Matrauers.
The Lord Gray of Codnor.
The Lord Bourchier.
The Lord Audely.
The Lord Wylloughby.
The Lord Clynton.
The Lord Deyncost.

The

The Lord Clyfford.
The Lord Ferreys Groby.
The Lord Ferreys of Chartley.
The Lord Talbot.
The Lord Fitzwaren.
The Baron Dudley.
The Lord Mouerancy.
The lord Aubemond of Normãdy.
The lord Beauchãpe of Normãdy.
The Lord Furniuale.
The Lord Fitzhugh.
The Lord Fanhope.
The Lord Scrope of Balos.
The Lord Scrope of Vpsabe.
The Lord Canneys.
The Lord Bardolf.
The Lord Scales.
The Baron of Care.
The Lord Duras of Gascon.
The Lord de la Laund Gascoy.
The Lord Montferrant.
The Lord Louel.
The Lord Botras of Burge.
The Lord of Chastelon.
The Lord Lisleadam.
The Lord Vergeer.
The Lord of Crony.
The Lord sent George.
The Lord Pesunes.
The Lord Daugien.
The Lord Tremoyle.
The Lord Ienuale.
Sir Ihon de Lawuoy.
Sir Ihon Courselles.
The lord of Barenbon.
The lord of Ialous.
The lord Bonuile.
Syr Guy de Bar.
Syr Ihon Fastolf.
Syr Philip Halle.
Syr Philip Leche.
Syr Ihon Rodney.
Syr Morice Browne.
Syr Piers Tempest.
Syr Robert Tempest.
Syr Guy Moyle.
Syr Ihon Stanley.
Syr Lewes Mohu.
and. xv. Maister souldiers.

THESE valeaunt princes & noble men besieged the strong toune by the space almost of vii. monethes, they without made mynes, cast trenches and shot gunnes dayly at the walles, they within wherof the lord Barbason was chief capitaine manfully defended the same, this euery day was skyrmishing, scalyng, & assautyng, to the losse of bothe parties, but most of all to the losse of thẽ within. Duryng whiche siege the Frenche quene and the quene of England, and the duches of Burgoyn came diuers times to visite their husbandes and se their frẽdes, whom the kyng of England so highly feasted, so louyngly entertained and with so pleasant pastymes comforted them, that euery creature of him reported honor, liberalitie, and gentlenes. This siege so long cõtinued that vitayles within the toune began to fayle, and pestilence began to growe, so that the capitaine began to treat, and in cõclusion the toune was deliuered vpon certain condicions, wherof one was that all that were concentyng to the death of the duke of Burgoyn should be deliuered to the kyng, wherof the lorde Barbason was suspected to be one, and so they were deliuered to the kyng of England, whiche sent thẽ vnder the condoyte of the duke of Clarence his brother to the cytie of Paris wherof the Frenche kyng made him capitaine and he toke possession of the bastyl of saint Anthony, the Louure, the house of Neele, and the place of Boys de Vynaunes:

WHEN this toune was thus yelded, the kyng of England made capitaine ther therle of Huntyngdon. Frõ thence he departed with his army to Corbeil, where the Frenche kyng and the two quenes then soiorned, and from thence the. ii. kynges accompanied with the dukes of Bedford, Burgoyn, Gloucester and Exceter, and therles of Warwike Salisbury and a greate numbre of noble men and knightes set furthe toward Paris, whom the citezens in good ordre met without the gates and the Clergy also with solempne processiõ, al the stretes wer hanged with riche clothes & the people in the stretes shouted and clapped handes for ioye, the twoo kynges rode together, the kyng of Englande geuyng the vpper hande to his father inlawe through the greate citee of Paris to our Lady Churche, where after they said there deuocions they departed to their lodgynges, the Frenche kyng to the hous of Sainct Paule, & the kyng of Englande to the Castle of Louure. The next day the twoo

Quenes

Quenes made their entree into Paris and wer receiued with like solempnite as their husbandes were the day before. If I should declare to you the greate giftes, the costly presentes, the plenty of vitaile that was geuen to the kyng of Englande: or reherse how the conduites abundantly spouted out wine of diuers colours, or describe the costly pagiantes, the plesant songes or swete armony that wer shewed song and played at diuers places of the citie, or shewe the greate gladnes, the hertie reioysing and the greate delight that the comen people had at this concorde and peace finall, I should reherse many thynges that you would be weried both with the readyng and hearyng.

DVRYNG the season that these. ii. kynges thus lay in Paris, there was a greate assēble called, aswell of the spiritualtie as of the nobilitie in the which the two kynges sat as iudges, before whom the Duches of Burgoyn by her proctor appeled the Dolphin and. vii. other for the murdre of duke Ihon her husband. To the whiche appele the coūsaill of the other part made diuers offers of amendes, aswel of foundaciōs of priestes to praie for the solle, as recompence of money to the widowe and children, for the finall determinaciō wherof the kynges toke a farther deliberacion and appoincted a farther day. To the citee of Paris at this tyme resorted the three estates of the realme, where euery persone seuerally sware vpō the holy Euangelistes to kepe, support, maintein, and defende the treaty and peace finall which was concluded betwene the two princes and their counsailes and therto euery noble man, spirituall gouernor, and tēporall rulers set to their seales, whiche instrumentes wer sent to the kynges treasury of his Exchequer at Westminster, sauely to be kept wher they yet remain. These two kynges soiorned in Paris all the feaste of Christmas. The Frenche kyng liyng at the hous of S. Paule kept no estate nor open court to no man except his houshold seruauntes and men of base estate frequented his hous. But the kyng of Englande and his Quene, kepte suche solempne estate, so plentifull a hous, so princely pastynie, and gaue so many gyftes that from all partes of Fraunce, noblemen and other resorted to his palice to se his estate and do hym honor.

THEN the kyng of England toke vpon hym as Regent of Fraūce to redresse causes, remoue officers, reforme thynges that were a misse, and caused a new coyne to be made called the Salute, wherin wer the Armes of Fraunce and the Armes of England and Fraūce quarterly. And to set all thynges in a quietnes, he constituted sir Gilbert Vmfreuile capitain of Melun with a good numbre of valiant souldiers, and the erle of Huntyngdon his cosyn germain was deputed capitain at Boys de Vincens, and the duke of Excester with. v.C. menne of warre was assigued to kepe the citee and toune of Paris. When he had thus ordered his affaires according to his deuice & ordre, he with the quene his wife his princes and nobles departed from Paris and caue to the citie of Roan. But before his remouyng, he caused proces to be made against Charles called the Dolphyn, cōmaundyng hym to appere at the table of Marble at Paris, where for lacke of aperance he was with all solempnitie in suche a cause requisite denounced giltie of the murther and homicide of Ihon late Duke of Burgoyne, and by the sentence of the court of parliament he was exiled and banished the realme and territories of Fraunce, and depriued of all honores, names, dignities and preheminences which he then had or herafter might haue. Wherefore the Dolphyn went into Languedoc and after to Poyctiers gettyng to hym suche frendes as he could, and in especiall he obteigned so highly the fauor of therle of Arminack that he not onely toke his part, but also relcued hym with money, aided hym with men and in his own persone continually serued hym against his foes and enemies.

WHILE Kyng Henry soiorned in the citee of Roan, he receiued homage of all the nobles of Normandy: emōgest whom therle of Stafford did homage for the countie of Perche, and Arthur of Britayn did homage for the countie of Yury, whiche the kyng before had geuen to them. He also ordeined his liuetenaunt generall both of Fraunce and Normandy his brother Thomas duke of Clarence, and his deputie in Normandy was the erle of Salisbury. When the feast of Christmas (whiche he kepte with all triumphe and solemptie in his castle of Roan) was passed, he with the quene his wife departed from Roan to Amiēs and so came

came to Caleis where he toke ship the morow after Candlemas day and landed at Douer, and came to Eltham and so through Londō to Westminster. Meruel it is to write but more meruel it was to se, with what ioy, what triumphe, what solace and what reioisyng he was receiued of all his subiectes, but in especiall of the Lōdoners, which for tediousnesse I ouer passe. And no doubt Englande had greate cause to reioyce at the coming of suche a noble capitain, so valiant a prince and so mightie a conqueror, whiche in so small space and so briefe tyme had brought vnder his obeysance the greate & puissant realme & dominion of Fraunce. And first to rendre to God his creator moste hūble & hertie thankes, he caused solempne processions to be obserued & kept v. daies together in euery citee and toune: After that done he made greate purueighance of all thynges necessary for the coronacion of his Quene & spouse the faire lady Katheryn, whiche was doen the daie of. s. Mathy the. xxiiij. daie of February, on whiche solēpne feast she was cōueighed on fote betwene ii. bishops vnder a riche canapie frō the greate halle at Westminster to. S. Peters churche, & there she was anointed & crouned with al ỹ ceremonies to so great an estate aperteinyng or requisite. After which solēpnitie ended, she was again with great pōpe cōueighed in to westminster hall & ther set in ỹ throne at the table of marble at the vpper end of the hall: whose seruice and solēpnite who so list to rede let him loke on the Chronicle of Robert Fabiā which declareth it at large.

¶ THE NYNTH YERE.

The. ix. yere.

WHile these thynges were thus dooyng in Englande, the duke of Clarence brother to the kyng and his lieuetenāt generall in Fraunce and Normandy, assembled together all the garrisons of Normandy at the toune of Bernay, and from thēce departed into the countrie of Mayne, and at Pount degene he passed the riuer of Youe and rode through all the countrie to Lucie where he passed the Riuer of Loyre and entered into Aniowe, & came before the citee of Angiers where he made many knightes, that is to saie, sir William Rosse, sir Henry Godard, sir Rowlād Rider, sir Thomas Beaufforde called the bastard of Clarence and diuerse other, and after that he had forraid, brent, and spoyled the coūtrie he returned with praie and pillage to the toune of Beaufford in the valey, where he was aduertised that a greate numbre of his enemies wer assembled together at a place called Bangie, that is to saie, the duke of Alanson callyng hymself leuetenant generall for the Dolphyn

Therle of Marche in Auerne.
Therle of Merle.
Therle of Ponthiure.
The Vicount Thomars.
The Vicount Chasteaulerat.
The Vicount Damboyse.
The Lorde of Egle.
The Bastard of Alanson.
The Bastard de la Marche.
The Bastard of Vandosme.
The Lorde Champaine.
Sir Anthony of Champayne.
The Lorde of Fountayes.
The Lorde of Bellay.
The Lorde Dauerton.
The Lorde Rambures.
The Lorde Tanagny de Chastell.
Sir Ihon Turmyn.
The Lorde Dasse.
The Lorde Buell.
The Lorde Gaules.
The Lorde of Grauency.
The Lorde dela Brete.
The Lorde de la Faiet Marshall to the Dolphyn.
The Baron of Coluces.
The Lorde Danzebost.
The Lorde Vipond Diagosales, capitain of the Spaniardes
And of the Scottes whiche were late come out of Scotlande to serue the Dolphyn.
Ihon erle of Boghan and Robert his brother, sonnes to the gouernor of Scotlande.
Archibald Dowglas erle of wigtō.
Alexāder Lynsay brother to therle of Crayford.
Sir Thomas Swynton.

Sir William Stuard.
Sir Willyam Doglas.
Sir Ihon Turnebull.
Sir Robert Lisle.
Sir William Conningham.
Sir Alexander Meldryne.
Sir Alexander Hume.
Sir Ihon Balglauie.
Sir Willyam Lisle.
Sir Ihon Haliburton.
Sir Ihon Crawforth.
Sir William Candey.
Sir Ihon Grey.
Sir Ihon Commyn.
Sir Rober Boence.
Sir Archibalt Forbosse.
Sir Ducane Comine & many other.

THE duke of Clarence had a Lomberd resorting to hym called Andrewe Forgusa was retained with the part aduerse, of whom the duke inquired the nūbre of his enemies, to whō he reported that their numbre was but small and of no strength and far vnmete to compare with halfe the power of his puissaunt armie, entisyng and prouokyng hym to set on the Frenchmen, warrātyng hym a famous victory and a faire daie The duke geuen to muche credite to this traytor, like a valiant and coragious prince assembled together all the horssemen of his army and lefte the Archers behynde hym vnder the ordre of the Basturde of Clarence and two Portyngales capitaines of Fresnye le Vicount, saiyng that he onely and the nobles would haue the honor of that iorney. When the duke was past a straight and a narowe passage, he espied his enemies ranged in good ordre of battaill by the monicion of the Lombard whiche had sold hym to his enemies, and thesaid aduersaies had laied suche bushementes at the straightes that the duke by no wayes without battaill could ether retire or flie. The Englishemen seyng no remedy valiauntly set on their enemies whiche wer foure to one, the battail was fierce and the fight dedly, neuer wer so fewe men seen more coragiously to defend theimselfes then did the Englishemen that daie they fought and defēded, the slewe and felled, but it auailed not, for they wer repressed with a multitude and brought to confusion. There were slain the duke of Clarence, therle of Tankeruile, the Lorde Rosse, Sir Gilbert Vmffreuile erle of Kent, and sir Ihon Lumley, sir Robert Verend and almoste two thousand Englishemen, and therles of Somerset Suffolke and Perche, the Lorde Fitzwater, sir Ihon Barkely, sir Rauffe Neuell, sir Henry Iuglos, sir Willyam Bowes, sir Willyam Longton, sir Thomas a Borough and diuerse other taken prisoners, and of the Frenchemen wer slain aboue. xij.C. of the best men of warre so that they gained not much. The Bastard of Clarence whiche taried at Beauford was enformed of the numbre of the Frenchmen, wherfore he with all the Archers made hast to succor the Duke, but they came to late, for the Frenchmen, hearyng of the approchyng of the Archers fled with their prisoners with all the hast they could, leuyng behynde theim the bodie of thesaid duke and the ded carions. When the archers came and sawe their enemies gone: Lorde howe they mourned & lamented the euell chance of the deceiued duke, but seyng no remedy, thei tooke the ded bodies and buried theim all sauyng the dukes corps, whiche with great solempnitie was sent into Englande and buried at Cantorbury beside his father. After this the Englishemen brente and spoyled the countrie of Mayne and so returned to Alaunson and there departed euery man to his Garrison. This battail was fought at Bawgy in Anjow on Easter euen in the yere of our Lordē a thousande. CCCC. xxij.

I lament the foly and foolishenes of this duke and I marueil at his vnwitty doyng and rashe enterprise, that he would aduenture his life and hazard his compaignie leuyng behynde hym the Archers whiche should haue been his shilde and defence: What maie be said, he desired honor and loste his life, he coueted victory and was ouercome, thus is the old prouerbe verified which saieth: If shepe ronne wilfully emongest Wolues they shall lese ether life or fell.

KYNG Henry beyng aduertised of this infortunate chance and deceatfull losse of his louyng brother, sent without delaie Edmond erle of Mortaigne and brother to therle of Somerset into Normandy, geuyng to hym like authoritee & preheminencē as his brother the late deceassed duke of Clarence had or enioyed. After that he called his highe courte

courte of Parliamente, in the which he declared, so wisely, so seriously and with so greate a grauitie the actes that wer done in the realme of Fraūce, the estate of the tyme presente and what thynges wer necessary for the tyme to come (if they would looke to haue that Iewell and high kyngdō for the whiche they had so long laboured and sought for) that the comonaltie gladly graunted a fiftene, and the Clergy beniuolently offred a doble disme, and because no delay should be in the kynges affaires for lacke of paiment, the bishoppe of Wynchester his vncle lent to hym. xx. M. pounde, to be receiued of the same dismes. When all thynges necessary for this voyage wer ready and prepared, he sent his brother Ihon duke of Bedford with all his armie (whiche the Frenchmen write to be. iiii. M. men of Armes and. xx. M. Archers and other) before hym to Caleis. And he himself shortly after in the middle of May passed the seas and arriued there in greate triūphe, where to hym was shewed that the Dolphyn with. vii. M. men had besieged the toune of Chartiers whiche was manfully defended by the Bastarde of Thyan and other set and apoynted there by the duke of Excester. Kyng Henry not myndyng to lose so faire a toune, with all his Armie departed in good ordre of battaill toward Paris, and at Mōstreull there receiued hym the duke of Burgoin, whiche frō that place attended on the kyng to Dowast in Ponthiew and so came to Abbeuile, and after the kyng tooke a toune of sir Iaques of Harecort called la Ferte, and there the duke departed from the kyng for a sixe daies promisyng on his honour by that daie to returne, the kyng of Englande passed forwarde by Beauuoys Gisors, and from thence came to Boys de Vincens where he founde the Frenche kyng and his Quene, whom he louyngly saluted and they him again honorably receiued and highly feasted, and thether came accordyng to his appoyntment Philip duke of Burgoyn, where was daily consultyng and he wisely deuisyng howe to subdue and represse the haultnes and force of the Dolphyn, hauyng perfight knowledge that as long as he ether liued or wandered vnbrideled so long should neuer the treaty and finall peace be obserued, wherefore he and the duke of Burgoyn apoynted in all the haste to fight with the Dolphyn and to reise the siege before Charters. The kyng of Englande with all his puyssaunce came to the toune of Naunte, and thether repaired the duke of Burgoyn with. iiii. M. men, of whose commyng the king was not a litle reioysed, but or they from thence departed, they had knowledge and true instruccion that the Dolphyn heryng of the puissant army of the kyng, approchyng to geue hym battail, was reculed with his people toward Towers in Towrayne. Wherfore the kyng of England incontinent, not onely sent the duke of Burgoyn into Picardy to resist the malice of sir Iaques Harcort whiche daily inferred war and caused wast & destruccio in the same coūtrie, but also apointed Iames kyng of Scottes to lay siege to the toune of Driex, whiche so sore by sworde and engins enforced the inhabitantes that after sixe wekes passed, they deliuered thesame to the kyng of Scottes, to the behofe of kyng Henry his souereigne Lorde whiche made there of capitain the erle of Worcester and baily there, sir Henry Mortimer. The king himself remoued from Naūt and passed ouer the riuer of Leyre, folowyng the Dolphyn toward Tours: but he mistrustyng his power and puttyng diffidēce in some of his owne flocke fled to Burges in Berrie, and chosyng that place as his chiefe refuge and surest fortresse bothe for the situacion of the place and also for the fidelitie and constancie of the people, determined there to tary till fortune would turne her whele and loke on hym with some gracious looke or louyng countenaunce, and therfore in a Iest he was comonly called the kyng of Burges and of Berries. The kyng of England with all his puissance so fast folowed the fliyng Dolphyn, that vitail began to faile, and horssemen waxed scante: so that he consideryng that Burges beeyng the Dolphyns onely succoure and refuge, beeyng well-vitailed and well manned was more profitable and auailable to the defender, then to hym that should make the assaute, wherfore he willyng to saue his people from famyne whom he knewe to be from the dente of the Frenche sworde clerely exempt and vntouched, returned ouer the riuer of Leyre and gat Gasconeis vpon Youne, and a toune called the kynges Newe toune, and diuerse other whose names nowe to reherce were more tedious then pleasaunt. But he seyng the toune of Meaux in Brye not to bee a toune

replenished with enemies, in the middest of his new gotten subiectes determined to take away the open scruple whiche might poyson and infecte the membres dwellyng hard by, wherfore he with these nobles folowyng besieged the said citee of Meaux.

Therle of Worcester.
Therle of Yury.
Therle of Bravon.
The Lorde Clifford.
The Lorde Fortiuall.
The Lorde Louell.
The Lorde Awdely.
The Lorde Seynt Mawre.
The Lorde Deyacort.
The Lorde Zouche.
The Lorde Morley.
The Lorde Fanhope and his sonne whiche died there.
The Lorde Ferreis of Chartley.
The Lorde Botreux.
The Lorde Clynton.
The Lorde Harryngton.
The Lorde Willoughby.
The Lorde Fitzhewe, the kynges Chamberlaine.
Sir Ihon Germayne.
Sir Ihon Fastolffe.
Sir Lewes Robsert.
Sir Willyam Gascoyn.
Sir Robert Harlyng.
Sir Willia Philip & diuerse other.

THIS toune was no lesse vitailed then manned, and no better manned then fortified; so that the kyng of Englande could nether haue it to hym deliuered at his pleasure, nor he could not gayne it by assaut without his greate losse and detriment. Wherfore he determined not to depart til he had ether gained or subuerted the toune. Duryng this siege was borne at Wynsore on the daie of. S. Nicholas in Nouember the kynges sonne called Henry, whose Godfathers were Ihon duke of Bedford and Henry bishop of Wynchester, and Iaquet Duches of Holād was Godmother, wherof the kyng of England was certefied lyng at this siege of Meaux. Whē he was aduertised of this good fortune and happie chaunce that God had sent him a sonne, he gaue thankes to his Creator or redemer for the geuyng to hym so goodly an ympe which should succede in his croune & scepter. But when he heard reported the place of his natiuitie, whether he fantasied some old blind prophesy, or had some foreknowledge, or els iudged of his sōnes fortune, he sayd to the lord Fitzheugh his trusty Chamberlein these wordes. My lorde, I Henry borne at Monmoth shall small tyme reigne & much get, & Hēry borne at Wyndsore shall long reigne and al lese, but as God will so be it. After the quene of England was thus deliuered of her faire sonne she returned into Fraunce firste to her husbande, and after to her father and mother where she was on all partes so honorably receiued, so louyngly entertained and so highly feasted that she appeared to be no lesse loued of her noble husbande then of her naturall parentes.

¶ THE TENTH YERE.

The. x. yere.

DVryng the tyme of this siege, sir Oliuer Manye a valiant man of warre of the Dolphyns part, whiche before was capitain of the Castle of Faloys and yeldyng it by composicion, sware neuer to bere Armure against the kyng of England, assembled a great numbre of men of warre aswell of Britons as Frenchemen, that is to saie: The lorde Mountburchier, the lorde of Coynon, the lorde of Chastelgiron, the lorde Tyntignace, the lorde Dela Howssay and diuerse other whiche entered into the coūtree of Constantine in Normandy, and robbed and killed the Englishmen where thei might ether espie or take theim at their auauntage: but therle of Suffolk keper of those Marches hearyng of their doynges, sent for the lorde Scales, sir Ihon Aston bayly of Constantine, Sir Willyam Halle, sir Ihon Banaster and many other out of the Garrisons within that territory, whiche encountered with their enemies at a place called *le Parke Leuecque* in English the bishops Parke, ther was a sore and a long fight, many a propre feate of Armes was done that daie and many a man was in that place ouerthrowen, the Englishmen onely desired victory, and the Frenchmen desired a safe returne, but in cōclusion the Frenchmen beyng not able to withstand the charge that was laied to them began to flie, in which conflict and flight wer slain, the lorde Coynon, the lorde of Castell Giron, and three hundred

dred other and there wer taken prisoners, the lorde Dela Howsay and sir Oliuer Manny and. lx. other. The kyng being aduertised of this good chance and happy iorney, sent sir Oliuer Manny to hym liyng before Meux, to whom he saied, fair father your haue sworne and promised vnto vs that you would neuer make war nor beare armure against vs nor our subiectes, ye are an aficient knight and ought to haue kept your faith and promise, whiche you haue vntruly and vnhonestly broken and violate, and yet we wolle not (although by the lawe of armes we might lawfully so doue) put you to death but graunt to you your life, but we wolle sende you into Englande to lerne you to speake Englishe, and so shortly after he was sent to London where for very shame & mere Malyncoly he died and was buried in the White Friers.

THE Scottes write (beleue theim if ye will) that the kyng of England hearyng that the Dolphyn had sent for aide into Scotland and that he had retained theim in wages (for of their owne abilitie they bee nether able to send an army ouer the sea, nor yet of substaunce to beare a continuall warre, for this all their owne histories declare and their Chronicles make mencion, and yet the countrie is not so poore but the people be as proude) sent one daie for Iames the Scottishe kyng and in the presence of his counsaill declared to hym what humanite, what fauor and what synguler affection kyng Henry his father bare duryng his naturall life toward thesaid kyng of Scottes: Puttyng hym in remembraunce of the great loue and manifold gratuites which he himself sithe the beginnyng of his reigne had exhited and shewed to the same kyng Iames, that neither he nor his father had any thyng negligently omitted whiche ether might apperteigne to the office of a frend or to the dutie of a tutor whiche should loue and cherishe his Orphane or pupile, promisyng hym libertie with a greate rewarde if he would cause the Scottes whiiche wer adherentes to the Dolphin to returne again into their countree and natiue region. To the whiche request the kyng of Scottes with a very freshe herte answered saiyng: what your noble father hath done to me & what fauor & benefite I haue receiued at your handes, I shall not nor will not when I maie (I assure you) forget, and when my power shall serue I shall not faile to recompence your dooynges with like kyndnes. But of your request I maruell not alitle, first considerynge that I am a prisoner and haue no possession of my realme, secodairely that I am as yet nether sworne to my subiectes, nor they by no oth of allegeance are bound to obey my comaundemetes: wherfore I desyre you no more to moue me in this thyng which now I canot do, & yet if I might I would fyrst forese whether it wer to me honorable or to my realme honest to leue our old frend in his extreme necessitie without ayd or cofort. With this answer the kyng of England was not cotent (as the Scottes say), but after king Iames departing fro his presence, kyng Henry saied, happy shall they bee whiche shalbe subiectes to suche a kyng that is endued with suche wit and wisedome at these yong yeres of age.

THE kyng of England liyng styl before the toune of Meux in Brye as you haue heard sore bet the walles with ordinance & cast doune bulwarkes and rampeyres on euery syde of the toune, and sore oppressed them within the toune, whero f hearyng the lord of Offemond, with a copany of chosen persons set by the dolphyn, came priuely in the night to the walles and set vp a ladder and diuers of his company mounted vp and entred into the toune, and as he passed ouer a plancke to come to the walles he fell into a deepe ditche, the Englishemen hearyng this noyse ranne to the ditche where they toke the lord of Offmount & slewe diuers of his company whiche stode at defence. The capitaine within the toune perceiuyng that their succours were taken, playnely iudged that the toune could not long continue, wherfore they caused all the goodes of the toune to be conueighed into the market place, which was strong and well fortefied. The kyng of England beyng therof aduertised, comaunded in all hast to geue an assault to the toune, whiche was quickly done, so that the toune by fine force was within thre houres taken & spoyled. And the same day the kyng besieged round about the sayd Marketplace, and toke the mylle adioynyng to the same. The capitaines perceiuyng in what case they were, fearyng to be taken by assault, began to treat with the kyng of Englande, whiche appointed the earle of Warwike and the lord Hungerford

gerford to cõmen with them & in conclusicion a treaty was taken, and so the toune and Marketplace with all the goodes, were deliuered into the kyng of Englandes handes the. x. day of May, in the yere of our lord M.CCCC.xxii.

WHEN the deliuery of the strong toune of Meaux was published thorough the countrey, al the tounes and fortresses in the Isle of Fraunce, in Launoys, in Brye, and in Champaine yelded them selues to the kyng of England, which appointed in them valeant capitaines and hardy souldiours.

AFTER that kyng Henry had thus taken and possessed the toune of Meaux and other fortresses at his pleasure, he returned againe to Boys de Vyncennes where he founde the French kyng & the quene & his wife which with all ioye him receiued, and so the. xxx. day of May beyng the vigile of Pentecost, the. ii. kynges and the quenes returned to Paris. wher the kyng of Englād lodged in the castle of Loure, and the Frenche kyng in the house of sainct Paule. These two kynges kept great estate with their quenes at this high feast of Penticost, but the kyng of England (as Enguerant both confesseth & diuers other sayth) kept such a glorious estate and so costly a court that he with his quene sat at diner in Paris richly adorned in vestures and with dyademes of gold garnished with precious stones & decked with Iuelx bothe radiant & pleasant: beside this his princes & estates, barons, chief capitaines, & valiant men of warre wer set in solempne estate plenteously serued and aboundantly feasted, that the people of Paris whiche thither resorted to behold his magnificēt estate, iudged him to be more like an emperor, then their kyng (which sat solitary alone) to be like a duke or a poore Marques. But Enguerant (as I sayd) although he confessed the truth, yet goeth he about to blemishe the glory of king Henry, allegyng that Englishemen were feasted and the Parisians were not once bid drinke, whiche was not the custome of the Frenche kinges court in so solempne and triumphant daies. I am somwhat sory that kyng Hēries seruantes of the seller made not master Enguerant drinke, which then was skoler in Paris, but I more lament ỹ vntrue saiyng & no lesse variable writyng of so famous a clerke whiche to darken the honor of kyng Henry hath clearely defased the princely estate of his owne kyng & soueraigne lorde, for he confesseth that kyng Charles with his quene kept a solemne house within his court of saint Paul, to whose palice no man in maner resorted, but euery French creature was ioyus to view and se the estate and magnificence of kyng Henry. If he haue written true, then must this nedes folow that no subiect reioysyng or hauyng comfort of their owne prince and natural lord wyll leue him desolate & alone, and folowe a straung potestat and seke relief at a forein princes house and table. If the Frenchmen came to wonder at the estate of the kyng of England, then was their princes estate base and not worthy to be regarded: if the Parisiens came to se the princely ordre of his household, then was it manifest that their soueraigne lord kept but a mean family: if the poore peisantes came thither for vitaile and fragmentes it appeareth that their soueraigne lord had a cold kychyn: if they did not all drinke in the kyng of Englandes house, either they were to euil ruled or to vile & lothsome to haue any gentle entertainment in so honorable a court and noble a family, and therefore Enguerāt because he dranke not, euill reported the estate of the English court as he cõmonly doth in al other matters.

THE dolphyn knowyng by his espials wher the kyng of Englād & his power lay, came with al his puissance ouer the riuer of Leyre and besieged the toune of Cosney or Conny and sent parte of his arm to waste and destroye the confines of the duchy of Burgoyne, to the entent to deuide the power of the kyng of Englande from the strength and force of the duke of Burgoyn, and as he purposed, so it happened for the duke of Burgoyn with his power to set forwarde to defend his owne lande & dominion and wrote to the kyng of England to send ayd to thē of Cosney or Conney, whiche had promised to rendre their toune to the dolphyn, if they wer not rescued by the kyng of England within. x. daies. Kyng Henry hearyng this newes answered that he would not send one creature, but he would go before him selfe. And so withal diligence came to the toune of Corbel and so to Senlys, where, whither it were with the heate of the ayre, or that he with his daily labor were febled or

weakened,

weakened, he began to wax sicke, ye and so sicke that he was constrained to tary and to send his brother the duke of Bedford to performe his iorney and enterprise.

THE duke like a valiant capitayne set forwarde to reskue the toune besieged, wherof hearyng the dolphyn with al his capitaines & hardy souldiours departed thence into Barrey to his great dishonor and lesse gaine, & so was the cytie of Cosney or Cōney reskued to the great honor of the Englishe nacion. In the meane season kyng Henry wexed sicker and sicker and so was layd in a horselitter and conueighed to Boys de Vyncens to whom shortly after repaired the dukes of Bedforde and Gloucester his vncles, and the erles of Salsbury and Warwike, whō the kyng louyngly entertained and embrased: and whē they seyng him in so great an agony and excedyng payne began to wepe and bewaile his paineful paines and greuous malady, He with a constant mynde without any outward shewe either of sadde countenaunce or sorowe comforted and encouraged them to be mery and ioyous. But when the crisis of his sicknes was past and that he perceiued that helth was ouercome and had lost the victory, he rendred to God his most heartie thankes, for that chiefly that he called him out of this miserable life at suche tyme when he was of most perfite remembraunce bothe towarde God and the world and also in the time of his florishyng cōquest, in the whiche he had neuer receiued misfortune, euil chance, or spot of dishonor: And turning him self to his brethren and other noble personages sayd to them. My natural brethren and trusty frēdes, I se you lament, I perceiue you bewaile my death approchyng and fatall ende at hand of the whiche I am both glad and reioyce, for this short tyme and smal tract of my mortal life, shal be a testimony of my strength, a declaracio of my iustice, and a settyng furth of all myne actes and procedynges, and shall be the cause that I by death shal obteine fame, glorye and renoume, and escape the reprehension of cowardnes, and the mote of all infamy, whiche I might haue chaunsed to falle into if nature had lenger prolonged my life or daies: for it is commonly sayd, that as tyme chaungeth, condicions alter, and in long time al thinges continue not in one estate. But as eternitie is the triumpher vpō tyme, so do I trust after this short life to haue an eternal beyng, and after this miserable pilgrimage, mine hope is to enioy the celestial kyngdome, and to come to the place of rest and palice of quietnes.

An exhortacion of kyng Henry the fift made a lytle before his death.

NOWE as touchyng you (no doubt but this my sodaine chaunce molesteth your heartes and disquieteth your senses, and not without a cause, you lament the calamitie and mischaunce that is like to fall on your countrey because that I in this troublous worlde and tempestious season leue you destitute of a gouernour and ruler whiche chance is the lesse to be moned and regarded, because in all worldly thynges some thing euer lacketh and nothing long endureth: wherfore because the olde saiyng is, that in tyme of necessitie wit and wysedome be proued, I require you to consult, study and take paine to come to the ende of the iorney whiche I in my tyme haue begon and entered in, & chiefly because I haue euer loued and trusted you aboue all other persons, I require and desire you nowe to shewe like loue and be as trusty to my sōne that shalbe your soueraigne lord, so that whatsoeuer duty, allegiance or fauor for my liberalitie or kindnes to you shewed, was to me either of honestie or ciuilitie due or owyng: let the same for my sake be extended, shewed and recompensed to mine heyre & successor litle prince Henry. Some persons haue hated the father & yet haue loued the child and some haue loued the father and murthered the child, of which sort I neither reken nor accompt you, but this I say, if you loue me; you ought to loue my child, not for his desert, but for myne, and sith now I shalbe taken from you before satisfactiō or recompence made to me for my manyfolde goodnes and ample benefites to you shewed in my life I say & affirme that after my death (excepte you be noted with the blot of ingratitude, I will not say vntrueth) you ought to render the same to my child your nephue or kynsman, I pray God that you do not defraud me of the good expectacion that I haue euer had of you. And because I will not charge you, I wyl frendly exhort you to bryng vp my lytle infant in vertuous liuyng, moral doctrine, and prudent pollicye to thentent that by your paine he may proue wise, by your instruccion, he may proue

prone polliike and by your educacion he may be able to rule a kingdome, and not to be ruled of other: by the which deuoier you shall not onely do your dutie to your prince and soueraigne lorde, but also merite and deserue thankes of your natiue countrey to the which you be both bound and obliged. Beside this my peticion is not onely to cõfort my most derest and welbeloued quene and espouse now beyng (as I thinke, the most dolorus and pensiue womã liuyng) but also to loue her and honor her as I haue both loued and honored you.

AND as touching the estate of my realmes, Fyrst I cõmaund you to loue and ioyne together in one leage or concord and in one vnfained amitie, kepyng continual peace and amitie with Philip duke of Burgoyn. And neuer make treatie with Charles that calleth him selfe dolphyn of Vyen, by the whiche any part either of the croune of Fraunce or of the duchies of Normandy or Guyan may be appaired or diminished. Let the duke of Orleance and the other princes styl remayne prisoners til my sone come to his lawful age, lest his returning home again may kindle more fier in one day then may be well quenched in thre. If you thinke it necessary I would my brother Vmfrey should be Protector of England durvng the minoritie of my child, prohibiting him once to passe out of the realme. And my brother of Bedford with the helpe of the duke of Burgoyne I wyll shall rule and be regent of the realme of Fraunce, cõmaundyng him with fyre and sworde to persecute Charles callyng him selfe dolphyn, to thentent either to bryng him to reason & obeysaunce, or to dryue and expel him out of the realme of Fraunce admonishyng you to lese no tyme, nor to spare no cost in recouerynq that whiche to you is now offered. And what thynges either I haue gotten or you shal obtaine, I charge you kepe it, I cõmaund you to defend it, and I desire you to norishe it: for experience teacheth that there is no lesse praise to be geuē to the keper then to the getter, for verely gettyng is a chaunce and kepyng a wit. Wel I fele that death drayeth neare & I shal not long tary, therfore, I cõmit my solle to God, my loue to my frendes, my sinnes to the deuil and my body to the earth.

THE noblemen pcsent promised to obserue his preceptes and performe his desires, but their heartes were so pensiue & replenished with doloure that one without wepyng could not beholde the other. Then he sayd the seuen Psalmes and receiued the blessed Sacrament, and in saying the Psalmes of the passion completed his dayes and ended his life the last day of August, in the yere of our lord. M.CCCC.xxii.

The discripcion of kyng Henry the. v.

THIS Henry was a kyng whose life was immaculate & his liuyng without spot. This kyng was a prince whom all men loued & of none disdained. This prince was a capitaine against whom fortune neuer frowned nor mischance once spurned. This capitaine was a shepherde whom his flocke loued and louyngly obeyed. This shepherd was such a iusticiary that no offēce was vnpunished nor friendship vnrewarded. This iusticiary was so feared, that all rebellion was banished and sedicion suppressed, His vertues were nomore notable then his qualities were worthy of place, for in strength and agilitie of bodye frō his youth fewe were to him cõparable: for which cause in wrestlyng, leapyng and runnyng no man almoste durst with him presume, in castyng of great yron barres and heuy stones, he excelled cõmonly all men. No colde made him slouthfull, nor heat caused him to loyter, and when he most labored his head was vncouered. He was no more wery of harnes then of a light cloke. Hunger and thirst were not to him noysome. He was neuer aferde of a wounde nor neuer sorowed for the paine. He neither turned his nose from euill sauoure, nor frō smoke or dust he would not close his eyes. No man could be founde more temperate in eatyng and drinkyng, whose diete was not to delicate, but rather mete for men of warre than for vrgyns. Euery honest person was permitted to come to him sittyng at his mele, and either secretly or openly to declare his mynd and intent. High and weightie causes aswel betwene men of warre & other he wold gladly hear, and either determined thē him selfe or cõmitted thē to other to geue sentence. He slept very lytle and that onely by reason of bodely labour & vnquietnes of mynde, frō the whiche no small noyse could awake him, insomuche that when his souldiers either sang in the nightes or their minstreles played that all the campe sounded of

their noyse, he then slept most soudly. His courage was so constant and his heart so vnmutable that he cast away al feare, and dread frō him was banished. If any alarum wer made by his enemies, he was fyrst in armure and the fyrst that would set forward. In the time of war he gat knowledge, not onely what his enemies did, but what they sayd and entended, so that al thynges to him were knowen, & of his deuices few persons before the thing was at the point to be done should be made priuie. He had such knowledge in orderyng and guydyng an armye and suche a grace in encouragyng his people, that the Frenchmen sayd he could not be vaquished in battel. He had suche wit suche prudence and suche pollicie that he neuer enterprised any thyng before he had fully debated it and foreseene al the mayne chaunces that might happen: and when the end was concluded, he with all diligence and courage set his purpose forward. Marueile it is to heare howe he beyng a prince of honor, a prince of youth, a prince of riches, did continually abstain frō lasciuious liuyng & blynd auarice, yea, & in the time of losse he was no more sad then in the tyme of victory, which constacy few men haue or can vse: Suche a stable stomacke had he and such a grauitie was geuen in the bottome of his heart. What pollicy he had in findyng sodaine remedies for present mischiefes, and what practice he vsed in sauyng him selfe and his people in sodaine distresses excepte by his actes they did plainly appeare, I thinke it were almost a thyng incredible. What should I speake of his bountefulnes and liberalitie no man could be more gentle, more liberal nor more free in geuyng rewardes to al persones according to their desertes: Saiyng that he had leuer dye the to be subiect to auerice, and that he neuer desired to haue money to kepe, but to geue and spend. He was mercyful to offenders, charitable to the nedy, indifferent to al men, faithful to his frēdes, and fierce to his enemies, toward God most deuout, toward the world moderate, and to his realme a very father. What should I say, he was the blasyng comete and apparent lanterne in his daies, he was the mirror of Christendome & the glory of his countrey, he was the floure of kynges passed, and a glasse to them that should succede. No Emperor in magnanimitie euer him excelled. No potentate was more piteous nor lorde more bounteous. No prince had lesse of this subiectes and neuer kyng cōquered more: whose fame by his death as lucly florisheth as his actes in his life wer sene and remembred. When his death was published among the cōmen people, incētinet their heartes wer appauled and their courages abated, their dolor so muche encreased & their wittes were so muche troubled that they like mad men rent their garmentes and tare their heere, accusyng and blamyng fortune which had taken away from them so precious a iewel, so noble an ornament & so sure a defence: for no doubt as much hope as was taken awaye frō the Englishmen, for the getyng of Fraunce by his sodain death, so much trust was encreased in the stomackes of the Frenche nacion, hopyng to recouer their aūcient libertie and old parentage. For whiche cause some say that he was poysoned, the Scottes write that he died of the disease of s. Fiacre, whiche is a palsey & a crāpe. Enguerant sayeth that he died of S. Anthonies Fier, but al these be but fables as many mo write. For Peter Basset esquire which at the time of his death was his chāberlain affirmeth that he died of a Plurisis whiche at that tyme was so rare a sickenes and so straūg a disease that the name was to the most part of men vnknowen & phisicions wer acquainted as lytle with any remedy for the same, and therfore euery ma iudged as he thought, and named a sickenes that he knew, sholyng not nere the pricke nor vnderstandyng the nature of the disease. This kyng reigned, ix. yeres. v. monethes and xxiii. dayes, & liued not ful. xxxviii. yeres: he was of stature more then the cōmen sort, of body lene, wel mēbred & strōgly made a face beautiful somwhat long necked, black heered, stout of stomake, eloquent of tong, in marcial affaires a very doctor, & of al chiualry the very Paragone. His body was enbaumed & closed in lede & layde in a charet royal richely apparelled with cloth of gold, vpon the corps was layd a representacion of his person adorned with robes, diademe, sceptre & ball like a kyng, the which charet was drawē with vi. horses richely trapped with seueral armes, the fyrst with the armes of S. George, the ii. with tharmes of Normandy, the iii. with the armes of kyng Arthur, the iiii. with the armes of S. Edward, the fift with the armes of Fraunce onely, and the sixt with the armes of England and Fraunce, On this Charet

gaue attendance Iames kyng of Scottes the principal morner, the duke of Exceter Thomas his vncle, therle of Warwike Richard, therle of Marche Edmond, therle of Stafford Humfrey, the earle of Mortaine Edmonde Beaufford, the lord Fitzhugh Henry, the lord Hungerford Water, sir Lewes Robsert Burchier, sir Thou Cornewale lord Fahope, and the lord Crumwel wer the othe. morners. The lord Louel, the lord Audely, the lord Morly, the lord Souche bare the baners of Scinctes and the Baron of Dudley bare the standerd & therle of Longuile bare the baner. The Hatchemēntes wer borne onely by capitaines to the nōbre of. xii. and roūd about the charet rode. CCCCC. mē of armes al in blacke harnes & their horses barded blacke with the but of their speres vpward. The cōduit & ordre of āl this dolorous dole was cōmāded to sir Willīa Philip treasorer of the kynges housshold and to sir Wyllīa Porter his chief carver and other. Beside this, on euery syde of the charet went. CCC. persons holdyng long torches, and lordes bearyng baners, banerols & penons. With this funeral pompe he was conueighed from Boys de Vyncens to Paris and so to Roan, to Abbenile, to Caleys, to Douer and so thorough London to Westminster, where he was buried with suche solempne ceremonies, suche mournyng of lordes, such prater of priestes, suche lamentyng of commons as neuer was before that day sene in the realme of Englande.

Shortly after this solempnitie, his sorowful quene returned into England and kept her estate with the yong kyng her sōne. Thus ended *this noble* and puissant prince his most noble & fortunate reigne ouer the realme of England: whose life although cruel Atropos before his tyme abbreuiated, yet neither fyre, rust, nor fretting tynne shal amongest Englishmen ether appall his honoure or obliterate his glorye whiche in so fewe yeres and brief dayes achiued so high aduentures and made so great a conquest.

¶ The ende of the victorious actes of kyng Henry the fift.

THE TROBLEOUS SEASON OF KYNG HENRY THE SIXT.

The. i. yere. DEath the determinate end of mannes life, and of all yearthly thynges the finall poynt and pricke, whiche fauoureth nether Emperour nor spareth kyng, but at his plesure confoundeth riche and slaieth poore, vnbodiyng the solle of this godly prince this marcial capitain and renoumed flower, not onely dismaied and appalled the hertes and corages of the Englishe nacion, but also pufte vp and encoraged the myndes and stomackes of the Dolphyn and his proude people: The one parte thynkyng, the kepyng of Normandy and other dominions to hym gayned to bee very dangerus, The other part trustyng the farther cōquest in Fraūce not onely to be doubtfull, but to their iudgementes apparantly impossible: Yet the politike Princes and sage Magestrates of the realme of England well remembryng thynges that wer passed, and sagely ponderyng the tyme present, but moste of all prudently forseyng chaunces iminent and perels at hand, to thentent to set the membres of the body stedfast vnder the hedde, Whiche as shepe without a sheperd far from the folde might wandre and straie at large, caused yong prince Henry, the sole orphane of his noble parent kyng Henry the fifth, beyng of the age of. ix. monethes or there about with the sound

sound of trumpettes openly to be proclaimed kyng of Englande and of Fraunce the. xxx. daie of August, in the yere of our lorde. M. cccc. xxii. by the name of kyng Hery the sixt, to the great reioysyng and comfort of all the Englishe nacion.

AND the custody of this young prince was apoyncted to Thomas duke of Excester, and to Henry Beaufford bishopp of Wynchester: the duke of Bedford was deputed to be Regent of Fraunce, and the duke of Gloucester was assigned Protector of Englande. Whiche takyng vpon hym that office, least paraduenture he might herafter repent his actes and doynges, as a man remembryng other and forgettyng hymself, called to hym wise and graue counsailers, by whose aduise he prouided and ordeined for all thynges whiche ether redounded to the honor of the realme, or semed profitable to the publique welth of the same. And when he had set in an ordre al matters concernyng the inward affaires of the realme of Englande, he prouided farther all thynges necessary and conuenient for warre and farther conquest in Fraunce, and appoyncted valiant & expert capitaines whiche should be ready when oportunitie of tyme required. Beside this, he gathered great somes of money to maintein the men of warre, and left nothyng forgotten that might let or hynder his purposed enterprise.

WHILE these thynges were thus deuised within the realme of Englande, the duke of Bedforde Regent of Fraunce, no lesse studied then toke payne, not onely to kepe and ordre the countrees and regions by kyng Henry late cõquered and gained, but also determined not to leue of from daily warre and continuall trauaille till the tyme that Charles the Dolphyn (whiche was now a flote, because kyng Charles his father in the moneth of Octobre this present yere, was departed to God,) wer ether subdued or brought to dewe obeysance. And surely the deth of this kyng Charles caused many alteracions & chaunges in the realme of Fraunce, for a greate parte of the nobilitee whiche ether for feare of the puissance of the Englishemen, or for to please and folowe the inynde and appetite of Charles the Frenche kyng, toke parte with kyng Henry against the Dolphyn: Heryng now of the French kynges death, returned from the English part and adioyned themselfes to the companie of the Dolphyn, and diligently studied how to vanquishe and dryue awaie the Englishe nacion out of the territory of Fraunce.

THE Duke of Bedford beeyng greatly moued with these sodaine chaunges, fortified his tounes bothe with Garrisons and munitions, and assembled together a great armie bothe of Englishmen and Normans, to whom he made a long oracion, admonishyng them to obserue and kepe their othe & faith (whiche thei had made to the late kyng Henry and his heires) inuiolate and vnbroken, willyng them in no wise to be the occasioners or counsailers that young kyng Henry should be depriued from his fathers lawful inheritance, by the hatred of certayne traitors Frenchemen which had renewed the old hatred beyng of late extinct betwene the realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, and studied to set all thynges again in a broyle: requiryng them also to call to their memory how that the realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, the twoo moste famous regiõs of all Europe, by the benifite of almightie God, wer of late so vnited connexed & ioyned together in an eternall league and composicion, and so strõgly established that no worldly power wer able or of puissaunce sufficient, to resist or withstande the malice of the same: And although sometymes by chaunce of warre the losse mighte turne on their part, yet in conclusion the detriment should be recouered and a surplusage gayned. And if (accordyng to their bounden duties) they would honor serue and loue young kyng Henry their soueraigne lorde, and would diligently persecute & set on his enemies, thei should not onely shewe theselfes true and faithfull subiectes to their true and vndoubted kyng: But also should for their fidelitie and good seruice receiue of hym condigne rewardes, ouer and beside immortall fame and renoune.

THIS exhortacion staied the hertes of many of the Frenche capitaines, whiche willyngly sware to Kyng Henry feaultie and obedience by whose example the comonaltie did thesame. Thus all the people set in an ordre in the realme of Fraunce, nothyng was mynded but warre and nothyng was spoken of but of conquest. The Dolphyn whiche lay at this tyme in

the citee of Poytiers heryng of the death of his parent had his herte mixed bothe with ioye and sorowe: for notwithstandyng that he was sorowfull as a naturall child which lamented the death of his father, yet he was ioyous that power & princely estate was now to hym happened by the whiche he iudged that he should be the more able to defend his enemies and recouer more frendes: & so callyng together the Princes of his faccion, caused hymself to bee proclamed Kyng of Fraūce by the name of Charles the. vij. And thē beyng in good hope of recouerynge his patrimony & expellyng his ennies, with a haut corage prepared war & assembled together a great armie, and first the war began by light skirmishes, but after it proceded into main battailes.

THE Dolphyn thynkyng not to make long delayes in so greate a cause, lest the power of his enemies might daily be augmented, sent the lorde Grauile to the toune of Pount Melance stādyng on the riuer of Seyne, whiche so sodainly came to thesame that he was on the walles or the souldiors within heard of his approche, and sa be toke the toune and slewe a greate nombre of the Englishe souldiors. When the Regēt of Fraunce was aduertised of this sodain enterprise, he apoyncted the Lorde Thomas Montacute erle of Salisbury, a manne bothe for his greate policie and haute corage more to be compared to the old valiant Romans then to men of his daies, accompaignied with the erle of Suffolke, the lorde Scales, the yong lorde Pounynges, sir Ihon Fastolffe master of the houshold with thesaid lorde Regent, and diuerse other to besiege the toune of Pont Melance, which after two monethes was rendered to thesaid erle, and the lorde of Grauile sware to be trew to the Kyng of Englande euer after that daie, but shortly after he forgettyng his othe returned to his old master again. The erle of Salisbury apoynted sir Henry Mortimer and sir Richard Vernon to be capitaines of that toune. And from thence departed into Champaignie and ther besieged the toune of Sens and toke sir Guillam Maryn the capitain and slewe all the souldiors within the toune, and made there capitains sir Hugh Geddyng and sir Richard awbemond.

THE Parisians whiche euer like the Wethercocke be variable and inconstant, perceiuyng that the Dolphyn daily began to haue more aide and power then he was before accustomed, trustyng to returne again vnder his obeysaunce and subiecciō (whiche they bothe wished and desired) to the intent that it should not apere to come of their desire and that their faith and fidelite should not be put in the balance of diffidence with the Englishe nacion, sent diuerse Senators of their citee as Ambassadors to the kyng of Englād, desiryng hym of aide and succor, to whom not onely greate thankes were rendered for dooyng their dutie of subiecciō, but also high feastes wer made, and promises declared that if they stil continued in due obeysaunce, and wer not adherent to the kynges enemies, ỳ neither succour should want, nor cost should be spared for their comen cōfort and publike vtilite. Wīth whiche answer the cōpaigny outwardly pleased (whatsoeuer they inwardly imagined) departed to Paris. In this season Humfrey duke of Gloucester either blynded with ambicion or dotyng for loue, married the lady Iaquet or Iaconin doughter and sole heire to William of Bauier duke of Holland, which was lawfull wife to Ihon duke of Brabant then liuyng, whiche mariage was not onely woundered at of the comon people, but also detested of the nobilite, & abhorred of the Clergie. But suerly the swete tast, of this pleasant mariage, brought after a sower sauce, bothe to the amorous housbande, and to the wauton wife. For Ihon duke of Brabant, what with force, and what with spirituall compulsaries, neuer left of, till he had recouered his Lady out of the Duke of Gloucesters possession, as after you shall here.

¶ THE SECONDE YERE.

The. ii. yere. THese chaūces thus happenyng as you haue heard, Ihon duke of Bedford, Philip duke of Burgoyn, & Ihon duke of Britayn, made an assemble & frendly enteruiewe in the citee of Amias, where they renewed the olde league and auncient amitie made betwene the noble prince kyng Hēry the fifth, and them, before concluded: addyng therto these cōdicions and agrementes, eche of them to be to other bothe frend and aider, and the enemy of the one

to

to bee enemy to the other, and all they to bee bothe frendes and aiders to the kyng of Englande, and well wyllyng to his welwillers, and auengers of his aduersaries. And because that affinitie is an embracer of amitie, there was concluded a mariage betweue the duke of Bedford and the lady Anne sister to the duke of Burgoyn. When these agreementes wer fynished, the Regent departed to Troys in Chāpain, whether with high pompe was conueighed the lady Anne of Burgoyn, whiche in the presence of her brother and her Vncle duke of Brabant, and of therles of Salisbury and Suffolke, and of. ix.C. Lordes knightes and esquires, she was maried to Ihon duke of Bedford with suche solempnitie, feste and triūphe, as before that tyme had not been seen of the Burgonions.

DVRYNG this triumphe, the Parisiās thinkyng to blind the iyes of the duke of Bedford wrote to hym, how diuerse Castles & fortresses liyng rounde about their territory, wer replenished with his enemies, daily stoppyng their passages, and robbyng their marchantes, to their vtter vndoyng, if they by his helpe wer not relieued: fraudulently meanyng, and falsely enfisyng hym to absent hymself from theim, till their craftie conueighed purpose wer compassed and achiued. For diuerse of them stubbernly beryng the yoke and subieccion of the English nacion perceiuyng the duke of Bedforde and the principall capitaines of the Englishmen to be farre from Paris, employng themselfes to ioy and solace for the honor of this high mariage, conspired to bryng into the citee Charles the Dolphyn callyng hymself Frenche kyng, duryng the tyme of his absence. And to thentent that their inuēted purpose should succede, they therof aduertised the Dolphyn and his counsaill appoyntyng the daie of his comyng and the post of his entre. But no treason is commonly hiden nor no sedicion long vnreueled, for Pies will chatter and Mice will pepe, but by whom I cannot declare: The Regente was informed of all the secrete confederacy and sedicious facciō, wherfore he meanyng not to lose in short tyme, that whiche in no small space was gayned, put spurres to the horsse, and with a great power entred into Paris one daie before the faire was appoinced, and two nightes before the lokyng for of his enemies, whō beyng vnprouided he sodainly caused to be apprehended and taken, and openly put to execution. After this leoparly thus escaped, he putte diffidence in all the Parisians trustyng litle the nobles and geuyng lesse credite to the comons, determined to fortifie the Garrisons of his owne nacion and all the Castles nere and adioyning to the citee, whiche within small tyme were habundauntly furnished. And to auoyde all nights watchers adioynyng to Paris and the confines of thesame, he first toke into his possession ether by assaute or composicion the toune of Traynel and Bray vpon Seyne, and because two Castles the one called Pacy and the other called Cursay were also euill neighbors to the Parisians, he sent sir Ihon Fastolffe great Master of his houshold, with a notable army to besiege the Castle of Pacy, whiche takyng vpon him that enterprise so handled his enemies that the capitain named Guyllam Reymon esquire & all the garrison yelded them simply to his mercy and discreciō whom he sent as prisoners to the citee of Paris, and after besieged the Castle of Coursay whiche to hym was shortly rendered vpon like appoyntmēt, and so with praie and prisoners he returned to the lord Regent his master. In this very season the Dolphin sent lorde Willyam Stuard Constable of Scotland, and therle of Ventadore in Auergne and many other nobles of his part to laie siege to the toune of Crauāt in the coūtie of Auxerre within the partes of Burgoyn, wherof heryng the lorde Regent and the duke of Burgoyn thei assembled a greate armie, wherof was ordeined capitaine the erle of Salisbury, accompanyed with these valeant parsonages.

The lorde Willoughby.	Sir Ihon Grey.
The lorde Pownynges.	Sir Reignold Grey.
The lorde Molyns.	Sir Ihon Arthur.
Sir Thomas Rampston.	Sir Henry Bisset.
Sir William Oldhaule.	Sir William Heytow.
Sir Ihon Passheley.	Sir Richard Leke.
Sir Thomas Flemyng.	Sir Gilbert Halsall.
Sir Edmond Heron.	Sir Lancelot Lisle.

Thomas

Thomas Aborough.
William Glasdale.
Mathew Gough.
Didon Amore.
Richard Ap Madocke.
Dauy Loyd.

And of the Burgonions.

The lorde Sent George.
The erle of Ioniguye.
The erle of Brayne.
The lord of Castelyn Marshal of Burgoyne.
The lorde of Vergier his bastard.
The lorde of Chastelon.
The lorde of Crouy.
The lorde Lisle Adam.
The lorde of Pesines.
The Bastard of Thyan.
Sir Frances le Arragonoys.
Ihon de Gyngie.

AND many other to the numbre (aswel of Englishemen as Burgonions) of. xv. M. men of warre, which came in good array to geue battaill to the besiegers of the toune of Crauant, and because the Riuer of Youne which renneth by thesaid toune was betwene the Englishe army and their aduersaries, they could not wel assaile their enemies which defended the bankes and passages very strongly, yet notwithstandyng bothe horsmen and fotemen of the Englishe part coragiously put themself into the riuer and with fyne force recouered the banke, whom the Burgonions incontinent folowed. When they wer all gotten into the plain, the Archers shot and the bilmen strake, & long was the fight in indifferent iudgement, but in conclusion the Frenchmen not able to resist the force and abyde the puissance of the English nacion, wer take ether slain or discomfited, for in the mortall battaill were slain and taken to the numbre of. viii. M. men, where of the names of the chief capitaines here shall apere.

Frenchemen slain.

Therle of Lestrake.
Therle of Comygens.
Therle of Tunier.
The lorde Coquart de Cameron.
The Bastard of Armynacke.
The Vicont of Towraye.
The Bastard of Forest.
The lorde de Port.
The lorde Memoracie. And xviii. hundred knightes and esquiers beside comons.

Taken prisoners.

The Constable of Scotland whiche lost his iye.
Therle of Vantadore.
Sir Alexander Meldryne.
Sir Lewes Ferigny.
And. xxii. C. gentlemen of the Frenche nacion taken.

Scottes slain.

The lorde of sent Ihons toune.
Sir Ihon of Balgrarie.
Sir Ihon Turnebull.
Sir Ihon Holiburton.
Sir Robert Lile.
Sir William Conyngham.
Sir William Douglas.
Sir Alexander Hune.
Sir Willyam Lisle.
Sir Ihon Rocherforde.
Sir William Cawford.
Sir Thomas Seton.
Sir William Hamolton and his sonne Ihon Pillot.

And. iii. M. Scottes slain.

Of Englishemen.

Sir Ihon Grey.
Sir Wylliam Halle.
Sir Gilbert Halsel.
Richard ap Madocke.
and. xxi. C. other slaine.

AFTER this fortunate victory obteined, the Englishemen fyrst gaue great laudes and thankes to almightie God and after entered into the toune of Crauant muche praisyng the doynges of the capitaines and the fidelitie of the citezens, and when they had set all thynges in an ordre they returned to Paris where of the regent they were ioyously receiued, whiche there constituted therle of Salsbury (as he was wel worthy) vicegerent and lieftenaunt for the king & him in the countries of Fraunce, Bry and Chapaigne, & sir Ihon Fastolf he substituted deputie vnder him in the duchy of Normady on this syde the riuer of Seyne, & capitaines

with that he deputed him gouernour of the cõtreys of Aniow & Mayne, and assigned able capitaines in euery holde & fortresse. Therle of Salsbury whiche could not slepe in his great office of trust, layd siege to the toune & castle of Moũtaguillon in Bry, wherof were capitaines Pregent of Cotyny & Guille Bourgoys Britons whiche valiantly defẽded the castle by ỹ space of v. monethes, but incõclusion the assailantes wer so fierse that they within for safegard of their liues rendred the hold, & the capitaines sware neuer to bere armure against the Englishmen on this side the riuer of Leyre: duryng which siege the erle of Suffolke toke by force the castle of Coucy: and the strong castle de la roche he gat by appointment in Mosconoys.

NOWE must I go backe to put you in memorye howe Iames kyng of Scottes beyng bothe prisoner in the tyme of kyng Henry the fourth and also as subiect to kyng Henry the fift his sõne, seruyng him in his warres in Fraunce tyl he departed out of this transsitory life at Boys de Vyncens and so as chief morner attended on the corps of the sayd deceassed vnto his burial, and after at Westminster was released of his captiuitie and restored to his realme and possession. For the true knowledge therof you shal vnderstande that Englande demaunded a small raunsome for so great a prince as the Scottes accompte their kyng (and the Scottes were neither able nor offered no summe conuenient) wherfore the cõsel of the realme of England graueously pondered and wisely considered that if by coniunction of mariage, England and Scotland were perfectly knit in one, that the indissoluble band of amitie betwene the Frenche and Scottishe nacions should be shortly broken and dissolued. Wherfore the protector of the realme of Englãd by the consent of the whole baronage of the same gaue to him in mariage the Lady Iane doughter to Ihon earle of Sommerset deceased, not onely sister to Ihon then duke of Sommerset but also cosyn germayne remoued to the kyng and nece to the cardinal of Wynchester and the duke of Exceter.

THE kyng of Scottes hauyng great affection to this fayre Lady, but muche more desiryng his deliuerance and libertie, put in hostages for the residue of his raunsome because a great part therof was deminished and abated for the money allowed to hym for his mariage, & so was deliuered to depart at his pleasure. Alacke, the olde prouerbes bee to true: an Ape although she bee clothed in purple, will be but an Ape, and a Scotte neuer so gentely entertained of an Englishe prince will be but a dissimulyng Scotte. What kyndnes could be more shewed to a prisoner then to bryng hym vp in good litterature. What loue maie bee more declared to a captiue, then to instructe hym in marciall feates and warlike affaires: What fauor can be more ascribed to a high and renoumed prince, then to geue in mariage to his vnderlyng and vassall his cosyn and kinswoman of his royal parentage lawfully discended. All these kyndnesses suffised not, nor all these gratuities auailed not to make this kyng Iames frendly to the realme of Englande. For he notwithstandyng his homage doen to the young Henry kyng of Englande and of Fraunce at his Castle of Wynsore this present yere, before three Dukes, twoo Archebishoppes, xii. erles. xx. bishoppes. xx. barons, and twoo hundred knightes and esquires and mo, accordyng to the tenor here after foloyng.

" I Iames Stuart kyng of Scottes, shalbe true and faithfull vnto you lorde Henry by the grace of God kyng of Englande and Fraunce the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotlande, and vnto you I make my fidelitie for the same kyngdome of Scotlande, whiche I holde and claime to hold of you, and I shall beare you my faithe and fidelitie of life and lymme and worldly honor against al men, and faithfully I shall knowledge and shall do to you seruice due of the kyngdõ of Scotland aforesaid. So God help me and these holy Euangelistes."

NETHER regardyng his othe, nor estemyng the great abundance of plate and riche Clothes of Arras, to hym by the mother and vncles of his wife liberally geuen and frendly deliuered (of which sorte of riches fewe or none before that daie wer euer seen in the cõtrey of Scotlande) like a dogge whiche hath cast vp his stomacke and returneth to his vomet, or like a snake whiche after his engenderyng with a Lampray taketh again his old poyson: After he had once taken the ayre and smelled the sent of the Scottishe soyle be-

came like his false fraudulēt forfatliers, an vntrue prince and like his proude pratyng progenitors toke the ymage of a braggyng and bostyng Scot, newly alied hymself with the Frenche nacion. And yet what soeuer he did, his nacion bothe write and testifie, that by the learnyng whiche he by the greate benefite of the kynges of Englande duryng his captiuitee in this realme had obteigned, replenished his countrey with good litterature, and by the nurture the whiche he was brought vp in Englād, he brought his people to ciuilitee: So that his captiuitee was to his nacion the greatest libertie that euer thei could haue, deliuering them from blynde ignorance to Angelicke knowledge, reducyng theim from bestiall maners to honest behauor, and in conclusion causyng theim to knowe vertue from vice, pollicie from rudenes, and humain honestie from sauage liuyng. This was the deliuerance and the doynges of Iames the fyrst of that name kyng of Scottes, whiche neither reigned verye quietly, nor yet euer fauored Englishemen before the Frenche people: sauyng that he hauyng with him into his countrey a yong gentleman of Northumberland called Andrew Gray (whiche duryng his captiuitie was his companion) promoted him to the mariage of the heyre of the lorde of Foules in Anguis, of the whiche the lord Gray of Scotland at this day do descend.

¶ THE. III. YERE.

The. iii. yere. NOw leue I the doynges of Scotland, and returne to the affaires of England. The duke of Gloucester beyng protector and gouernor of the realme, cōsideryng that wood must be ministred to kepe fyre, and men ought to be sēt to set forwarde war, called to him the pieres and nobilitie of the realme, and by their agrements & deuises, sent into Fraūce to the regent his brother. x. M. men of warre, whiche were of the same regent in the coūtrey of Paris louyngly receiued, & according to their degres honestly entertained. Duryng their liyng in Paris, diuers chaunces happened in Fraunce, for euen as Englishmen valiantly wonne, and victoriously cōquered tounes and castles with open warre and apparant conquest: so the Frenchmen fraudulently stale & couertely obtained diuers fortresses and holdes appertainyng to thenglish faccion, & in especial the fayre toune of Compaigne, & the prety toune of Crotoy.

WHEN the duke of Bedford was aduertised of these craftye trickes and sodaine inuented traines, he sent forth an army, fyrst to Compaigne, wherof was capitaine the erle of Suffolke accompanied with therle of Liguy, & diuers other capitaines of the Englishmen, whiche lay on the one side of the riuer of Sohaune, & on the other side laye the lord Lisle Adam, sir Thomas Raupstone, & the prouost of Paris. The Frechmen beyng strongly furnished and well vitailed, coragiously defended the toune against the assailātes. The Englishmen perceiuyng that Guylliā Remond otherwise called Mariolayn, had bene the leder of the souldiers within the toune, which before at Pacy was take prisoner by sir Ihon Fastolf, caused him to be sent for to Paris, and so brought him to the seige, and set him in a chariot with a halter aboute his necke, and cōueighed him to the gibbet without the toune, sending worde to the garrison within the toune, that if they would not without delay rēdre the toune & fortresse, they would incōtinent strāgle their old capitaine and chief conductor. The souldiors within the toune perceiuyng that if Guylliā Raymond the onely trust of their relefe, and the aūcient frend in their necessitie, should suffre death, that then their hope of al ayde were extinguished, & the sure nutriment of their liuyng was from them secluded: for the deliuerance of him and sauegarde of them selues, yelded the toune: so that both he & they might depart with horse and harnes onely, in sure conduite and safetye: yet long or the toune of Compaigne was deliuered, sir Philip Hall whiche was sent to Crotoy by the lorde regent with. viii. C. men to beseige the toune, gat it by assault sodainly, or the Frenchmen had either desposed their garrison, or appointed their lodgynges and toke all the men of warre and put them to raunsome. And so these. ii. tounes cowardly stollen, were manfully recouered, but yet the writers of Frenche fables to deface the glorye of the

Englishmen, write and say that these tounes were yelded to the Burgonyons, whiche neither had the kepyng of them nor were souldiers to any other person but to the kyng of England. While these thinges were thus doyng in Fraunce, sir Ihon de la Pole brother to therle of Suffolke capitaine of Auranches in Normandy, assembled all the garrisons of the base Marches of the countrey of Aniow, & came before the cytie of Angiers and brent the subbarbes, spoyled and destroyed the whole countrey, and hauyng as many prayes and prisoners as his men might cary, he was encountred by the earle of Aubemerle, the vicount Narbone and. vi. thousand Frenchmen: whiche findyng the Englishmen out of arraye because of the cariage of their great spoyle, sodainly set on thē and slewe. CCC. persons and toke prisoners the said sir Ihon Delapole, sir Ihon Basset, Ihon Auford lieutenaunt of Faloys, Ihon Ciyfton, Henry Mortymer and. vi. C. other. Although the Frenchmen gat this day in one place, yet they wēt not victorious away in another, for the bastard de la Baulme and the lorde Craignar capitaines of Courallon with a great band, made a roade into Masconnoys, with whom by chance met Mathew Gough and other Englishemen whiche were scouryng the countrey to se and heare newes of their enemies, there was a sore conflict and an hard encountre, the partes in maner beyng of corage & nombre egal, but after long fight, the Frenchmen almost al wer slaine & taken, and the bastard beyng wel horsed fled after whom folowed with the fiersoes of his spurres Mathew Gough and chased him to his castle gate and there toke him as he would haue hid him in the diche & presēted him to the earle of Salsbury, returnyng from Compaigne to Paris, whiche not onely gaue to him the rightes belōging to the prisoner, but also rewarded him with a goodly courser and highly exalted his name and manhode.

ABOVTE this season, Arthur brother to Ihon duke of Britaine cōmonly called the earle of Richemond, hauyng neither profite of the name nor of the countrey, notwithstādyng that king Henry the. v. had created him earle of Yury in Normandy & gaue him not onely a great pencion but thesame toune of Yury; yet because his brother the duke of Brytaine fearyng the Englishmen nowe hauyng Normandye would smel and desire to tast the swete soyle of Britaine, was late (contrary to his leage and othe) returned to the part of Charles the dolphyn, he likewise returned and craftly without cause fled into Flaunders & so came to the dolphyn to Poytiers, which was more glad of his cōmyng then if he had gained a C.M. crounes, for the Britons which kept the toune and castle of Yury hearyng that their master was toyned with the dolphyn bothe kepte the castle against the duke of Bedford, furnishyng it dayly with new people & municions, and also infested, spoyled and robbed the countrey adioynyng, doyng to the Englishmen the most hurt & damage that either could be deuised or imagined.

THE lord Regent beyng aduertised of all these troubles & calamities, assēbled a great army both of Englishmen and Normans, entendyng to serche the dolphin in euery part, to thēient to geue him battail in a pitched feld and so to make a final ende of his entended conquest. So hauing in his companye therle of Salsbury, therle of Suffolke, the lord Scales, the lord Willoughby, the lord poonyng, sir Reynold Grae, sir Ihon Fastolf, sir Ihon Salvayne, Lanslot Lisle, sir Philip Halle, sir Ihon Pashely, sir Ihon Gray, sir Thomas Blunt, sir Robert Harlyng, sir William Oldhal and many other valiant knightes and esquiers to the nombre (as the Frenche writers testifie) of xviii.C. men of armes and. viii.M. archers and other, came before the toune of Yury whiche was well defended: but the Englishemen began to vndermine the walles, so that they within wer glad to rendre the toune vpō condicion, whiche was taken. Howbeit the capitaines of the castle promised to yeld if their fortresse wer not rescued at a day assigned by the dolphyn with a nomber sufficiēt to raise the siege, & vpon this promise hostages wer deliuered into the possession of the lord regent. By his licence an herault was sent to the dolphyn to aduertise him of the tyme determined, the whiche hearyng of the destresse that his people & frendes wer in, sent incontinent Ihon duke of Alanson his lieftenant general, therle Doglas whom at that settyng furth he made duke of Toraine, and therle Boughan, whom then in hope of good spede he made Constable of

Fraunce (whiche office he enioyed not fully an hundreth houres) and therles of Aumarle, Vãtadoure, Tonnerre, Maulieurier Forest, the vicountes of Narbon and Thouars, the lordes of Graule, Gaules, Malycorne, Manny, Ballay, Fountaines, Mountfort, & many other noble knightes and esquiers to the nombre of. xv.M. Frẽche men & Britons and. v.M. Scottes whom the erle Doglas had transported late out of Scotland more for nede then for loue.

THIS army royal approched within. ii. miles of Yury and sent. xl. light horsmen to view and espy both the nomber and cõduit of the Englishmen. These spyes came very nere to the siege and wer espied and chased to their cõpanions againe, and declared all what they had seen and perceiued. The duke of Alanson seyng that he could not gette any auantage of the Englishemen (although the Dolphyn had geuen hym in straight cõmaundement to fight with the regent) whether his heart fayled or he thought to wayte a more fortunate season for his porpose and enterprise, retired backe with his whole army to the toune of Vernoyle in Perche whiche belonged to the kyng of England, & sent word to the garison of that toune that they had discõfited & slaine al the Englishe army and that the regent with a small nõber by swyftnes of his horse had saued him selfe. The inhabitantes of Vernoyle geuyng to light credit to the Frenche fablers, receiued the duke of Alison with al his army into the toune & submitted thẽ selues to him. Whiche toune he desyred to haue of the gift of the dolphyn as his owne inheritance & lawful patrimony. Now approched the day of rescous of Yury, which was the day of our Lady the Assumpcion, at which day no rescous appeared to sir Gerrard de la Pallier captain of the castle, whiche beyng in dispayre of all ayde and comforte, presented the keys to the duke of Bedford & shewed him a letter signed & sealed with the hãdes of. xviii. great lordes which the day before promised to geue the duke battaile and to dissolue the siege and raise the assault: Well sayd the duke, if their heartes would haue serued, their puissaunce was sufficient ones to haue profered or to haue performed this faithful promise. But syth they disdaine to seke me, God and saint George willyng I shal not desist to folowe the tractes of their horses tyl one part of vs be by battail ouerthrowen: and so he gaue a safe conduyte to the capitaine and other which wold depart, but many of the Britons within the castle of Yury seyng the faint heartes and the false promises of the flatteryng Frenchmen submitted them selues to the lorde regent and swore to be true to the kyng and him, whom he gentely accepted and put them in wages. Then he furnished the castle and toune with a newe garrison, and incõtinent he sent the earle of Suffolke with. vi.C. horses to espy wher the Frenchemen were lodged, whiche passed by Dampeuile, and came to Bretuel wher he heared newes that the Frenchmen had taken Vernoile in Perche & were there yet abidyng, wherof with all diligent celerite he sent worde to the duke of Bedford, which not mindyng to lese his long desired pray set forward in great hast toward his enemies. The Frẽchmen hearyng of his cõmyng set their people in array and made all one maine battaile without forward or rereward, & appointed certaine Lũbardes and horsmen to breake the array of the Englishemen either behynd or at the sides, whẽrof was capitaine sir Stephyn Venoyles called the hire. The duke of Bedford not ignorant howe to ordre his men, made likewise one entier battaile & suffered no man to be on horseback, and set the archers (euery one hauyng a sharpe stake) bothe in the front of the battaile and on the sydes like wynges, and behynd the battaile were the pages with the chariottes and cariages, and all the horses were tyed together either with the reines of their bridles or by the tayles, to thentent that their enemies should not sodainely surprise or disturbe them on the backe behynd: and for to defend the carriages wer appointed two thousand archers. The Frenchmen at the fyrst sight remembryng how often times in piched feldes they had bene ouercome and vanquished of the Englishe nacion, began somewhat to feare, but when they sawe no remedy but to fight, they toke good courage to thẽ and set softely forwarde. In whiche marchyng the Duke of Alaunson, sittyng on horsebacke saied to his capitaines.

Oracion of the duke of Alaunson.

LOVYNG companions, and hardy souldiers, call to your remembraunce, how the Englishemen haue not onely gotten from vs the noble isle of Fraunce, the duchies of Normandy and Aniow, but also sith their enterprise and conquest hath bothe slain our parentes and

killed our frendes, yea, and hath driuen our naturall Prince, and very soueraigne Lorde from his chief habitacion and surest chaumber, the faire citee of Paris: which act neuer Pagan durst attept or euer any prince was able to acheue. Besides this, you se that the duke of Bedford Regent here for the kyng of Englande, entendyng nothyng more then the deposicion or the destruccion of our kyng and his nobilitie, and in finall cõclusion to bryng to extreme bondage all vs our wiues and children, and all the people of this so long renoumed region, by many hundred yeres called the realme of Fraunce, which is as muche to saie as a fre countrey, or a franke lande. Alas, shal your kyng now be made a subiecte, shall your peres and nobilitee bee made vassals, and you also slaues & bondmen to a forain nacion? Where is the liberty of Fraũce and where is the auncient fredome? When you defended your fraunchises, and when your hartes serued you: your kyng ruled kynges your princis possessed the empire, and your nacion subdued Germany, conquered Italy, and ouercame the proude Spanyardes. Shall wee nõw, fallyng out of kynd from our fathers, feare the puissaunce of the arrogant Englishemen, beyng men of no forecast, nor of no excellente wit, long in gettyng and shortly lesyng? Will you now suffre the olde glory of Fraunce to be put in obliuion? will you haue an Englishe infant, whiche lieth with pappe to bee your kyng and gouernor? Will you liue in seruitude of a barbarous nacion in whom is neither bountifulnes nor honor? Clerckes saie, that the greatest plague, that euer God scourged with the Israelites, was, when he permitted them to be caried from their natiue countrey to the bondage of Babilon, where they liued in captiuitie by the space of many yeres: What can bee a more greater scourge, then to haue a forrein ruler in a free region? What dishonor can there be more to a countrey, then to haue the nobilitie put backe from rule and to be gouerned by strangers. Beleue me, beleue me, it is to vs all one blot, to bee a slaue in Turkeye, vnder the Turkishe bondage, and to be a free man in Fraũce vnder the Englishe libertie. Of this point you be sure: if they gain this battaill, thei be not vnlike to obtain the whole region: whiche if thei get, then is the enheritaunce theirs: then be all the riches theirs, and then all the people bee their subiectes. If they be rulers, fare well the franke and Frenche libertie: If they be lordes, welcome English seruitude. So that now we stand al on this poynt, either to be free or bondmen. Whiche terme of bondage is so detested of all nacions, that there can be no more reproch to a man then to call hym a villain or a bondman. Therfore manly defence must onely withstand this mischief, and hartie corage must driue back this imminẽt plage. This is the daie either of our deliueraunce out of vile seruitude, or the daie of our entry into the vale of bondage. The conclusion of this battaill is very doubtfull, for if we bee vanquished, the gain for our side is almost without recouery, cõsidryng, that here be the best men, & wisest capitaines vnder our kyng: And if we get the vpper hande, our heddes shalbe free and out of the Englishe yoke. And although the duke of Bedford hath here with him, all the power that he can gather on this side the sea, yet I assure you, (God willyng) I will not turne one fote backward for fear of hym, or his pieked armie. Therfore I exhorte you to remembre, your wifes, your children and your selfes. Fight manfully and sticke eche to other for the libertie of our countrey: I doubt not but the victory shalbee ours, and the honor shalbe our kynges. For if this daie we vanquishe hym and sparcle his armie, we shall so diligently folowe Fortunes good grace, that not onely Fraunce to vs shall yeld, and Normandy bowe, but we shall recouer again al our citees and tounes, whiche out of our possession wer gained, before any aide can come to rescue out of the poore isle of Englande. Now consideryng, that we hang in the ballaunce betwene honor and shame, libertie and bondage, gaine or losse, let euery man take harte and corage to hym, litle regardyng, or caryng, either for death, or the force of his enemies, and with a manly countenaunce marche furth toward our foes.

THE Englishemen perceiuyng their greate nombre, and knowyng that the chief strength consisted in the Scottes, began somwhat to stay and consult, what was moste expedient to bee done. The duke of Bedford sittyng on a baye courser in the middes of the battaill vnder

a bāner curiously beten with his Armes, not content with their whisperynges and protractyng of tyme, saied vnto theim with an audible voyce.

The oracion of the Duke of Bedforde.

YOV valiaunt capitaines and hardie souldiers, my louyng compaynions in armes, and frendly felowes. If you cōsidre with your self what daie this is: What honor and what profite wee shall get by our trauaile and pain, I doubt not but where you now stand stil musyng, you would runne furth a galloppe, and where you run on your fete, you would, if you had winges, flie as faste, as euer did Haukc to his praie. For greate is the honor that is gotten with paine, and swete is the luere, that is gayned with trauaile, for you muste remembre, that nothyng is wel done, if it growe not to a good conclusion: and a thyng were as good neuer to be begon, as neuer ended. My brother our late soueraigne lord, (whose soule God pardon) hath entred into this countrey, as into his awne lawfull inheritaunce: and first conquered Normandy, and after by agremēt of kyng Charles the vsurper, he was by assent of the nobilitee, agrement of the Clergie, & speciall request of the commonaltie, restored to his rightfull inheritaunce, and lawful patrimony, whiche by his death is returned and come to my nephewe our moste redoubted souereigne. The beginning of this conquest was good, and the sequele better, yet resteth the finall knot to be knitte, and the last locke to be shut vp. For if we suffre Charles the Dolphyn, whiche now vsurpeth the name, and estate royall of this realme of Fraūce, to proceade farther in his purpose, or to gather more puyssance, or allure more people, I cannot tell then what feates flatteryng fortune will worke: and of this I am sure that if we suffre his fier still to flame, as it hath begon, we shall haue skant water to quenche out the same. Here he hath assembled all the Frenche men that he can get and for lacke of aide, he hath retained the Scottes: croppe hym now at the beginnyng and he shall growe no more: let hym grow farther and he will passe our reache: discomfite hym now and bryng our conquest to a conclusion: let hym alone now and we shalbe new to begin. Therfore I say, it is wisdome to take occasion, when the hery side and not the balde side is profered. If we feare the multitude, remembre our awne victories, which we haue euer obteined by lesse nombre, and not by the greater. If we feare death, remembre the glory and immortall fame, that shall succeade of our valiaunt actes, if we sell our lifes so dere. If we shalbe slain, considre I haue a kyng to my nephew, and a duke to my brother, and twoo noble vncles, and you haue frendes, kynsemen and children, whiche wil reuēge our death, to the vttermost poynt: therfore I saie let euery man this day do his best. For this is the daie of thēd of our great trauaile, the daie of our greate victory, and the daie of our euerlastyng fame: Therfore good felowes, put your onely trust in God, call to hym for aide boldly, and marche forward hardly, for our enemies be at hād.

HE had skace ended his exhortacion, but the Englishmen beyng incouraged with his prudent persuasion, sette on their enemies, cryyng, Sainct George, Bedford. And the Frenchemen likewise cried, Moūtioye, sainct Denise. Then the arrowes flewe out of the long bowes on the one parte, the quarrelles out of the crosse bowes on the other parte. After thei came to hande strokes: greate was the fight, & terrible was the battaill, with so indifferent iudgement of victory that no heraulde could determyne to whiche parte Fortune moste shewed her louyng countenaunce. For on bothe sides men wer slain and wounded, and on bothe partes some wer felled and recouered, thus stil in a doubtful iudgement, the battaill continued about three houres. The duke of Alaūson in the meane season neuer ceased to exhorte and praie his people manly to fight, and not to suffre their enemies, (whiche wer at the very point to be ouercome) by their faint hartes to be victors, and ouercommers. Likewise the duke of Bedford rode about his armie, refreshyng the weake with freshe men, and encoragyng his people with moste plesaunt wordes: But at the last when he perceiued the Frenchemen, what with beate, and with trauaill, to waxe wery and faint, and not to bee so freshe as thei wer before (for surely the nature of the Frenchmen, is not to labor long in fightyng, and muche more braggeth then fighteth) he with al his strength set incontinent on them with suche a violence, that they bare theim doune to the grounde by fine force. The French horsemen

horsemen that daie did litle seruice: for the archers so galled their horses, that they desired not muche to approche their presence. This battaill was fought the. xxvij. day of August, in the yere of our Lorde. M. CCCC. xxv. in the whiche battaill wer slain.

Of Frenchemen.

The erle of Aumerle.
The erle of Ventadore.
The erle of Forestes.
The erle of Mary.
The lorde Graule.
The lorde Gaules.
The lorde Fountaynes.
The lorde of Amboys.
The Vicount Thouars.
The lorde Mounteney.
The lorde of Combreste.
The lorde of Brunell.
The lorde Tumblet.
The lorde of Poysy. And thre hundred knightes beside.
The Vicount Nerbon whose body was hãged on a gibbet, because he was one of the murtherars, of the duke of Burgoyne.

Of Scottes also wer slain.

Archibald erle Douglas made duke of Toroyne.
Iames Douglas his soune erle of Nigton.
Ihon the erle of Boughem newly made Constable of Fraunce.
Sir Alexander Meldryne.
Sir Henry Balglauie.
Sir Ihon Sterlyng.
Sir William of Homelsdone.
Sir Iames Graye.
Sir Robert Kanden.
Sir Alexander Lynsaie.
Sir Robert Stewarde.
Sir Robert Swinton, and. xxvij. hundred Scottes of name and armes, besides other.

IN this battaill wer slain by the report of Montioye kyng at armes in Fraunce, and the Englishe heraulides there presente, of Frenchemen and Scottes. ix. thousand and seuen hundred, and of the Englishmen. xxj. hundred, but no man of name, sauyng. v. yong esquiers. And there wer taken prisoners, Ihon duke of Alaunson, the bastard of Alaunson the Lorde of Fayect, the lorde of Hormit, sir Piers Harison, sir Loys de Vancort, Sir Robert Brusset, sir Ihon Turnebull a Scot, and two hundred gentlemen besides common soldiours.

AFTER that the duke of Bedforde had thus obteined the vpper hand of his enemies, and discomfited the onely strength of the dolphin he vpon his knees rendred to almightie God his hartie thankes, not without effusion of teares. Then he commaunded all the Frenchmen within the toune of Vernoile, to go out and depart, or els to abide their aduẽture. They perceiuyng the euil successe of their bostyng enterprise, and seyng no meane, wherby in so lowe an ebbe, they might bee ayded, deliuered vp the toune, and went furthe out of thesame, their lifes saued. Of which toune the lorde Regent constituted capitain, sir Philip Hall, and so departed from thence to the citee of Roan, where with triumph (and not vnworthy) he was ioyously receiued and honorably feasted. And after all thynges there set in an ordre, he remoued to Paris.

HERE you maie see what succeded of the spirite of false Prophecie. For the duke of Alaunson thinkyng it to be predestinate by the bodies aboue, that he should ouercome, and conquere the duke of Bedford, bosted (as you haue heard) to the Burgesses of Vernoile, that he had discõfited the Regent of Fraunce with his whole armie, before the toune of Yury: Not knowyng, that Mars the God of battaill beyng angry with his liyng, appoynted, not onely all his puyssaunce to be vanquished before Vernoile, but also hymself, and his bastarde vncle, there to bee taken, and brought into bondage. So it is often seen that he, whiche rekeneth without his hoste, muste reken twise, and he that fisheth before the net, maie lese but nothyng gain. When this victory was published through Fraunce, how the common people lamented their miserable destiny, how the nobilitie mistrusted their awne estate, and how the Dolphyn was abashed, yea, more than abashed, wõderfull it were to write, but more merueilous for to heare. For he was driuen out of all the countreis apperteinyng to the croune of Fraunce and might resort to no cõtreis, excepte to Burbonoys, Aluerne, Berry, Poyctou,

Poyctou, Towrayn, a part of Aniow and Barrayn, & Languedoc. And because diuerse of his frendes whiche were aduocates in Paris exiled thēselfes frō the parliament of Paris, which was with all rightes, and iurisdiccions there vnto belongyng, kepte, and holden in the name of kyng Henry the sixte, as lawfull heire and very kyng of the realme of Fraunce: he therefore to shewe hymself as a kyng, erected his courte of Parliament, his Chauncery, and all other courtes in the citee of Poytiers, and there established his greate seale, with all due circumstaunces thervnto aperteinyng, whiche there continued by the space of. xiiij. yeres, as you shall after heare declared. The duke of Bedford liyng at Paris, entendyng there to bryng to obeisaunce Charles the dolphyn, or els to driue hym out of his litle couy holdes, and small countries, sēt the lorde Scales, sir Ihon Montgomery, sir Ihon Fastolfe, with two thousand men, to conquere the countries of Aniow and Mayn, whiche without assaulte had rendred to thē the strong castles of Beamount le Vicōt, Teune, Silly, Oste, Courceriers, Roussy, Vasse, Couetemenāt and twenty other, which for prolixitie of tyme, I thynke necessary to be omitted. For surely the Englishe puyssaunce was so tried, proued, assaied, and spred abrode throughout all Fraunce, that the Frenche mē thought that in conclusion the Englishe men would haue, or should haue al thynges, which they either wished or enterprised. The duke of Bedford yet thirstyng after more good fortune, sent the erle of Salisbury, with a great armie accompanied with the Lorde Scales, and other approued capitaines, (whose names you haue heard before) into the countrees of Aniow & Mayn, which wer euil neighbours to the dochy of Normandy: in whiche army wer. x. M. men of war or ther about. These lusty capitaines entered firste into the countrey of Mayne, and beseged the riche and strong citee of Mauns, the chief toune & emperie of all that country and region. And although the citezens, aswel for the sodain accesse of their enemies, as for the feare of the name of therle of Salisbury (whiche was both dread of his enemies, and honored of his frendes,) wer somewhat amased and astonied: Yet their capitaines named sir Baldwyn of Champaigne lord of Toisse, sir Guilliam de Marignie, and sir Hugh de Goos, studied and inuented all waies possible how to defend themselfes, and do damage and harme to their enemies: and surely, they had within the toune a crewe and a compainel of warlike and practised souldiors. The Englishmen approched as nigh to the walles as they might without their losse and detriment, and shot against their walles great stones out of great goones (which kynd of engines before ỹ time. was very litle seen or heard of in Fraunce,) the strokes wherof so shaked, crushed and riued ỹ walles, that within fewe daies, the citee was dispoyled of all her toures and outward defences. The citezens of Mauns muche merueilyng at these newe orgaynes, bothe seyng their destrucciō iminent, and desperate of all aide and succor, offered the toune vpon this condicion: that all persones whiche would tary within the toune might abide, and all that would depart with horsse and harnesse onely, should be permitted: which offers were accepted, and the toune rendred, wherof the erle made capitain therle of Suffolke, and his lieutenant sir Ihon Fastolfe. After this the said erle of Salisbury besieged the faire toune of sainct Susan, whereof was capitain, Ambrose de Lore, a mā of no lesse audacitie then pollicy, accompainied with a greate nombre of hardy men of warre. When the erle of Salisbury had bothe viewed and seen the situacion and nature of the place, he determined to assault it in that place whiche was moste weake and worne: and so the trompettes blew to the assault and scalyng ladders were raised to the walles, and the Englishemen with greate noyse began to clime and ascende. The souldiors whiche durste not come out of the toune to encountre with the Englishe armie, manfully ranne to the walles to resiste and defende the assaylantes. And so all that daie the assault with many aduentures still continued, and although the inhabitauntes and citezens were sore wounded, they neuer lefte of bothe to defende theimselfes, and to anoye and hurte their enemies. When therle perceined that by this light assault and slight skirmishe he lost somewhat, and gained nothyng, he made a wall and cast a trenche round about ỹ toune: & caused his great ordynance to be shotte at that part of the wall whiche was most feble and slender, and so daily and nightly he neuer ceassed to beate and breke doune the wall and toures: so that within twoo daies the moste part of

the

the wal was persed and cast doune to the ground. When the capitain perceiued these newe feates he began to entreate, and offered for hymself and his souldiors, twoo thousand crounes, so that they might departe in their doublettes onely: so their lines wer saued, whiche some because winter aproched, was taken and the toune yelded. Of the whiche toune he made capitain, sir Ihon Popham, a valiaunt and a circūspect knight. After that the said erle besieged the toune and castle of Mayon la Iuluez, wherin was capitain the lorde of Escotaiz: whiche toune after the space of fiue wekes was yelded (the lifes of the defendors onely saued.) To the kepyng wherof he appointed sir Ihon Montgomery knight. And after the feast of the purificacion of our lady, he besieged the castle de lafort Barnard: during which siege, a sale was made of the toune of Alansō, beyng in the Englishmens possession by a Gascoyn & one of the garisō there, for. iiii.C. crounes, to Charles de Villiers, Peter le Beuffe, and other Frenche capitaines. When the daie was apointed of the deliuerance both of the toune and the money, the Gascoigne opened and discouered the whole agrement to the erle of Salisbury: which ordeined the lorde Willoughby and sir Ihon Fastolfe with two thousande Englishmen to encountre with the byers of the kynges toune of Alāson. At the daie apointed and tyme assigned, Charles de Villiers chief marchaunt of this riche enterprise, early in the mornyng with two. C. horssemen, and three hundred footemen approched nere the toune, and abidyng for the Gascoyne, he there displaied his banner, thynkyng triumphantly to entre into the toune: but it hapened otherwise. For or they wer ware, or suspected any rescues, they wer couironed with the English armie, and slain & taken euery creature, saue Peter Danthenazy and. xxv. other, which by the swiftnes of their horsees saued thē selfes.

AFTER this conflict ended, the lorde Willoughby with his cōpany returned to therle of Salisbury, before the toune le Fort Barnard: the capitaines wherof considering, that there was no hope of succor to be sente to theim, and that their vitaill diminished, and that they were not long able to abide the harde assaultes of the English nacion, rendered the toune and castle, reseruyng to them their horsse and harneis onely, which toune therle receiued to the vse of the kyng: But the regent for the valiaunt seruice done by the erle, gaue the same toune to hym and to his heires for euer. Beside this therle partely by assault, partely by composicion, toke diuerse other tounes, as sainct Kales, wher he made capitain, Richard Gethyne Esquier, Thanceaux Lermitage, where he made gouernor, Matthewe Gough, Guerlande, of the whiche he assigned ruler, Iohn Banaster, Malicorne, wherof he made capitain, William Glasdale esquier, Lisle soubz Boultō, wherof was made capitain, sir Lancelot Lisle knight, Lowpellande, whereof was made capitain, Henry Braunche, Mountseur, of the whiche was made Constable, sir Williā Oidhall knight, la Susze, was assigned to the kepyng of Thō Suffolk esquier, and beside this, aboue. xl. castles and piles wer ouerthrowen and destroyed. When the fame and report of these newes wer blowen through Fraunce, some freated, some feared, and some raged for angre: But the veritie of al thynges beyng by the duke of Bedford declared into Englande, all men reioysed and wer very glad: not onely for the conquest of so many tounes, but also that God had sente theim victory in a pitched felde, and in a mortall battaill. Wherfore generall processions wer commaunded, to rendre to God almighty humble and harty thankes, by whose onely gift, and not by power of man, these notable victories wer gotten and achiued.

IT is not cōuenient, that I should talke so muche of Fraunce, & omit al thynges done in England. Wherfore you shall vnderstand, ỹ about easter this yere, ỹ kyng called his high court of parliamēt, at his toune of Westminster, & cōmyng to the parliament hous he was coueighed through the citee vpon a great courser with great triuph, which child was iudged of all men, not only to haue the very ymage, ỹ liuely portrature, and louely countenaunce of his noble parent and famous father, but also like to succede, and be his heire in all morall vertues, marcial Policies, and Princely feates, as he was vndoubted inheritor to his realmes, seigniories & dominions. In whiche parliament was graunted to the kyng a subsidy of. xii. d. of the pound, towardes the mainteinaunce of the warres, of all marchaundise commyng into

into this realme, or goyng out of thesame, besides other somes sette on euery tonne of liquor and on euery sacke of woolle, aswel of Englishe men, as of straũgers. Duryng whiche Parliamente came to London, Peter Duke of Quymber, sonne to the kyng of Portyngale, and cosin germain remoued to the kyng, which of the Duke of Excester and the bishop of Winchester his vncles, was highly feested, and liberally rewarded, and was elected into the noble ordre of the Garter. Duryng whiche season, Edmonde Mortimer, the last Erle of Marche of that name (whiche long tyme had been restrained from his liberty, and finally waxed lame) disceased without issue, whose inheritaunce discended to lorde Richarde Plantagenet, sonne and heire to Richard erle of Cambridge, beheded, as you haue heard before, at the toune of Southhãpton. Whiche Richard within lesse then xxx. yeres, as heire to this erle Edmond, in opẽ parliament claimed the croune and scepter of this realme, as hereafter shal more manifestly appere. In the tyme of which Parliament also, whether it were, either for deserte or malice, or to auoyde thynges that might chaunce, accordyng to a prouerbe, whiche saith, a dead man doth no harme: Sir Ihon Mortimer cosin to the said erle was attainted of treason and put to execution: of whose death no small slaunder arose emongest the common people.

AFTER all these actes done in Englande, and in Fraunce, Humfrey duke of Gloucester, with the lady Iaquet his supposed wife, passed the sea and came to Mons in Henawde, and there by force toke all suche landes, as Ihon duke of Brabant her first husband had in possession of the said lady Iaquet, which doyng, Philippe duke of Burgoyne, beyng greate frende to the duke of Brabant, muche disdained and more frouned at, and thought for the olde loue and familiaritie, that he bare to the duke of Gloucester, that he would by frendly monicion, turne hym from his vnhonest and vngodly life, to a reasonable reformacion, and brotherly conformitie. Wherfore he wrote louyngly to hym, that he should vtterly leaue of any further to folowe that newe attempted enterprise, aduertisyng hym, and protestyng openly, that the vsurpyng and wrongfully withholdyng of another mannes possession, was not so vile and slaunderous, as the defilyng of a pure & cleane bedde, and adulteriously kepyng the wife of his christẽ brother. The duke of Gloucester beyng in this case very wilfull, either blinded with dotage, or inflamed with couetcousnesse of his wifes possessions, regardyng neither the admonishement of the duke of Brabant, nor yet the godly aduertisement of the duke of Burgoyn, sware that he would not leaue of to make farther war, till he had expulsed the duke of Brabant, out of his wifes seigniories, territories & dominions. Wherfore, the duke of Burgoyn assembled together a great armie to make war on the duke of Gloucester, in the cause & quarel of the duke of Brabant his frend and cosyn. The duke of Gloucester, partly for great affeires, that then were imminent in the realme of England, and partly to assemble more people, to resist and withstãd the power of the dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant, left his wife at Mons in Henaude, with the lordes of the toune, whiche sware to hym, to defend and kepe her against all men, till the tyme of his returne. Wherfore he leauyng with her twoo thousand Englishmen, departed to Calice, and so into Englande.

WHEN he was gone, the duke of Burgoyn so threatened, so vexed, yea, and almost so famished them within the toune of Mons, that they deliuered into his possession the lady Iaquet or Iacomyne: whiche incõtinent sent her to Gaunt, wher she disguised her self in a mannes apparel, and so escaped into a toune of her awne in Zelande, called Zirice, and frõ thence she was conueiged to a toune in Holland called Tregowe, where she was honorably receiued, & there made herself strong to withstande her enemies: And for her succor the Duke of Gloucester sent to her fiue hundred me. The dukes of Burgoyn and Brabant left her not all in quiet, but brent her tounes in Holland, and slewe her people in Zelande to her greate detriment and displeasure. But inconclusion, this matter was brought before Martyn the. v. bishop of Rome: whiche adiudged the first matrimony with duke Ihon of Brabant, to be good and effectuall, and the seconde espousals celebrated with duke Humfrey of Gloucester, to bee of no value, force nor effecte: and that if the duke of Brabant died, it should not be

lawfull to the duke of Gloucester, to mary again with the lady Iaquet. The duke of Gloucester, obeiyng to this sentence, beganne to waxe lothe of his supposed wife, by whō he neuer had profite but losse: for whose cause his frendes became his enemies, & for whose sake he was openly slaundered. Wherfore he, by wanton affeccion blinded, toke to his wife Elianor Cobham doughter to the lord Cobham, of Sterberow, whiche before (as the fame wēt) was his soueraigne lady and paramour, to his great slaunder and reproche. And if he wer vnquieted with his other pretensed wife, truly he was tenne tymes more vexed, by occasion of this woman, as you shall herafter plainly perceiue: so that he began his mariage with euill, and ended it with worse. The Lady Iaquet after the death of Ihon duke of Brabant, maried a gentleman of meane estate, called Frāke of Bursellen, for the whiche cause the duke of Burgoyn imprisoned her housbande, and left her in greate trouble: suche was the ende of these twoo mariages.

¶ THE FOURTH YERE.

A litle before this tyme, sir Thomas Rampstone, sir Philip Branche, sir Nicholas Bur- The. iiii. yere.
deit, and other Englishemen to the nombre of. v. hundred men, repaired and fortified the toune of sainct Iames de Leitron, on the frontiers of Normandy, adioynyng to Britayn. Arthure erle of Richemond and Iury brother to the duke of Britayn, whiche like an vntroe gentleman, sworne and forsworne to the king of England, sodainly fled to Charles the Dolphin: whiche muche reioysyng of his fauor and amity, gaue to hym the Constableship of Fraūce whiche therle of Boughan slain before at Vernoyl, a small tyme occupied, and lesse space enioyed. This newe Constable not a litle ioyful of his high office, thought to do some pleasure to ỹ dolphyn his master, & to aduaūce his name at the first entry into his authoritie, he imagined no enterprise to be to him more honorable, nor to his prince more acceptable, then to auoyde and driue out of the toune of sainct Iames de Beueon, al the Englishe nacion. So in hope of victory gathered together aboue. xl.M. men, of Britons, Frenchmen and Scottes, and enuironed the toune of sainct Iames, or sainct Iaques de Beuron, with a strong siege. The Englishmen within, whiche in nombre passed not vi.C. men, manfully defended the daily assaultes of the fierce Frenchmen. The Englishemen consulted together what waie was best to bee taken: and after long debatyng, thei determined to issue out of ỹ toune and to fight with their enemies. So on a daie, when the Britons were wering with a long assulte, towardes the euenyng the Englishmen came out of the toune, one part by the posterne of the Castle, and another part by the gate of the toune, criyng sainct George, Salisbury: and set on their enemies bothe before and behind. The Frenchmen seyng the corage of the Englishmen, and hearyng their crie, thynkyng that therle of Salisbury was come to raise the siege, ranne awaie like shepe, and there wer taken, slain and drouned in the water, of them. iiii. thousand men and mo. Besides this, these ioly gallantes left behynde theim for hast, all their tentes. xiiii. greate gonnes, and. xl. barrelles of pouder. CCC. pipes of wine, CC. pipes of bisket and floure, CC. frailes of Figges and resons, and. v.C. barrelles of heryng.

THE Frenchmen (beyng thus vanquished) fel in diuision emongest theimselfes: the one laiyng to the charge of the other, the losse of their men and the cause of their fliyng. Suche is euer the chaūce of the war, that when victorie is obteined, the moste coward and faint harted boy will boste and bragge, and when the battaill is loste, the faulte is assigned to the beste, and not to the wourste. The newe Constable was sore dismaied & muche ashamed of this discomfiture and shamefull flight, but there was no remedy but pacience: But to the entent to blotte out and deface this shamfull fliyng with a notable victory, he with a great armie entered into the countrey of Aniowe, and brente, spoyled and destroyed twō or thre at the moste, litle poore thetched villages: Whiche smal acte done, his malice was quēched, & his old grief (as he thought) victoriously reuenged.

IN this season fell a greate diuision in the realme of England, which, of a sparcle was like to growe to a greate flame: For whether the bishop of Winchester called Henry Beanfort, sonne to Ihon Duke of Lancastre, by his third wife, enuied the authoritee of Humfrey duke of Gloucester Protector of the realme, or whether the duke had taken disdain at the riches and pompous estate of the bishop, sure it is that the whole realm was troubled with them and their partakers: so that the citezens of London fearyng that that should insue vpon the matter, wer faine to kepe daily and nightly, watches, as though their enemies were at hande, to besiege and destroye them: In so muche that all the shoppes within the citie of London wer shut in for feare of the fauorers of those two greate personages, for eche parte had assembled no small nombre of people. For pacifiyng whereof, the Archebishop of Canterbury, and the duke of Quymber called the prince of Portyngale, rode eight tymes in one daie betwene the twoo aduersaries, and so the matter was staied for that tyme. The bishoppe of Winchester not content with his nephewe the lorde Protector, sente a letter to the Regente of Fraunce, the tenor wherof insueth.

" RIGHT high and mighty prince, and my right noble and after one, leuest lord, I recommend me vnto you with all my harte. And as you desire the welfare of the kyng our souereigne lord, and of his realmes of England and Fraunce, and your awne health and ours also, so hast you hether. For by my trouth if you tary, we shall put this lande in aduenture, with a felde, suche a brother you haue here, God make hym a good man. For your wisedom knoweth, that the profite of Fraunce stādeth in the welfare of England, &c. Written in great hast on Alhallow euen. By your true seruant to my lifes ende. Henry Wynchester."

THE duke of Bedford beyng sore greued and vnquieted with these newes, constituted the erle of Warwicke, whiche was lately come into Fraunce, with sixe thousande men his lieuetenaunte in the Frenche dominions and in the duchy of Normandy, and so with a small company, he with the duches his wife, returned again ouer the seas into Englād and the tenth day of Ianuary, he was with all solemnitié receiued into London, to whom the citezens gaue a paire of basynnes, and a thousande marke in money, and from London he rode to Westminster, and was lodged in the kynges palaice. The. xxv. daie of Marche after his cōmyng to London, a parliamēt began at the toune of Leicester, where the Duke of Bedford openly rebuked the Lordes in generall, because that they in the tyme of warre, through their priuie malice and inward grudge, had almoste moued the people to warre and commocion, in which tyme all men, ought or should be of one mynde, harte and consent: requiryng them to defend, serue and drede their souereigne lorde kyng Henry, in perfourmyng his conquest in Fraunce, whiche was in maner brought to conclusion. In this parliament the Duke of Gloucester, laied certain articles to the bishop of Wynchesters charge, the whiche with the answeres herafter do ensue.

¶ The articles of accusation, and accord, betwene my Lord of Gloucester, and my lorde of Wynchester.

HEre insueth the articles, as the kynges counsaill hath conceiued, the which the high and mighty prince, my lord of Gloucester, hath surmised vpon my Lord of Wynchester Chancellour of Englande, with the answere to thesame.

FIRST, where as he beyng protector and defendor of this lande, desired the toure to be opened to him, and to lodge him therein, Richard Woodeuile esquire, hauyng at that tyme the charge of the kepyng of the toure, refused his desire, and kepte the same toure against hym, vnduly and against reason, by the commaundement of my saied Lord of Winchester: and afterward in appeouyng of thesaid refuse, he receiued thesaid Wodeuile, and cherished hym against the state and worship of the kyng, and of my saied lorde of Gloucester.

ITEM

ITEM my said lorde of Winchester, without the aduise and assent of my said lorde of Gloucester, or of the kynges counsail, purposed and disposed hym to set hande on the kynges persone, and to haue remoued hym from Eltham, the place that he was in to Windsore, to the entent to put him in suche gouernaunce as him list. 2

ITEM, that where my said lord of Gloucester, to whom of al persones or that should be in the lande, by the waie of nature and birthe, it belongeth to se the gouernaunce of the kynges person, informed of the said vndue purpose of my saied lord of Winchester, declared in the articles nexte aboue saied. And in lettyng thereof, determinyng to haue gone to Eltha vnto the king, to haue prouided as the cause required. My saied lorde of Winchester, vntruly and against the kynges peace, to the entent to trouble my said lord of Gloucester goyng to the kyng purposyng his death in case that he had gone that way, set men of armes and archers, at thende of London bridge next Southwerke: and in forbarryng of the kynges high way, let drawe the cheine of the stulpes there and set vp pipes and hardelles, in maner and forme of Bulwarkes: and set men in chambers, sellers and windowes, with bowes and arrowes and other weapons, to thentent to bryng to final destruccion my saied lorde of Gloucesters persone, aswell as of those that then should come with hym. 3

ITEM my saied lorde of Gloucester saith and affirmeth, that our souereigne lorde his brother, that was kyng Henry the fifth, told hym on a time, when our said souereigne lorde beyng prince, was lodged in the palaice of Westminster in the greate chambre, by the noyse of a spanyell there was on a night a man espied and taken behynd a tapet of the said chambre, the whiche man was deliuered to therle of Arundell to be examined vpon the cause of his beyng there at that tyme. The which so examined at that time, confessed that he was there by the steryng vp and procuryng of my saied Lorde of Winchester, ordained to haue slain thesaied prince there in his bedde: Wherfore thesaid erle of Arrundell let sacke hym furthwith, and drouned hym in the Thamise. 4

ITEM our souereigne lorde that was, kyng Henry the fifth, said vnto my said lorde of Gloucester, that his father kyng Henry the fourth liuing, and visited then greatly with sickenes of the hande of God, my saied lorde of Winchester saied vnto the kyng (Henry the fifth then beyng prince) that the kyng his father, so visited with sickenesse was not personable: and therfore not disposed to come in conuersacion and gouernaunce of the people, and for so muche counsailed hym to take the gouernaunce and croune of this lande vpon hym. 5

¶ The answere of the bishop.

HEre ensueth the answeres and excusacions made by my lord of Wynchester Chauncellour of Englande, vnto the causes and matters of heuinesse, declared in articles against hym, by my lorde of Gloucester.

FIRST, as of the refuse made vnto my Lord of Gloucester, of openyng the toure to hym, of his lodgyng therin, by the cõmaundement of my saied lorde of Wynchester, he answereth: that in the presence of my said lorde of Gloucester, before his commyng out of his countey of Henawd, for causes such as wer thought reasonable, it semeth lefull that the toure should haue been notably stuffed and kept with vitaile, howbeit, it was not furthwith executed, and that in likewise after, that my saied lorde of Gloucester was gone into his saied countrey of Henawd for sedicious and odious billes & language, cast and vsed in the cite of London, sounyng of insurreccion & rebellion against the kinges peace, and destruccion aswel of diuerse estates of this land, as straungers beyng vnder the defence, in so muche that in doubt therof, straungers in great nombre fled the land: & for the more sure kepyng of thesaid toure, Richard Woodule squire, so trusted with ỹ kyng our souereigne lorde that dead is, (as wel ye knowe) and also chamberlain & counsailer vnto my lord of Bedford, with a certain nombre of defensible persones assigned vnto him, was made deputie ther, by thassent of ỹ kynges cõsail being that tyme at London, for to abide therin for safegard ther-

f,o

of, and straightly charged by thesaied counsaill, that duryng that tyme of his saied charge, he should not suffre any man to bee in the toure stronger then hymself, without especial charge or commaundement of the kyng by thaduise of his counsaill.

2 ITEM that after, sone vpon the cõmyng of my saied lorde of Gloucester into this lande from his countrey of Henawd, the saied lordes of the kynges counsaill were enformed, that my saied lorde of Gloucester, grudged with thesaid maner of enforcyng the toure, and let saie to thẽ of London, that he had wel vnderstand, that they had been heuyly thretened for the tyme of his absence, and otherwise then they should haue bene if he had be in this land. Wherfore he was right euil contented, & especial of the said forcyng of the toure, set vpon thẽ in maner of a chast vilain. Consideryng the good equitie and trouthe that thei had alwayes kept vnto the kyng, offeryng them therupon remedy if they would.

3 ITEM that after this, Richard Scot liuetenaunt of the toure, by the commaundemẽt of my said lorde of Gloucester, brought vnto hym Frier Randolfe, the whiche had long before confessed treason, doen by hym against the kynges person that dead is, for the whiche knowledge he was put to be kepte in the saied toure, and straightly commaunded vnder great pain geuen vnto the saied Scotte, to kepe hym straightly and surely, and not to let hym out of the saied toure, without commaũdement of the kyng, by thaduise of his counsail. The which saied Frier Randolf, my said of lorde Gloucester kept then with hymself (not wittyng the said Scot) as he declared vnto my said lorde of Winchester. Sone after that he had brought the said Frier Randolf vnto my lorde of Gloucestre, saiyng vnto my saied lorde of Winchester, that he was vndone but he helped hym, and expressed as for cause of the saied withholdyng of Frier Randolf: And saying more ouer, that when he desired of my said lorde of Gloucestre, the deliueraunce of the said Frier Randolfe, to leade hym again vnto the toure, or sufficient warraunt for his discharge, my said Lorde of Gloucestre aunswered hym, that his commaundement was sufficient warraunt and discharge for hym. In the whiche thyng aboue saied, it was thought to my Lorde of Wynchester, that my saied lorde of Gloucester, toke vpon hym further then his authoritie stretched vnto, and caused hym for to doubte & dreade, leaste that he would haue proceaded further. And at suche tyme as the saied Woodeuile came vnto him to aske his aduise and counsaill, of lodgyng of my saied lorde of Gloucester into the toure: he aduised and charged him, that before he suffered my said lorde of Gloucester or any person lodge therin stronger then hymself, he should purvey hym a sufficient warraunt therof, of the kyng by thaduise of his counsaill.

4 ITEM as to the saied article of the foresaied causes of heuinesse, my saied Lorde the Chauncellor answereth, that he neuer purposed to set hande on the kynges person, nor to remoue hym, or that he shoulde bee remoued, or put in any maner of gouernaunce, but by thaduise of the kynges counsaill. For he could not conceiue any maner of goodnes or of aduauntage that might haue growen vnto hym therof: But rather greate perill and charge, and hereof my saied Lorde of Winchester is redy to make profe in tyme and place conuenient.

5 ITEM, as to the third article of the forsaid causes and *heuinesse*, my said lorde Chauncellor answereth, that he was ofte and diuerse tymes warned by diuerse credible persones, aswell at the tyme of the kynges laste Parliament, holden at Westminster, as before and sithe, that my said lorde of Gloucester, purposed him bodely harme, and was warned therof, and counsailed by the saied persones, and that diuerse tymes to abstain hym frõ commyng to Westminster, as my said Lorde of Winchester declared vnto my saied lorde of Gloucester.

6 ITEM, that in the tyme of thesaied Parliament diuerse persones of lowe estate, of the citee of London in great nõbre, assembled on a daie vpon the Wharffe, at the Crane of the Vintry, wished and desired that they had there the persone of my Lord of Winchester, saiyng: that they would haue thrown hym into the Thamise, to haue taught hym to swymme with winges. For whiche billes and language of slander and threateynges, cast & spoken in the said cite, by my said lord the Chaũcellor, caused hym to suppose, that they had so saied and did, willed and desired his destruccion, although they had no cause.

ITEM

ITEM, that after the cōmyng to London of sir Raufe Botiller and master Lewes, sent fro my Lorde of Bedford, to the rest of the lordes of the counsaill, they beyng informed that my saied Lorde of Gloucester, did beare displeasure to my saied Lorde of Winchester: They came to my saied lorde of Gloucester to his Ynne, the second Sondaie next before Alhallowen daie, and there opened vnto him, that they had knowledge and vnderstandyng of thesaied displeasure, praiyng hym to lette theim knowe if he bare suche displeasure against my saied Lorde of Winchester, and also the causes thereof. At the whiche tyme (as my saied lorde of Winchester was afterward informed) that my saied lorde of Gloucester, affirmed that he was heuy towarde hym, and not withoutten causes that paraduenture he would put in writyng. 7

ITEM, that after the Mōdaie next before Alhallowen daie last past in the night, the people of thesaid citee of London, by the commaundement of my said lorde of Gloucester, as it was said: For what cause my lorde the Chaūcellor wist not, assembled in the citee, armed and arraied and so continued all that night. Emongest diuerse of the whiche, (the same night by what excitacion, my said lorde the Chauncellor wist not) sedicious and heuie language was vsed, and in especiall against the persone of my saied lorde the Chauncellor. And so the same Mondaie at night, my saied Lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Ynnes of Courte at London, chargyng them of the Court dwellyng in thesame to be with hym vpon the morowe, at eight of the clocke in their best arraie. 8

ITEM that on the morowe, beyng Tewesday next folowyng early, my saied lorde of Gloucester, sent vnto the Maire and Aldermen of the saied citee of London, to ordain hym vnto the nombre of three hundred persones on horssebacke, to accompany hym to suche place as he disposed hym to ride, which (as it was saied) was vnto the kyng, to thentent to haue his persone, and to remoue hym from the place that he was in, without assent or aduise of the kynges counsail, the whiche thyng was thought vnto my saied lorde the Chauncellor, that he ought in nowise to haue doen, nor had not been sene so before. 9

ITEM that my saied lorde the chauncellor, consideryng the thynges aboue said, and doubtyng therfore of perelles that might haue insued thereof, intendyng to purueye there against, and namely for his awne suretie and defence, accordyng to the lawe of nature, ordained to let that no force of people, should come on the bridge of London towarde hym, by the whiche he or his might haue been indaungered or noyed, not intendyng in any wise, bodely harme vnto my saied lorde of Gloucester, nor to any other person, but onely his awne defence and eschewyng the perell aboueaied. 10

ITEM as toward the fourth and fifth of the saied articles, my lorde the Chauncellor answereth, that he was euer true, to al those that wer his soueraigne Lordes, and reigned vpon hym, and that he neuer purposed treason nor vntrouth against any of their persones, and in especiall against the persone of our saied soueraigne lorde kyng Henry the fifth. The whiche consideryng the greate wisedome, trouthe and manhod, that al men knewe in hym, ne would not for the tyme that he was kyng, haue set on my said lorde the Chauncellor so greate truste as he did, if he had founde, or thought in hym suche vntrouthe. The whiche thyng my saied Lorde the Chauncellor, offred to declare and shewe, as it belōgeth to a man of his estate to do, requiryng thervpon my lord of Bedford, and all the lordes spirituall and temporal in this parliamēt, that it might be sene, that there wer iudges cōuenient in this case, that they would do hym right, or els that he might haue leaue of the kyng by their aduise, to go sue his right, before hym ỹ ought to be his iudge. 11

AND as towarde the letter sent by my lord of Winchester, vnto my lord of Bedford, of the whiche the tenor is before rehersed, of the which my lorde of Gloucestre complained hym of the malicious and vntrue purpose of my said lord of Winchester, as toward the assemblyng of the people and gatheryng of a feld in the kynges lāde in troublyng therof, and against the kinges peace: My said lorde of Winchester answereth, that of his said letters duely vnderstande, & in suche wise as he vnderstod and meant in the writyng of them, it maie not reasonably be gathered and taken, that my saied lorde of Winchester, intended 12

to

to gather any feld or assemble people, in troublyng of the kynges land, and against the kinges peace, but rather he purposed to acquite hym to the kyng in his trouthe, and to kepe the rest and peace in the kynges land, and to eschew rebellion, disobedience and all trouble. For by that that in the beginnyng of the said letter, he calleth my said lorde of Bedford, his leuest lorde, after one, that is the kyng, whom he ought to except of dutie of his trouthe, the whiche he hath euer kept and will kepe.

13 MOREOVER in the saied lettre, he desireth the commyng home of my Lorde of Bedforde, for the welfare of the kyng and of his realmes of Englaud and of Fraunce, the whiche stande principally in his kepyng of rest and peace, and praieth my saied lorde of Bedford, to spede his commyng into England, in eschewyng of ieoperdy of the land, and of a felde the whiche he drade hym, might haue folowed if he had long taried: As toward those wordes, and ye tary we shall put this land in aduenture with a feld, suche a brother ye haue here, &c. My saied lord of Winchester saieth, the sothe is: before or he wrote thesaied letter, by occasion of certain ordinaunces, made by the Maire and Aldermen of London, against the excessiue taking of Masons, Carpentars, Tilers, Plasterers and other laborers, for their daily iorneis and approued by the kynges aduise and his counsaill, there were caste many heuinesses and sedicious billes, vnder the names of suche laborers, threteneng risyng with many thousandes, and manassyng of estates of the lande, and likewise sedicious and euill language sowen, and so continued and likely to haue sued of purpose and intent of disobedience and rebellion. To redressyng of the whiche, it semed to my lorde the Chauncellor, that my said lorde of Gloucester, did not his endeuor, nor diligence that he might haue shewed, for lacke of whiche diligence, they that were disposed to do disobeysaunce, were incoraged and inboldened. So that it was like that they should haue made a gatheryng, and that the kyng and his true subiectes, should haue been compelled to haue made a felde, to haue withstand theim, the which feld makyng had been aduenturyng of this lande. And in tokenyng that it was neuer my said lorde Chauncellors intent to gather no feld, but as trouth moste stirred hym against suche as riotously, would make suche assemble against our soueraigne Lorde, and the weale of this land: He desired so hastely, the commyng of my saied Lorde of Bedforde, the whiche he would in no wise haue so greatly desired, if he would haue purposed hym vnto any vnlawful makyng of a feld, for he wist wel that my said lorde of Bedford would moste sharply haue chastised and punished, all those that so would any riotous assẽble make. When this answere was made, the duke caused this writyng folowyng, opẽly to be proclaymed.

14 Beit knowen to all folkes, that it is the intent of my lord of Bedford, and all the lordes spirituall and temporall, assembled in this present parliament, to acquite hym and them, and to procede truly, iustely and indifferently, without any parcialitie, in any maner of matters or querelles, moued or to bee moued, betwene my Lorde of Gloucester, on that one partie, and my lorde of Winchester, Chauncellor of England on that other party. And for sure keping of the kynges peace, it is accorded by my saied lorde of Bedford, and by my saied lordes spiritual and temporall, an othe to be made, in forme that foloweth, that is to saie.

¶ The Othe of the lordes.

THat my saied lorde of Bedford, and my saied lordes spiritual and temporal, and eche of them, shal as farfurth as their connynges and discrecions suffisen, truly, iustly, and indifferently, counsaill and aduise the kyng, and also procede and acquite them self, in al the said matters and quarelles, without that they, or any of theim, shall priuely and apperly, make or shewe hymself to be party or parciall therin, not leuyng or eschewyng so to do, for affeccion, loue, mede, doubt, or dreade of any persone or persones. And that they shall in all wise, kepe secrete all that shalbe commoned by waie of counsaill, in the matters and quarelles aboue said, in the said parliament, without that they or any of them shall by

by worde, writyng or the kyng, or in any wise open, or discouer it to any of thesaid parties, or to any other person that is not of the saied counsail. But if he haue a speciall commaundement or leaue thereto of the kyng, or of my saied lorde of Bedforde, and that eche of them shall, with all his might and power, assist by waie of counsaill, and els shewe it vnto the kyng, my lorde of Bedforde, and to the rest of my said lordes, to put the said parties to reasō, and not suffer that any of the saied parties, by them or by their assistentes, procede or attempte by waie of feit against the kynges peace: nor helpe, assiste, or comfort any of them thereto, but let them with all their might and power, and withstande them, and assist vnto the kyng and my saied Lord of Bedforde, in kepyng of the kynges peace, and redressyng all such maner of procedyng by waie of feit or force.

¶ The Dukes.
The Duke of Bedford.
The Duke of Norffolke.
The Duke of Excestre.

¶ Bisshoppes.
The Archebishop of Cantorbury.
The Bishop of Carlisle.
The Bishop of Bathe.
The Bishop of Landaffe.
The Bishop of Rochestre.
The Bishop of Chichester.
The Bishop of Worcester.
The Bishop of Sainct Dauies.
The Bishop of London.
The Bishop of Duresme.

¶ Erles.
The Erle of Northumberlande.
The Erle of Stafforde.
The Erle of Oxforde.

Lordes.
The Lord Hungerforde.
The Lord Tiptoft.
The Lord Ponynges.
The Lord Cromewell.
The Lord Boroughth.
The Lord Louell.
The Lord Botreux.
The Lord Clynton.
The Lord Zouche.
The Lord Audeley.
The Lord Ferreis of Groby.
The Lord Talbot.
The Lord Roos.
The Lord Grey.
The lord Grey of Ruff.
The Lord Fitzwalter.
The Lord Berkeley.

¶ Abbottes.
The Abbot of Waltham.
The Abbot of Glaustinbury.
The Abbot of saincte Augustines in Cantorbury.
The Abbot of Westminster.
The Abbot of Sainct Maries in Yorke.
The Abbot of saincte Albons, not sworne because hewas not presente.

WHICHE the in maner and forme aboue rehersed, all the lordes aswell spirituall as temporall, beyng in this parliamēt at Leicester assembled the fourthe daie of Marche, promised vpon their faithe, dutie and allegeaunce, whiche they owe to the kyng their soueraigne Lorde, truly to obserue and kepe, accordyng to the true meanyng and purport of thesame.

¶ The Arbitrement.

IN the name of God, we Henry Archebishop of Cantorbury, Thomas Duke of Excester, Ihon Duke of Norffolke, Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Ihon bishop of Bathe, Humfrey erle of Stafford, William Alnewike keper of the kynges priue Seale, Rauffe lorde of Cromwell, arbitratoures in all maner of causes, matters and quarels of heuinesses and greuaunces, with all incidentz, circumstaunces, dependentes, or connexes, beyng and hāgyng betwene the high and worthy prince Hūfrey Duke of Gloucester, on the one partie, and the worshipful father in God, Henry bishop of Winchester and Chauncellor of England, on the other partie, by either of theim for the peacyng of the saied quarelles and debates, taken and chosen in maner and forme, as it is conteined more plainly in a compromesse made therupon, of the whiche the tenor sheweth in this forme.

MEMORANDVM the. vii. daie of Marche, in the. iiij. yere of our soueraigne Lorde the kyng, Henry the sixt. The high and mightie prince Humfrey duke of Gloucestre, at the re-

uerence of God, and for the good of the kyng our soueraigne Lorde in this lande, and namely at the reuerēce, and specially at the request and praier of the mightie and highe prince my lord of Bedford his brother, agreed hym to put and putteth all maner matters and querelles in deede, with all their incidentez, circumstaunces, dependentz and connexes, that touchen hym and his persone, that he hath in anywise, do, or feleth hym greued, or heuy against my lorde his vncle, my Lorde of Winchester. Or els that my Lorde of Winchester findeth him greued against hym, in asmuche as they touch hym or his persone, frō the beginnyng of the worlde vnto *this daie*. In the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitrament of the worthy father in GOD, Henry Archbishop of Cantorbury, the high and noble prince Thomas duke of Excester, and Ihon duke of Norffolke, the worshipfull father in God Thomas bishop of Duresme, Philip bishop of Worcester, Ihō bishop of Bathe. The noble lorde Humfrey erle of Stafford, the worshipfull persones, Master William Alnewike keper of the kynges priuy seale, and Raufe lorde Crumwel, promisyng and behightyng, by the faith of his body, and worde of his princehode and kynges sonne, to do kepe, obserue and fulfil, for hym and in his behalf, all that shalbe declared, ordeined and arbitred, by the forsaid Archebishop, Dukes, bishoppes, Erle, Keper of the priuie seale, and lorde Crūwell, in all matters and querelles aboue saied: Graumtyng also and promisyng ouer that, to be comprehended in the forsaied arbitrement, as toward puttyng awaie all heuinesse or displeasures in any wise conteined by my lorde of Gloucester, against all those that haue in any wise assisted, counsailed, or fauored vnto his said vncle of Winchester, and as toward any matters, that be touchyng my Lord of Gloucester, remitteth it and the gouernaunce thereof vnto the kyng and his counsaill, they to deme it by the aduise of his counsaill, as hym thynketh it to be doen. In witnesse of the whiche thyng, to this present compromise, my said lorde of Gloucester, hath subscribed his name with his awne hande, Humfrey Gloucester. And in like forme, my Lorde of Winchester in another compromise, hath suscribed with his awne hande, vnder the worde of priesthod, to stande at the aduise, ordinaunce and arbitremēt of the persones aboucsaied, *Mutatis Mutandis*.

THE causes beforsaied and querelles by vs sene, heard, and diligently examined and decreed, by the assent of the saied parties, ordeine and award, that my lordes of Gloucester and of Winchester, for any thyng doen or spoken, by that one partie against that other, or by any of theirs or any other persone or persones, afore the. vii. daie of this present Moneth of Marche, neuer here after take causes, querelles, displeasures or heuinesses, that one against the other, ne neither against the counsailers, adherentes or fauorers of that other, for any thing or thynges that are past. And that my saied lorde of Gloucester, bee good Lorde to my saied Lorde of Winchester, and haue hym in loue and affeccion as his kynsemen and Vncle. And that my saied Lorde of Winchester, haue to my saied Lorde of Gloucester, true and sadde loue and affeccion, do and bee ready to do to hym suche seruice, as aperteineth of honesty to my saied Lorde of Winchester and his estate to doo. And that eche of theim be good Lord vnto all those adherentes, counsailers and fauorers of that other, and shewe theim at all tymes fauorable loue and affeccion, as for any thyng doen by them, or saied afore the seuenth daie of Marche.

AND we decre, ordaine and awarde, that my saied Lorde of Wynchester, in the presence of the kyng oure soueraigne Lorde, my Lorde of Bedforde, and my Lorde of Gloucester, and the resydue of the Lordes Spirituall and Temporall, and Commons beeyng in this presente Parlyamente, saye and declare in maner and forme that followeth.

MY soueraigne Lorde I haue well vnderstande, that I am noysed emong the states of your land, how that the kyng our soueraigne lorde that was that tyme, beyng prince and lodged in the greate chambre at Westminster, by the baiyng of a spanyell, there was on a night taken, behynd a tapet in thesame chamber, a man, that should haue confessed, that he was there by myne excitacion and procuryng to haue slain the foresaied Prince there in his bedde, wherevpon thesaied erle, let sacke hym furthwith, and drouned hym in the Thamise. And furthermore I am accused, how that I should haue stirred the kyng that last died, the tyme also that he was Prince, to haue taken the gouernaunce of this realme, and the croune vpō him,

liuyng his father the same tyme beyng kyng: Through whiche language and noysyng, I fele my name and fame greatly emblemmissched, in diuerse menues opinions. Where vpon I take firste God to my witnesse, and afterwarde all the worlde, that I haue been at all tymes, & am true louer and true man, to you my soueraigne Lorde, and shalbe all my life. And also I haue bene to my soueraigne lorde, that was your father, all tyme of his reigne, true man: and for suche, he toke trust and cherished me to his liues end, and as I trust no man wil affirme the contrary, nor neuer in my life procurying, nor imagenying death nor destruccio of his person, ne assentyng to any such thyng, or like thereto, the tyme that he was kyng or Prince, or els in other estate. And in like wise, I was true man to Kyng Henry the. iiij. all the tyme that he was my soueraigne lorde, and reigned vpon me: In which matters, in all maner of wise, that it liketh to you my soueraigne lorde for to commaunde me. I am ready for to declare me: And furthermore, where, how and when, it shall like you by thaduise of your counsaill to assigne me. Wherefore I beseche you my soueraigne Lorde as humbly as I can considerying that there is no grounded processe, by the which I might lawfully, in these matters aboue saied be conuict, blessed be God, to holde me and declare me by thaduise of al the lordes spirituall and temporall, beyng in this presente Parliament, true man to you my soueraigne lord, & so to haue been vnto my soueregne lords that wer your father and graundfather, and true man also, to haue been at all tymes vnto his saied father, whilest he was Prince, or els in any other estate, the said slaunder and noysyng notwithstandyng. And this same declaracion to be enacted, in this your saied present parliament.

THE which wordes declared in maner, as it is aboue said by my said lorde of Winchester, it semeth to my saied lordes the arbitratours, that it is fittyng that my said lorde of Winchester drawe hym a part, and in the meane tyme, the Lordes beyng present, bee singulerly examined thervpon and saie their aduise: And if it be assented by theim in maner as my saied lorde of Winchester desireth, let hym be called again, and that then my lord of Bedford, then haue these wordes in effect & folowē.

FAIRE vncle, my Lord, & kynges grace by the aduise of his counsaill, hath commaunded me to saie to you, that he hath well vnderstande and considered all the matters whiche ye haue here openly declared in his presence, and thereupon ye desire a peticion that he will declare you, and by the aduise and assent of the lordes spirituall an dtemporall, beyng in this presente Parliamente, be declareth you a true man to hym, and that ye haue so bee to my lorde his father and his graundfather, and also true man to my Lorde his father whiles he was Prince or els in any other estate, thesaied dislaunder and noysyng notwithstandyng: And will that the saied declaracion be so enacted in this present parliament. After the whiche wordes thus saied, as before is declared, by thesaied lordes arbitratours that my saied lorde of Winchester should haue these wordes that foloweth, to my saied lorde of Gloucester.

MY Lorde of Gloucester, I haue conceiued to my greate heuinesse that ye should haue receiued by diuerse reportes, that I should haue purposed and imagined against your persone, honor and estate in diuerse maners, for thewhich ye haue take against me great displeasure Sir I take God to my witnes, that what reportes so euer haue been to you of me, paraduenture of such as haue had no greate affeccion to me, GOD forgiue it them, I neuer imagined, ne purposed any thyng that might be hyndervng or preiudice to your persone, honor, or estate. And therfore, I praie you that ye be vnto me good lord from this time furthe, for by my will I gaue neuer other occasion, nor purpose not to do herafter through Goddes grace.

The whiche wordes so by hym saied, it was decreed by the said arbitratours, that my lord of Gloucester should answere and saie.

Faire Vncle, sithe ye declare you suche a man as ye saie, I am right glad that it is so and for suche a man I take you.

And when this was doen, it was decreed by the saied arbitratours that euery ech of my lordes of Gloucester and Winchester should take either other by the hande, in the presence of the kyng and all the parliament, in signe and token of good loue and accord, the whiche was doen and the Parliamet was adiourned till after Easter.

When the greate fire of this discencion, betwene these twoo noble personages, was thus by the arbitratours to their knowledge and iudgement, vtterly quenched out, and laied vnder boord all other controuersies betwene other Lordes, takyng parte with the one partie or the other, wer sone apeased and brought to concord. For ioy wherof, the kyng caused a solẽpne feast, to be kept on Whitson sondaie, on the whiche daie, he created Richard Plantagenet, sonne and heire to the erle of Cambridge (whom his father at Hampton, had put to execution, as you before haue hearde) Duke of Yorke, not forseyng before, that this prefermẽt should be his destruccion, nor that his sede should, of his generacion, bee the extreme ende and finall confusion. He the same daie also promoted Ihon Lorde Mowbrey and Erle Marshall, sonne and heire to Thomas duke of Norffolke, by kyng Richard the seconde exiled this realme and dominion, to the title, name, and stile of the Duke of Norffolke, duryng whiche feaste, the Duke of Bedforde adourned the kyng with the high ordre of knighthode, whiche on thesame daie dubbed with the sweared these knightes whose names ensue.

Richard Duke of Yorke.
Ihon Duke of Norffolke.
The erle of Westmerlande.
Henry lorde Percie.
Ihon lord Butler, sonne to therle of Ormond.
The lord Rosse.
The lorde Matrauers.
The lorde Welles.
The lorde Barkeley.
Sir Iames Butler.
Sir Henry Graye of Tankaruile.
Sir Ihon Talbot.
Sir Raufe Graye of Werke.
Sir Robert Veer.
Sir Richard Grey.
Sir Edmond Hungerford.
Sir Water Wyngfeld.
Sir Ihon Buttelen.
Sir Reignold Cobham.
Sir Ihon Passheleue.
Sir Thomas Tunstall.
Sir Ihon Chedeocke.
Sir Raufe Langstre.
Sir William Drurye.
Sir William Ap Thomas.
Sir Richard Caruonell.
Sir Richard Woodulle.
Sir Ihon Shirdelow.
Sir Nicholas Blunket.
Sir William Cheyney.
Sir William Babyngtō Iustice.
Sir Raufe Butler.
Sir Robert Beauchapme.
Sir Edmond Trafford.
Sir Ihon Iune chief Baron, and diuerse other.

AFTER this solempne feast ended, a great aide and subsidye was graunted, for the continuance of the conquest in Fraunce, and so money was gathered, and men wer prepared in euery citee, toune, and coũtrey: duryng whiche busines, Thomas duke of Excester, the sadde, wise and wel learned coũsailer, great vncle to the kyng, departed out of this mortal life, at his manner of Grenewiche, & was with al funeral pompe, conueyed through London to Berry, and there buried. In which yere also died the Lady Elizabeth his halfe sister, & of the whole bloud with kyng Henry the. iiij. maried to lorde Ihon Hollande duke of Excester and after to the lord Fanhope, buried at the Blacke Friers of London.

WHILE these thynges wer thus appoyntyng and concludyng in Englande: The erle of Warwicke leuetenaunt for the Regente in the realme of Fraunce, entered into the countrey of Mayne, and besieged the toune of Chasteau de Loyre, the which shortly to hym was rẽdered wherof he made capitain Matthew Gough esquire. After that, he toke by assaute the castle of Mayet, and gaue it for his valeauntnes to Ihō Winter esquire, & after that he conquered the castle of Lund, and made there gouernor, William Gladdisdale gentleman. At whiche place he was informed, that the Frenchemen were assembled together, in the countrey of Beausse, wherfore like a valyaunt capitain, he with all his power marched thetherwarde, to encountre with his enemies, and to fight with his aduersaries, whiche hauyng knowledge of his approchyng, fled, and durste not abide the triall, nor ieopardy the aduenture, and in his returnyng, he beseged the Castle of Montdublean, whereof was capitain sir

Robertō des Croix, whiche siege cōtinued thre wekes, but in conclusion the Englishemen, so sore charged theim with in, that the capitain with his whole company, were contente to yelde the castle, their liues horse and harneis, onely reserued: Whiche to them was after long consultacion had, and many agremēntes made frankely graūted. And the saied erle of Warwicke, leauyng there the valeaunt lorde Willoughby, returned again to Paris. Duryng whiche season he was ordained by the assent of the thre estates of the realme of England to be gouernor of the young kyng, in like maner as the noble Duke of Excester before his death was appoynted and assigned, but yet he taried still in Fraunce, and did there no small seruice as you shall here after perceiue.

¶ THE FIFTH YERE.

THE Regent of Fraunce thus beeyng in Englande, meanes was made by the Duke of Burgoyne, for the deliuery of the Duke of Alanson, whiche was taken prisoner at the battaill of Vernoyle the last yere. So he for the some of twoo hundred thousande crounes, was delinered and set at large: but neither for release of all or abatement of part of his raunsome, he would in no wise acknowledge the kyng of Englande, to be his liege and soueregine Lorde: Suche affeccion bare he to the Dolphyn, and suche trouth shewed he to his natural country. When all thynges wer concluded, ordered and established, bothe for the conseruacion of peace and tranquilitie within the realme of Englande, and also for the maintenaunce of warre for the finall gainyng of the region of Fraunce: the Duke of Bedforde and his wife, tooke their leaue of the Kyng, at Westminster and landed at Calice, with whō also passed the seas, Henry bishop of Winchester, whiche in thesaied toune was inuested with the Habite, Hatte and dignitie of a Cardinall, with all Ceremonies to it appertainyng. Whiche degree, kyng Henry the fifth knowyng the haute corage, and the ambicious mynde of the man, prohibited hym on his allegeaunce once, either to sue for or to take, meanyng that cardinalles Hattes should not presume to be egall with Princes. But now the kyng beyng young and the Regent his frende, he obteined that dignitie, to his greate profite, and to the empouerishyng of the spiritualtie. For by a Bull legatyne, whiche he purchased at Rome, he gathered so much treasure, that no man in maner had money but he, and so was he surnamed the riche Cardinall of Winchester, and nether called learned bishop, nor verteous priest. The.v. yere.

AFTER that, the duke of Bedford was returned into Fraunce, the lorde of Rustinan Marshall of Britayn, assembled a greate company of the Britishe nacion, whiche fortefied & repaired the toune of Pountorson, and after thesaied Marshall, with a thousand men entered into the countrey of Constantyne in Normandy, and came before the toune of Auranches. Theuglishmen within the garrison, issued out & boldly fought with their enemies: but after long conflicte and many strokes geuen, the Britons wer ouer come, and the lorde Rustynan taken, and the moste parte of his people slaine. The Duke of Bedforde hearyng that the toune of Pountorson was newly fortified and strongly defended, sent thither the erle of Warwicke, accōpanied with the lorde Scales, and diuerse other valiaunt capitaines and souldiers, to the nombre of. vii. thousand men to besiege the toune, whiche so enuironed it on euery parte, that neither man could steale out, nor beast could passe in. The siege long continuyng, vitaill began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherefore the Lord Scales hauyng in his company, sir Ihon Harpely Bayly of Constantine, sir William Breraton Bayly of Caen, sir Raufe Tesson, sir Ihon Carbonell and. iii. thousand good men of war, departed frō the siege to get vitail, pouder and other thynges necessary for their purpose and enterprise. And as they were returnyng with their cariages on the sea cost, nere to S. Michaels Moūt, they sodainly wer encountred with their enemies, wherof the chief wer, the Baron of Coloses, the lorde Dausebost capitain of thesaid Mount the lorde Mountabon, the lorde Mountburchier, the lorde of Chasteau Giron, the lord of Tyntygnat, the lord of Chasteau Brian with. vi. M. men of warre. The lorde Scales and his company

(seyng that thei wer compassed on euery side with deadly daungiers, for the sea was on the one side, and their enemies on the other, and no meane waie to escape or flie, discended from their horsses and like gredy Lions, together in an vnpeaceable fury, set on their enemies. The skirmishe was strong & the fight was fierce, the Englishmen kept themselfes so close, that their enemies could haue no auantage of them. At the last the lorde Scales cried S. George, they flie, with that thenglishmen toke suche a corage, & the Frenchmen that fought before, were so dismaied that they began to flie. The Englishmen leped again on horssebacke, and folowed theim, and slewe and toke aboue. xi.C. persones, emongest whō wer taken, the Baron of Colsoes, and the lorde of Chasteau Brian and xxx. knightes.

AFTER this victory, the Lorde Scales with his vitailes, prouision and prisoners, returned to the siege, where he was of the Erle and other noble men, ioyously receiued and for this notable facte, highly magnified and preysed. While the siege thus continued before Pountorson, Christopher Hanson and other souldiers of the garrison of S. Susan, made a rode into the countrey of Anioy, & came to a Castle called Ramffort, which castle was so priuely scaled, that the capitain within & his company, wer taken or slain before they knewe of their enemies approchyng. When knowledge of this feate was made open to the Frenchemen, whiche were assembled to the nombre of. xx.M. to reyse the siege, and breake vp the the campe, liyng before the toune of Pountorson, they left that iourney for a tyme, and returned to the Castle of Ramffort, and besieged thesame by the space of tenne daies.

THE Englishmen considering the multitude of the enemies, and the farre absence of their frendes, began to treate with the Frenchmen and so vpon condicion to departe with bagge and baggage, horse and harnes, thei rendered vp the castle, and departed with more riches then thei brought, whiche castle thus possessed by the Frenchemen, they forgat the reskew of Pountorson, and brake vp their army. But sone after, the lorde of Raix, calling himself liuetenaunt general for the dolphin, accompanyed with the lorde Mount Iehan, the Lorde Beaumanoire, and the lorde Tussye, and other to the nōbre of thre thousand persones, entered into the countrey of Mayn, & laied siege to the castle of Malycorne, wherof was capitain an Englishmā, called Oliuer Osbatersby, which castle with the capitain, was by force taken and obteined: in like maner they toke the litle castle of Lude, and there in William Blackeborne leuetenaunt for Willia Glasdale esquire, & put hym to raūsome, and slewe al his souldiers. After this victory, in the which they muche gloried, the Frenchmen perceiuing that therle of Warwicke continued stil his siege before the toune of Pountorson, & knowyng by their espials, that the Englishmen wer determined to geue them battaill, if thei once attempted to rayse the siege, and therefore fearyng to fight in an open battaill, reculed backe again to the dolphyn with litle gain and small honor. The Frenchmen and Britons beyng straightly besieged within the toune of Pountorson, perceiuyng no likelyhod of succors to come, and seyng the Englishe army daily did increase, fearyng the sequele therof, if they by violence should be taken and vanquished, thei offered the toune, so that thei might departe with horse and harnes only: whiche request (after long sute and peticion) to theim was hardely graunted. The Erle like avaliaunt capitain, entred into the toune and there appoynted for gouernors, the lord Roos, and the lorde Talbot, and leuyng there a conuenient garrison, returned to the lorde Regent.

AFTER the takyng of this toune, there was a league, and a treaty concluded betwene the Regent and the duke of Britayn, by the whiche agrement bothe the tounes of Pountorson and S. Iames de Beuron wer beaten doune to the ground & clery defaced. After the lord of Rais was departed out of the territory of Mayne as you haue heard, Christopher Hanson, Phillip Gough. Martyn Godffrey called the scaler, and diuerse other of the garrison of S. Susan, to the nombre of. xxx. archars, went out in a mornyng to seke their aduētures, and came nere to the Castle of sainct Laurence de Mortiers (at the same very season) whē sir Iames de Scpeaulx capitain of thesame, was gone out of his Castle with the greatest nombre of his retinewe, to a Churche directly against the castle. In the masse time, thenglishmen entered by subtiltie into the gate & so gat the dongeon. And when sir Iames returned

turned from Masse, as he entered into the gate he was taken, and his men fled, and so was the castle furnished with Englishmen, and capitain therof was appoynted, sir William Oldhaule.

THE same season, sir Ihon Fastolfe, gouernor of the countries of Aniow and Maine, assembled a great puissaunce of men of warre, and laied a siege before the castle of sainct Owen Destays, beside the toune of Lauall, wherof was capitain sir Guillam Orenge, whiche, after ten daies besiegyng, rendred the castle, their liues and armure only except: howbeit one railyng and slaunderous persone was put to terrible execution. And from thence, the said sir Ihon remoued to the strōg castle of Grauile, & after. xii. daies, thei within offred to yeld the castle by a day if thei wer not succored by ỹ dolphin or his power. The offre was taken & pledges deliuered, which wer Guillā Cordouen, & Ihon de Maisierie esquiers. After these pledges deliuered, sir Ihon Fastolffe returned in post to the regent, aduertisyng him of this composicion and agrement: wherfore thesaid lorde, reised a greate power, to fight with the Frenche men at the day appoynted, and in his company, wer the erles of Mortaigne and Warwicke, and the lordes Roos, and Talbot, sir Ihon Fastolffe, sir Ihon Aubemond, sir Ihon Ratclife, and diuerse other, to the nombre of twentie thousand men, and so marched forward in hope to mete and ioyne battail with their enemies. But their aduersaries, whiche wer not farre of, durste not approche, wherfore the Regent sent sir Ihon Fastolfe incontinent to receiue the castle: but they within (cōtrary to their promesse and appointment) had newly vitailed and manned the place, and so forsaking their pledges and felowes in armes, refused to render the fortres according to the appointment: wherfore the pledges were brought before the sight of them within the castle, and there openly put to death. After this, the lord Talbot, was made gouernor, of Aniow and Mayne, and sir Ihon Fastolffe was assigned to another place: whiche lorde Talbot, beyng bothe of noble birthe, and haute corage, after his comming into Fraunce, obteigned so many glorious victories of his enemies, that his only name was, and yet is dredful to the Frenche nacion, and muche renoumed emongest all other people. This ioly capitain, and sonne of the valiant Mars, entered into Mayn and slewe men, destroyed castles, and brent tounes, and in conclusion, sodainly toke the toune of Lauall: but the lord Loghac, and diuerse other, retrayted theim selfes into the Castle, and there remained eight daies. Duryng which tyme, it was agreed, that all capitaines, Burgesses, and men of warre, which wer within the Castle, should depart with bagge and baggages, paiyng to the lord Talbot for al thynges, one hundred thousand Crounes. And the Castle so beyng deliuered, was committed to the kepyng of Gilbert Halsall, whiche after, was slain at the siege of Orleance, for whom was made capitain Matthew Gough, which beyng at the iorney before Senlies, by treason of a miller that kept a mil adioyning to the walle, the Frenchemen entered into the toune, and brought it into their subiection and obeysaunce.

THE duke of Bedford, was aduertised by his espials, that the toune of Montarges, whiche was in the territory of Orleance, was but slenderly kept and smally furnished, and that it might be taken with litle pain and no losse. The Regent glad of these newes, sent therle of Suffolke, sir Ihon Pole his brother, & sir Henry Bisset with sixe. M. men to assaute the toune, but when they came thether and found the toune better manned and more strongly defenced, then their expectacion imagined, they gaue no assaute but laied siege aboute the toune, and therle of Warwike was appoynted to lye with a great nomber of menne of warre, at sainct Mathelines de Archamp, to encountre the Frenchmen if they would attempt to ayde or vitaill those that wer enclosed within the toune. This fortresse stode in suche a place, that what with waters and what with marishes, the army must seuer in thre partes, so that the one could not easely help the other, but either by boates or bridges, so the toune was besieged by the space of two monethes and more. In the meane season, Arthur of Britayne, Constable for the dolphyn, sent thether in all hast, the lorde Boisac Marshall of Fraūce, Stephin le Hire, Ponton de Sentrayles, the lorde Grauile, and diuerse other valiaunt horssemen, to the nomber of thre thousand and aboue, which priuely

in.

in the night, came on that side where sir Iheñ de la Pole and sir Henry Bisset laye, whom they found out of all ordre and without any watche. So the Frenchemen entered into their lodges and slewe many in their beddes, they spared no man, for the resistance was smal, Sir Ihō Dela pole with his horsse saued hymself, and fled ouer the water to his brother, & sir Henry Bisset escaped by a boate and eight with him. The residue whiche would haue passed the bridge and ioyned with the erle of Suffolke, fled in such plumpes ouer the bridge, that the tymber brake and a great nombre was drouned so, ỹ there were slain & drouned xv.C. men. The erle of Warwike hearyng of this chaunce, departed from sainct Mathelyn with all diligent spede, and came before Montarges offeryng battaill to the Freuche capitaines, which answered that thei had manned and vitailed the toune, and entēded to do nomore at that time. Thenglishmen seyng that their trauaile should be in vain, came back softely again with all their ordinaunce to the duke of Bedforde.

IT should seme that fortune at this time would not, that the Frēche men should haue one ioyfull daie, but thesame also should be myngled with dolor or displeasure. For at this very tyme, sir Nicholas Bardett appoynted by the duke of Somerset, to vexe and trouble his enemies in the costes of Britayne, sent light horssemen into euery part, vexyng the people and wastyng the coūtrey. All tounes that he passed by were brente al, and buildynges spoyled & robbed, prisoners and praies wer aboundantly taken, small villages wer destroyed, and greate tounes wer raunsomed, & so without hurt or damage, thesaid sir Nicholas returned into Normandy. This mischance beyng declared to the Constable of Fraunce and the other capitaines, cut their combes and plucked doune their hartes, whiche were set on so mery a pynne, for the victory of Montarges, that they were in maner, like desperate persones, loth to attempte any farther enterprise against the Englishe nacion, saiyng: that God was turned Englishe, and the deuill would not helpe Fraunce.

THE duke of Alaūson, whiche as you haue beard, was late deliuered out of Englande, reuiued again the dull spirites of the Dolphyn, and the fainte hartes of his capitaines, promisyng to theim greate victory with litle trauail, and much gain with smal labor, wherfore in hope of good lucke, he determined to do some notable feate against thenglishe men. Then happened a chaunce vnloked for, or vnthought of, euen as they would haue whissbed or desired, for not onely the Magistrates, but chiefly the spiritual persons of the citee of Mauns, knowyng that the duke of Britayne and his brother, were reuerted and turned to the French partie, began sore to mourne and lament that they wer subiectes and vassals to the yoke and power of the Englishemen. Wherfore they determined and fully concluded, to aduertise of their myndes and determinacions, the capitaines of Charles ỹ dolphyn, (of the called the Frenche kyng) and so by certain false Friers, therof wrote humble and louing letters. These newes pleased much the French capitaines, but no lesse you may be sure the Dolphyn hymself, as a thyng discended from heauen, of theim vnsought, vnimagined and not deuised. Wherfore to take oportunitie when time serued, and not to lese so great a benefite so honestly offred, the lordes Delabreth and Fayet, Marshals of Fraunce, accompanied with the lordes of Monte Ihan, of Buel Doruall, Torsye and Beaumamoyre the Heire, and Gullyam his brother, and fiue hundred other hardy capitaines and valiaunt souldiers, toke vpon theim this enterprise, sendyng great thankes and laudes to the Clergie and citezēns, for their assured fidelitie to their soueraigne lord, promysyng theim to be there at the daie appoynted, not doubtyng to find them redy accordyng to their promes, gladly to receiue them.

WHEN the daie assigned and the night appoynted was come, the Frenche capitaines priuely approched the toune, makyng a litle fire on an hill in the sight of the toune, to signifie their cōmyng and approchyng. The citezēs, which by the great church wer loking for their approch, shewed a burnyng Cresset out of the steple, which sodainly was put out & quenched. What should I saie, the capitaines on horssebacke came to the gate, and the traytors within slew the porters and watch men, and let in their frendes, the footemen entered firste, and the men of armes waited at the barriers, to the intent that if muche nede required

required or necessitie cõpelled, they might fight in the opẽ feld. And in the mean season many Englishmen wer slain, and a greate claymor and a houge noyse was hard through the toune, as is wont and accustomed to be in a toune, by treason sodainly surprised & taken: but what was the cause of the cry, or beginnyng of the noyse, fewe except the confederates, ether knewe or perceiued. For the remnaunt of the citezens beyng no partakers in this faccion, imagined that the Englishmen had made hauocke in the toune and put all to the sweard. The Englishemen on the othersyde, iudged that the citezens had begonne some new rebellion against theim, or els had striuen emongest theimselfes. The erle of Suffolke, whiche was gouernor of the toune, hearyng the clamor and noyse of the people, hauing perfect knowledge of such as escaped frõ the walles, in what case the citee stode in, without any taryyng or prolongyng of tyme entered into the Castle which standeth at the gate of Sainct Vincent, wherof was Constable Thomas Gower esquier: whether also fled so many Englishemen, that the place was pestured, and there if they wer not rescued, likely to be famished: but surely they wer sore assauted and marueilously hurte, with the shot of the alablasters & crosse bowes, but they defended theimselfes so manfully, that their enemies gat small aduantage at their handes. But all their hardines had not serued, nor all their pollicy had not defended theim, if they had not priuely sent a messenger to the lorde Talbot, which then lay at Alanson, certefiyng hym in what case they stoode, for vitaill had they none, municiõs failed, and the Castle was almoste vndermined, so that yeldyng must folowe, and resistaunce could not preuaile. The lorde Talbot heryng these newes, neither slept nor banquetted, but with all hast assembled together his valiaunt capitaines, whose names you haue before often times heard rehersed, to the nombre of vii. hundred men of warr, and in the euenyng departed from Alanson, and in the mornyng came to a castle called Guyercle twoo myles from Mauns, and from thence sent as an espial Matthew Gough, to espie the gouernaunce of the enemies, and if he might to shewe to his countreymen that he was at hãde to be their aide & rescowes. Matthew Gough so well sped, that priuely in the night he came into the castle, where he knew how that the French men beyng lordes of the citee, and now castyng no perils nor fearyng any creature, began to waxe wanton and felle to riote, as though their enemies could do to them no damage: thynkyng that the Englishemen whiche wer shut vp in the Castle, studied nothyng but how to escape and be deliuered. Whẽ Matthew Gough had knowen al the certaintie and had eaten a litle breade and dronke a cuppe of wine to comfort his stomacke, he priuely returned again, and within a mile of the citee met with the lorde Talbot and the Lorde Scales, and made open to theim al thyng according to his credence, whiche to spede the matter, because the day approched, with al hast possible came to the posterne gate, and alighted from their horses, and about sixe of the clocke in the mornyng thei issued out of the castle cryng sainct George, Talbot. The French men which wer scace vp, and thought of nothyng lesse then of this sodain approchment, some rose out of their beddes in their shertes, and lepte ouer the walles, other ranne naked out of the gates for sauing of their liues, leuyng behynde theim all their apparell, horsses, armure and riches, none was hurt but suche, whiche ether resisted or would not yelde, wherof some wer slain and cast in prisone. There were slain and taken foure hundred gẽtlemen and the villaines frankely let go. After this inquisicion was made of the authors of this vngracious coniuracion, and there were accused thirtie citezens, twenty priestes and fiftene Friers, which accordyng to their desertes were put in execution.

¶ THE SIXT YERE.

THE citee of Mauns thus beyng reduced into the Englishe mennes handes, the Lorde Talbot departed to the toune of Alanson. After whiche marciall feat manly acheued, the erle of Warwicke departed into Englande, to be gouernour of the young kyng, insteade of Thomas duke of Excester, late departed to God. In whose stede was sent into Fraunce, the

The vi. yere.

the lorde Thomas Mountacute erle of Salisbury with fiue thousande men, whiche landed at Calice and so came to the Duke of Bedford in Paris. Where he consultyng with the Duke of Bedforde, concernyng the affaires of the realme of Fraunce: seyng all thynges prosperously succede on the Englishe part, began meruailously to phantesie the citee and countrey of Orliaunce, stādyng on the riuer of Loyre. But because the cite was wel fortified bothe by the nature of the situacion of the place, and by the pollicie of man, he imagined it not the woorke of one daie, nor the study of one houre. Wherfore he remitted it to a farther deliberacio, yet he was the man at that tyme, by whose wit, strength and pollicie, the Englishe name was muche fearfull and terrible to the French nacion, whiche of hymself might both appoynt, commaunde and do all thynges, in maner at his pleasure, in whose power, (as it appeared after his deathe) a greate part of the conquest consisted and was esteined, because he was a man both painfull and diligent, redy to withstand thynges perilous and imminent, and prompt in counsail, and with no labor be weried, nor yet his corage at any tyme abated or appalled, so that all men put no more trust in any one man, nor no synguler person gat more the hartes of all men. After this greate enterprise, had long been debated and argued, in the priuie counsaill, the erle of Salisburies deuise, (although it semed harde and straunge to all other, and to hym as it wer a thyng predestinate very easie) was graunted and allowed, which enterprise was the finall conclusion of his naturall destiny, as you shall shortely perceiue. Thus he replenished with good hope of victory, & furnished with artilery, and municions apperteinyng to so greate a siege, accompanied with the erle of Suffolke and the lorde Talbot, and with a valiaunt company, to the nombre of tenne thousande men, departed from Paris and passed through the countrey of Beause. He toke by assaute the toune of Yainuile, but the Frenchmen fled into the Castle, and there continued fiue daies, at the ende wherof they rendered themselfes symply: of thesaid nombre, some were put to death for certain causes, & some were taken to mercie. He tooke also the toune of Bawgency, sufferyng euery man, whiche would become vassaile and subiecte to the kyng of England, to enherite their landes and enioy their goodes. The tounes of Meun vpon Loyre & Iargenan, hearyng of these treatise, presented to hym the keyes of the toune, vpon like agrement & egall condicions.

AFTER this in the moneth of September, he laied his siege on the one side of the water of Loyre, before whose commyng, the Bastarde of Orleaunce, and the bishop of the citee and a great nombre of Scottes, hearyng of therles intent, made diuerse fortificacions about the toune and destroyed the suburbes, in the which wer twelfe parishe churches and foure ordres of Friers. They cut also doune al the vines, trees and bushes within fiue leages of the toune, so that the Englishmen should haue neither comfort, refuge nor succor.

HERE must I a litle digresse, and declare to you, what was this bastard of Orleance, whiche was not onely now capitain of the citee, but also after, by Charles the sixt made erle of Dunoys, and in great authoritie in Fraunce, and extreme enemie to the Englishe nacion, as by this story you shall apparauntly perceiue, of whose line and steme dyscend the Dukes of Longuile and the Marques of Rutylon. Lewes Duke of Orleance murthered in Paris, by Ihon duke of Burgoyne, as you before haue harde, was owner of the Castle of Concy, on the Frontiers of Fraunce toward Artboys, wherof he made Constable the lord of Cauny, a man not so wise as his wife was faire, and yet she was not so faire, but she was as well beloued of the duke of Orleance, as of her husband. Betwene the duke and her husbande (I cannot tell who was father) she conceiued a child, and brought furthe a pretye boye called Ihon, whiche child beyng of the age of one yere, the duke diseased and not long after the mother, and the Lorde of Cawny ended their liues. The next of kynne to the lord Cawny chalenged the enheritaunce, whiche was worth foure thousande crounes a yere, alledgyng that the boye was a bastard: and the kynred of the mothers side, for to saue her honesty, it plainly denied. In conclusion, this matter was in contencio before the Presidentes of the parliament of Paris, and there hang in controuersie till the child came to the age of eight yeres old. At whiche tyme it was demaunded of hym openly whose

whose soune he was: his frēdes of his mothers side aduertised him to require a day, to be aduised of so great an answer, whiche he asked, & to hym it was grāted. In ỹ meane season his said frendes persuaded him to claime his inheritaunce, as sonne to the Lorde of Cawny, which was an honorable liuyng, and an auncīēt patrimony, affirming that if he said contrary, he not only slaūdered his mother, shamed himself, & stained his bloud, but also should haue no liuyng nor any thing to take to. The scholemaster thinkyng ỹ his disciple had well learned his lesson, and would reherse it accordyng to his instrucciō, brought hym before the Iudges at the daie assigned, and when the question was repeted to hym again, he boldly answered, my harte geueth me, & my noble corage telleth me, that I am the sonne of the noble Duke of Orleaunce, more glad to be his Bastarde, with a meane liuyng, then the lawfull sonne of that coward cuckolde Cauny, with his foure thousande crounes. The Iustices muche meruciled at his bolde answere, and his mothers cosyns detested him for shamyng of his mother, and his fathers supposed kinne reioysed in gainyng the patrimony and possessions. Charles duke of Orleance heryng of this iudgement, toke hym into his family & gaue him great offices & fees, which he well deserued, for (duryng his captiuitie) he defēded his lādes, expulsed thenglishmen, & in conclusion procured his deliueraunce.

THIS coragious Bastard, after the siege had continued thre wekes ful, issued out of the gate of the bridge, and fought with the Englishemen, but they receiued hym with so fierce and terrible strokes, that he was with all his company compelled to retire and flie backe into the citee: But the Englishemen folowed theim so faste, in killyng and takyng of their enemies, that they entred with them the Bulwarke of the bridge, whiche with a greate toure, standing at thende of thesame, was taken incontinent by thenglishmen. In whiche conflict many Frenchemen were taken, but mo were slain, and the kepyng of the toure and Bulwerke was cōmitted to William Glasdale esquier. When he had gotten this Bulwarke, he was sure that, by that waie neither man nor vitaill could passe or come. After that he made certayne Bulwarkes roūde about the citee, castyng trenches betwene the one and the other, laiyng ordinaunce in euery part, where he saw that any battery might be deuised. When they within perceiued that they were enuironed with fortresses and ordinance, they laied gonne against gonne, and fortefied toures against bulwarkes, and within made new rampires, and buylded new mudwalles to auoyde crackes and breches, whiche might by violent shot sodainly insue. They appoynted the Bastard of Orleance, and Stephin Veignold called the Heire, to see the walles and watches kept, & the bishop sawe ỹ thinhabitātes within the cite, wer put in good ordre, and that vitaill wer not wantonly consumed, nor vainly spent.

IN the toure that was taken at the bridge ende, as you before haue heard, there was a high chamber hauyng a grate full of barres of yron by the whiche a man might loke all the length of the bridge into the cite at which, grate many of the chief capitaines stode diuerse times, vieuyng the cite & deuisyng in what place it was best assautable. They within the citee perceiued well this totyng hole, and laied a pece of ordynaunce directly against the wyndowe. It so chaunced that the. lix. daie after the siege laied before the citee, therle of Salisbury, sir Thomas Gargraue and William Glasdale and diuerse other, went into thesaid toure and so into the high chābre, and loked out at the grate, and with in a short space, the soune of the Master gonner, perceiued men lokyng out at the wyndowe, toke his matche, as his father had taught hym, whiche was gone doune to dinner, and fired the gonne, whiche brake & sheuered ỹ yron barres of the grate, wherof one strake therle so strōgly on the hed, that it stroke away one of his iyes and the side of his cheke. Sir Thomas Gargraue was likewise striken, so that he died within two daies. Therle was conueighed to Meum vpon Loyre, where he laie beyng woundēd. viij. daies, duryng whiche tyme, he receiued deuoutly the holy Sacramentes, and so commended his soule to almighty God, whose body was conueyed into England, with all funerall and pompe, and buried at Bissam by his progenitors, leuyng behind him, an onely daughter named Alice, maried to Richarde Neuell, sonne to Raufe erle of Westmerland, of whom hereafter shalbe made mencion. What detriment, what damage,

what losse succeded to the Englishe publique wealthe, by the sodain death of this valiaunt capitain, not long after his departure, manifestly apered. For high prosperitie, and great glory of the Englishe nacion in the parties beyond the sea, began shortely to fall, and litle and litle to vanishe awaie: which thing although the Englishe people like a valiant & strong body, at the firste tyme did not perceiue, yet after ỳ they felt it grow like a pestilēt humor, which succesciuely a litle and litle corrupteth all the membres, and destroyeth the body. For after the death of this noble man, fortune of warre began to change, and triumphaut victory began to be darckened. Although the death of therle were dolorous to all Englishmē, yet surely it was moste dolorous to the duke of Bedford, regent of Fraunce, as he whiche had loste his right hand or lacked his weapon, when he should fight with his enemie. But seyng that dedde men cannot with sorowe be called again, nor lamentacion for dedde bodies cannot remedy the chaunces of men liuyng: he (like a prudent gouernor & a pollitique patron) appointed the erle of Suffolke to be his leuetenant, and captain of the siege, and ioyned with hym the lord Scales, the lorde Talbot, sir Ihon Fastolfe, and diuerse other valiaunt knightes and esquiers. These lordes caused bastiles to be made round about the citee, with the whiche they troubled their enemies and assauted the walles, and left nothyng vnattempted, whiche might be to theim, any aduantage, or hurtefull to their enemies.

IN the time of lent vitaile and artillerie, began to waxe scant in the Englishe armie, wherfore therle of Suffolke appointed sir Ihon Fastolfe, sir Thomas Rampstō, and sir Philip Hal with their retinewes, to ride to Paris to the lord Regent, to informe him of their scarcenes and necessitie. Whiche beyng therof informed, without any delaye or prolongyng, prouided vitaile, artillery and municions, necessary and conuenient for so greate an enterprise, and laded therwith many chariottes, cartes, and horsses, and for the sure cōduite, and sauegard of the same, he appoynted sir Simon Morhier Prouost of Paris, with the gard of the citee & diuerse of his awne houshold seruauntes, to accompany sir Ihon Fastolfe and his cōplices, to the army liyng at the siege of Orleaunce. The whiche departed in good ordre, to the nombre of. v. hundred men of war, beside wagoners out of Paris, and came to Yaynuile in Beausse, and in a mornyng early in a greate frost they departed, from the place toward the siege, and when they came to a toune called Ronuray, in the laūdes of Beausse, they perceiued their enemies cōmyng against them, to the nombre of. ix. or. x. M. Frenchemen & Scottes: the capitaines wherof was Charles of Cleremōt, sonne to the duke of Burbon, then beyng prisoner in Englande, sir William Stewarde Constable of Scotlande, alitle before deliuered out of captiuitie, the erle of Perdriacke, the lord Ihon Vandosme, Vidame of Charters, the Lorde of Touars, the lorde of Lohat, the lorde of Eglere, the Lorde of Beauiew, the Bastard Tremorle, and many other valiant capitaines. Wherfore sir Ihon Fastolfe and his companions, set all their company in good ordre of battaill, and picked stakes before euery Archer, to breke the force of the horsemen. At their backes they set all their wagōs and cariages, and within theim thei tied all their horsses, so that their enemies could nether assaile them on the backeside, nor yet spoile them of their horsses, and in this maner they stode still, abidyng the assaute of their aduersaries. The Frenchmen (by reason of their great nombre) thinking the victory to be in their handes, egerly like Lions set on the Englishmen, whiche with greate force, them receiued and manfully defended: for it stode theim vpon, considerying the inequalitie of the nombre. And after long and cruell fight the Englishmen droue backe and vanquished the proude Frenchemen, and compelled theim to flie. In this conflict were slain, Lorde Willyam Stewarde Constable of Scotlande and his brother, the lorde Doruall, the lorde Delabret, the lorde Chasteaubrian, sir Ihon Basgot, and other Frenchmen & Scottes, to the nombre of. xxv. C. and aboue xj. hundred taken prisoners, although some French writers affirme the nombre lesse.

AFTER this fortunate victory, sir Ihon Fastolfe and his company (of the whiche no man of any reputacion was either slain or taken,) came with all their cariages, vitaile, and prisoners, to the siege before Orleance, where they wer ioyously receiued & welcomed of all the souldiors.

souldiors. This conflict (because the most part of the cariage was heryng & lenten stuffe.) the Frenchmen call. the vnfortunate battail of herynges.

THE Erle of Suffolke, beeyng thus vitailed, continued his siege, and euery daie almoste, skirmished with his enemies, whiche being in dispaire of all succors, began to cōmen emongest theimself, how they might rendre the toune, to their moste honoure and profite. After muche reasonyng, and long debatyng emongest the capitaines, and the magistrates of the toune, what way was best to be folowed: Some affirmed it not onely to be shamefull and dishonorable, but also vnnaturall and vnreasonable, to yelde the toune to the Englishemen, beyng neither frendes nor fauorers of the French nacion: other, fearyng the victory of the Englishmen, imagined, that if they by force possessed the citee, they would do to them as tyrantes be accustomed to serue, wilfull and obstinate people, and therefore they thought it a greate folye and a notable lightnes, not to beware the one, as to deny or refuse the other. But when they saw, that their glory must nedes decline to a shame & reproche, they thought to find a meane waye to saue themselfes, and their cite frō the captiuitie of their enemies, and deuised to submit their citee theselfes, & al theirs vnder the obeysance of Phillip duke of Burgoyn because he was brought out of the stocke and bloud royall of the auncient hous of Fraunce: thinkyng by this meanes (as thei did in deede) to breke or minishe the greate amitie betwene the Englishemen & hym.

AFTER this poynt concluded, they made open & sent to the duke all their deuises and intentes whiche certified the that he would gladly receiue their offre, so that the Regent of Fraunce would therto agre & cōsent. And therupō dispatched certain ambassadors to the duke of Bedford, to whom these newes wer straunge and not very plesaunt, vpon whiche poynt, he assembled a great counsaill. Some thought that maner of yeldyng to be bothe honorable and profitable to the king of Englande, by reason wherof, so greate a citee, & so riche a countrey, should be brought out of the possessiō of their enemies, into the hades of their trusty frendes, without farther cost or bloudshed. The Duke of Bedford & other, wer of a contrary opinion, thinkyng it bothe dishonorable and vnprofitable to the realme of England, to se a cite so long besieged at the costes & expenses of the kyng of England, & almoste brought to the poynt of yeldyng, to be yelded to any other forē prince or potestate, and not to hym or his Regent, the example wherof might prouoke other tounes herafter to do the same. This reason toke place, and the Regent answered the dukes ambassadors, that it was not honorable nor yet cōsonaunte to reason, that the kyng of Englande should beate the bushe and the duke of Burgoyn should haue the birdes: Wherfore sithe the right was his, the war was his, and the charge was his, he saied that ŷ citie ought not to be yelded to no other person but to hym or to his vse and profite. By this litle chance, succeded a great change in thenglishe affaires, for a double mischief of this answere rose and sprang out. For first the duke of Burgoyne, began to conceiue a certain priuye grudge against thenglishmen for this cause: thynkyng thē to enuy & beare malice against his glory and profite, for the whiche in continuance of time he became their enemy, and cleued to the French Kyng. Secondly, the Englishemen left the siege of Orleaunce, whiche by this treaty they might haue had to frend, or to haue continued neutre, till their Lord the duke of Orleaunce, or the erle of Angulosie his brother wer deliuered out of the captiuitie of the English people. But if men wer angels and forsaw thynges to come, they like beastes would not ronne to their confusion; but fortune which gideth the destiny of man, will turne her whele as she listeth, whosoeuer saith nay.

WHILE this treaty of the Orleaunces was in hand, Charles the dolphin, daily studied and hourly labored, to plucke the fauor and hartes of the nobilitie of Fraunce, from the Englishe nacion, to the intent, that he might assemble a ptyssaunce, sufficient to relefe his frendes, beyng shut vp in the citee of Orleaūce. While he was studiyng and compassyng this matter there happened to hym, a straunge chaunce, of the whiche I will write a litle, because some of the Frenche aucthours, and especially lhon Bouchet, of it writeth to muche.

FOR as he and other saie, there came to hym beyng at Chynon a mayd of the age of. xx. yeres, and in mans apparell, named Ione, borne in Burgoyne in a toune called Droymy beside Vancolour, which was a greate space a chamberleyn in a commen hostery, and was a rampe of suche boldnesse, that she would course horsses and ride theim to water, and do thynges, that other yong maidens, bothe abhorred & wer ashamed to do: yet as some say, whether it wer because of her foule face, that no man would desire it, either she had made a vowe to liue chaste, she kept her maydenhed, and preserued her virginitie. She (as a monster was sent to the Dolphin, by sir Robert Bandrencort captain of Vaucolour, to whō she declared, that she was sent frō God, bothe to aide the miserable citee of Orleaunce, and also to remit hym, to the possession of his realme, out of the whiche, he was expulsed and ouercomed: rehersyng to hym, visions, traūses, and fables, full of blasphemy, supersticiō and hypocrisy, that I marueil much that wise men did beleue her, and lerned clarkes would write suche phantasies. What should I rehersse, how they saie, she knewe and called hym her kyng, whom she neuer saw before. What should I speake how she had by reuelacion a swerde, to her appoynted in the churche of saincte Katheryn, of Fierboys in Torayne where she neuer had been. What should I write, how she declared suche priuy messages from God, our Jady, and other sainctes, to the dolphyn, that she made the teres ronne doune frō his iyes. So was he deluded, so was he blynded, & so was he deceiued by the deuils meanes which suffred her to begynne her race, and inconclusion rewarded her with a shameful fal. But in the meane season suche credite was geuen to her, that she was honoured as a sainct, of the religious, and beleued as one sent from God of the temporaltie, in so muche that she (armed at all poyntes) rode from Poytiers to Bloys, and ther found men of war vitail, and municions, redy to be conueyed to Orleaūce. The Englishmen perceiuyng that they within could not long continue, for faute of vitaile & pouder, kepte not their watche so diligently as they wer accustomed, nor scoured not the coūtrey environed, as thei before had ordained: which negligence, the citezens shut in perceiuyng, sent worde therof to the Frenche capitaines, whiche with *Pucelle* in the dedde tyme of the night, and in a greate rayne and thundre, with all their vitaile and artilery entered into the citee. If thei were welcomed marueill not, for folkes in greate trouble, be ioyous of a litle comfort. And the next daie the Englishemen boldely assauted the toune, promisyng to theim that best scaled the walles great rewardes. Then men mounted on ladders coragiously, and with gonnes, arrowes and pikes, bette their enemies from the walles.

THE Frenchemen, although they marueiled at the fierce fightyng of the English people, yet thei wer not amased, but they defended them selfes to the darke night, on whiche daie, no great priuate feate worthy of memory, was either attempted or doen. The Bastard of Orleaunce (seyng the puyssaunce of thenglishe nacion) began to feare the sequele of the matter: wherfore he sent worde to the duke of Alaunson, aduertisyng hym in what case the toune then stoode, and that it could not long continue without his hasty spede, and quicke diligence. Whiche delaiyng no tyme nor deferryng no space came with all his army within two leagues of the citee, and sent woorde to the capitaines, that on the next morowe they should be redy to receiue theim. Whiche thyng, the nexte daie they accomplished, for the Englishemen thought it to be muche to their auaile, if so greate a multitude entered into the citee, vexed with famyne & replenished with scarsenes. On the next daie in the mornyng, the Frenchemen altogether issued out of the toune, and assauted the fortresse or Bastile, called the Bastyle of sainct Loure, the whiche with great force and no litle losse they toke and set it on fire, and after assauted the toure at the bridge foote, which was manfully defended. But the Frenchemen beyng more in nombre, so fiersely assauted it, that they toke it or the Lorde Talbot could come to succors: in the whiche Willyam Gladdisdale the capitain was slain, and the Lorde Morlyns, and the lorde Pownynges also.

THE Frenchemen puffed vp with this good lucke, seyng the strong fortres was vngotten, whiche was vnder the defence of the lorde Talbot, fetched a compasse aboute, and in good ordre of battaile marched thether ward. The lord Talbot like a capitain, without fere or dred

dred of so great a multitude, issued out of his Bastile, and so fiersly fought with the Frenchemen, that they not able to withstande his puyssaunce, fled (like shepe before the Wolffe) again into the citee, with greate losse of men and small artilerie: and of the Englishemen wer lost in the two Bastyles sixe hundred presones. Then the erle of Suffolke, the Lorde Talbot, the Lorde Scales, and other capitaines, assembled together, where causes wer shewed, that it was bothe necessary and conueniente either to leue the seige for euer, or to deferre it till another tyme, more luckey & conuenient. And to the intent that thei should not seme either to flie or to be driuen from the siege by their enemies, they determined to leaue their fortresses and Bastyles, and to assemble in the plain feld and there to abyde all the daie, abidyng the outcommyng and battaile of their enemies. This conclusion taken, was accordyngly executed. The Frenchemen, weried with the last bickeryng, held in their heddes and durste not once appere: and so thei set fire in their lodgynges, and departed in good ordre of battail from Orleaunce. The next daie whiche was the. viij. daie of Maie, the Erle of Suffolke, ridyng to Iargeaux with. CCCC. Englishmen, and the lord Talbot with another cõpany returned to Meum which toune, after that he had fortified, he incontinent, assauted and wan the toune of Lauall and the Castle sore vexyng and punishyng the tounes men, for their hard hartes, and cancard obstinacie: and leuyng there a garrison reculed to Meum.

AFTER this siege thus broken vp to tell you, what triumphes wer made in the citee of Orleaunce, what wood was spente in fiers, what wyne was dronke in houses, what songes wer song in the stretes, what melody was made in Tauernes, what roundes were daunced, in large and brode places, what lightes were set vp in the churches, what anthemes, wer song in Chapelles, and what ioye was shewed in euery place; it were a long woorke and yet no necessary cause. For they did as we in like case would haue dooen, and we being in like estate, would haue doen as they did. After that the Englishmen, wer thus retired from the siege of Orleaunce, and seuered themselfes in diuerse tounes & fortresses, holdyng on their part: The duke of Alaunson, the Bastard of Orleaunce, Ione the puzell, the lorde of Gancort, & diuerse other Frenche men came before the toune of Iargeaux, where the erle of Suffolke and his twoo brethren soiorned the. xij. daie of Iune, and gaue to the toune a great and a terrible assaut, whiche the Englishmen, (beyng but a handfull) manfully defended on three partes of the same. Poyton of Sentrailes, perceiuyng one part of the toune to be vndefended, scaled the walles on that part: and without any difficulte toke the toune, and slewe sir Alexander Pole brother to therle, and many other, to the nombre of two hundred: but they not muche gayned, for they lost. iii. C. good men and more. Of thenglishmen wer taken. xl. beside his brother Ihõ. After this gain and good lucke, the Frenchemen returnyng towarde Orleaunce, fell in contencion and debate, for their captiues and prisoners, and slewe them all, sauyng the erle and his brother.

¶ THE SEUENTH YERE.

AFter the gaynyng of the toune of Iargeaux, the same army came to Meun, and toke the toure at the bridge, and put there in a garrison, and frõ thence remoued to Bangency. Whiche garrison, beyng not vitailed rendered the toune, so that they might departe with bagge and baggage, frankely and frely: whiche desire to thẽ was graunted. At this toune of Bangency, met with the duke of Alaunson, Arthur of Britayne, the false forsworne gentleman to the kyng of Englande newly made Constable of Fraunce (as you haue heard,) with whom was the lord Delabret with. xij. C. men: to whom daily repaired freshe aide out of euery part, as the Erle of Vandosme, and other, to the nombre of xx. or. xxiij. M men. All these men of warre, determined to go to Meum, and to take the toune, but they wer informed, that the Englishemen, had lefte the toune desolate, and wer returned to the lord Talbot to Ieneuile. Then thei concluded to passe towarde that toune. But, as they marched forwarde vpon a Saterdaie, thei had perfite knowledge, that the lorde Talbot with. v. thousand men, The. vii. yere.

was commyng to Meum. Wherfore, thei intendyng to stop hym a tyde, conueyed their company to a small village called Patay, whiche way, they knewe that the Englishmen must nedes passe by. And first they appoynted their horsemen, whiche were well and richely furnished, to go before, and sodainly to set on the Englishemen, or they wer, either ware or set in ordre. The Englishmen commyng forwarde, perceiued the horsemen, and, imaginyng to deceiue their enemies, commaunded the fotemen to enuirone & enclose thēselfes about with their stakes, but the French horsmen came on so fiersly, that the archers had no leyser, to set themselfes in a raie. There was no remedy but to fight at aduenture. This battaill, cōtinued by the space of thre long houres. And although theuglishmen wer ouerpressed, with the nombre of their aduersaries, yet thei neuer fledde backe one foote, till their capitain the lorde Talbot, was sore wounded at the backe, and so taken. Then their hartes began to faint, & thei fled in whiche flight, ther wer slain aboue. xij. C. and taken. xl. wherof the lorde Talbot the lord Scales, the lord Hungerford, & sir Thomas Rampston, were the chief: howbeit diuerse archers whiche had shot all their arrowes, hauyng only their swerdes, defended thēself, and with the help of some of the horsmen, cā safe to Meū.

WHEN the fame was blowen abrode, that the Lorde Talbot was taken, all the Frenchmen not alitle reioysed, thinkyng surely, that now the rule of the Englishmen, should shortly assuage and waxe faint: for feare wherof, the tounes of Ieneuile, Meū, Fort, and diuerse other, returned from the Englishe part, and became Frenche, to the greate displeasure of the Regent. Frō this battaill, departed without any stroke striken, sir Ihon Fastolffe, thesame yere for his valiauntnes elected into the ordre of the Garter. For whiche cause the Duke of Bedford, in a great anger, toke from hym the Image of saiact George, and his Garter, but afterward, by meane of frendes, and apparant causes of good excuse by hym alledged, he was restored to the order again, against the mynd of the lorde Talbot.

CHARLES, callyng hymself Frenche kyng, beyng aduertised of this victory, thought now, that al thynges succeded, accordyng to his opinion and good hope, whiche euer, was of that hie corage and haut mynd, that in his moste aduersitie, he neuer dispaired in good lucke at length: so that the Erle of Salisbury beyng dedde, and the lorde Talbot liuing in captiuitie, (which wer § glory of his enemies) he thought to enterprise great and waighty thynges, wher before he medcled with small and litle doynges. For fulfillyng of his mynd and appetite, he determined, first to conquere the citee of Reynes, to the intent, that he beyng there, might accordyng to the fashion of his progenitors, with all accustomed Ceremonies, be sacred and anoynted kyng with the holy ampulle, that all men might se and perceiue, that he was, by all lawes and decrees, a iust and a lawfull kyng. Wherfore he assemblyng to gether a great army, & hauyng in his company Ione the Puzel, whom he vsed as an oracle and a southsaier, passed through Champaigne, by the toune of Anxer. The within, sent to him messēgers, praiyng him of certain daies of abstinēce of war, in the which (if they wer not rescued) they promised to rendre the toune. He not willing to recompence with ingratitude, the louyng hartes of the citezens, graunted gently to their petition, and leuyng there certain persons, to se that they should not iugle with hym, departed from thence to Troys, beyng the chief citie of Chāpaigne, whiche he besieged, xii. daies. Sir Phillip Hal capitain there, vnpronided bothe of vitaill and men, mistrustyng, that aide would not come in tyme, vpon cōposicion rendered the toune, so that he, & his, with all their moueables might in sauetie depart the citee: whiche demaund was agreed to. After that Troys was yelded, the commonaltie of Chalons, rebelled against sir John Awbemōd their capitain, and constrained hym to deliuer the toune vpon like cōposicion, whiche against liis wil, he was fain to do: and likewise did the citezens of Reyns, desiryng hym to geue saueconduite to all Englishemen, safely to departe.

WHEN he had thus conquered Reyns, he in the presence of all the noblemen of his faccion, and the dukes of Lorayne and Barre, was sacred kyng of Frāce, by the name of Charles the. vi. with all rites and ceremonies therto apperteinyng. Thei of Anxer which wer not

rescued within the tyme appoynted, brought the kayes to hym, and submitted theimselfes to his obeysaunce: likewise did all the citees and tounes adioynyng, geuyng thankes to almightie God, whiche hauyng compassion of their misery, had restored them to libertie and fredome. The Duke of Bedford, hearyng that these tounes and soyssons also, had returned to the part of his aduersaries, and that Charles late Dolphyn had taken vpon hym the name and estate of the kyng of Fraunce, and also, seyng that daily, citees and tounes returned from thenglishe part and became Frenche, as though the Englishmen had now lost all their hardy chieftaines and valiaũt men of warre, espied and euidently perceiued, that the laste and vltermoste poynt of recouery, was driuen only to ouercome by battaill, and to subdue by force. By whiche victory, (as he putte his confidence in God) he trusted not onely to scourge and plague the citees, whiche were so sodainly chaungeable, but also to assuage and caulme the haute corage of the newe sacred Frenche kyng and his companions. Wherfore, he hauyng together. x. M. good Englishmen, (beside Normans) departed out of Paris, in warlike fashiõ and passed through Brye to Monstrean Faultyow, and there sente by Bedforde his herault letters to the Frenche kyng, alledgyng to hym that he contrary to the lawes of God and man, yea, and contrary to the finall conclusion, taken, concorded, and agreed betwene his noble brother kyng, Henry the fifth, and kyng Charles, the. v. father to thesaid nowe vsurper, leuyng all humayne reason and honest communicacion, (which sometyme appeaseth debates and pacifieth strifes) onely allured and intised by a deuilishe wytche, and a sathanicall enchaunteresse, had not onely falsely and craftely, taken vpon hym, the name, title and dignitie of the kyng of Fraũce: But also had, by murder, stelyng, craft, and deceiptful meanes, violently gotten, and wrongfully kept, diuerse citees and tounes, belongyng to the kyng of Englande, his moste best beloued lorde, and moste derest nephew. For profe wherof, he was come doune from Paris, with his armye, into the countrey of Brye, by dent of swerde and stroke of battaill, to proue his writyng and cause trewe, willyng his enemie to chose the place, and he in the same, would geue hym battayle.

THE newe Frenche kyng, departyng from his solempne Ceremonies at Reins, and remouyng from thence to Dampmartine, studiyng how to compasse the Parisiens, ether with money, or with promes, was somewhat troubled with this message, howbeit, he made a freshe countenaũce, & a Frenche brag, answeryng to the herault: that he would soner seke his Master, and the Duke should pursewe hym. The duke of Bedford hearyng his aunswer, marched toward hym, and pitched his feld in a strong place, and sent out diuerse of his raungers, to prouoke the Frenchmen to come forward. The Frenche kyng was in maner determined to abyde the battaill, but when he had saie by his espiailes, that the power and nombre of the Englishemen, wer to his army equal in power, he determined that it was more for his profite, to abstain frõ battaill without daũger, then to entre into the conflicte with ieopardy: fearyng least that with a rashe corage, he might ouerthrowe al his affaires whiche so effecteously proceded. And so well aduised, he turned with his army, alitle out of the waie. The duke of Bedford perceiuyng his faint corage, folowed hym by mountaines and dales, till he came to a toune in Barre, not farre from Senlys, where he found the Frech kyng and his army. Wherfore he ordred his battail, like a man expert in marciall science, settyng the archers before, and hymself with the noblemen in the mayne battaill, and put the Normans on bothe sides for the wynges. The Frenche kyng also ordered his battailes, accordyng to the deuise of his capitaines. Thus, these twoo armies without any greate doyng, (except a fewe skirmishes, in the whiche the dukes light horsmen did very valiauntly) lay eche in sight of other, by the space of twoo daies and twoo nightes. But when the Frenche kyng sawe, and perceiued, how glad, how diligent and coragious the Englishmen wer to fight and geue battail, he imagened that by his tariyng, one of these twoo thynges must nedes chaũce: that is to saie, either he should fight against his will, or lye still like a cowarde, to his greate rebuke and infamy. Wherefore in the dedde of the night, (as priuely as he could) he brake vp his campe and fled to Bray. When this flight was perceiued in the

mornyng

mornyng, the Regent could scace refrain his people, from folowyng the Frenche army, callyng them, cowardes, dastardes, and loutes, and therfore, he perceiuing that by no meanes, he could allure the new Frenche kyng to abide battaill, mistrustyng the Parisiās, and geuyng no great credite to their faire, swete and flatteryng woordes, returned again to Paris, to assemble together a greater power, and so to prosecute his enemies.

IN this season, the Bohemians, (whiche belike had espied the vsurped authoritie of the bishop of Rome) began to rebell against his sea, which, (as Eneas Siluius doth report wer) fallē into certain sectes of heresie. Wherefore, Martyn the fifth bishop of Rome, wrote vnto them to abstain from warre, and to be reconciled by reason, from their damnable opinions. But they, (beyng persuaded to the contrary) neither gaue care vnto hym, nor yet obeyed his voyce. Wherfore the bishop of Rome, wrote to the princes of Germany, to inuade ỹ realmes of Beame, as the denne of heretikes, and caue of deuilishe doctryne. Besyde this, he appoynted Henry bishop of Winchester, and Cardinall of. S. Eusebie, a mā very wel borne, (as you haue hard) but no better borne then high stomacked, and yet no higher stomacked, then abundantly enriched, to be his legate in this great iorney, and to bryng out men from the realme of Englande, into the countrey of Beame. And because the warre touched religion, he licenced the said Cardinall, to take the tenth part of euery spirituall dignitie, benefice, and promociō. This matter, was declared in open Parliament in Englande, and not dissented, but gladly assented to, wherfore the bishop gathered the money, and assembled foure thousand men and mo, not without great grudge of the people, whiche daily were with tallages and aides weried, and sore burdened. And when men, municions, and money wer ready for his hight enterprise, he with all his people came to the sea stronde at Douer, ready to passe ouer the sea into Flanders.

BVT in the meane season, the Duke of Bedforde consideryng, how tounes daily wer gotten, and countries hourely wonne in the realme of Fraunce, for lacke of sufficient defence and nombre of men of warre, wrote to his brother the duke of Gloucester, to releue him with aide, in that tempestious tyme and troubelous season. When this letter was brought into Englande, the duke of Gloucester was not alitle amased, because he had no army redy to sende at that tyme: for by the reason of the Crewe, sent into Beame, he could not sodainly reyse a newe armye. But because the matter was of suche importaunce, and might neither be, frō day to day differred, nor yet long delaied, he wrote to the bishop of Winchester, to passe with all his army toward the duke of Bedford, whiche at that tyme had bothe nede of men and assistaūce, consideryng that now, all stoode vpon losse or gaine whiche thyng doen, and to his honor achenued, he might performe his iorney against the vngracious Bohemians. Although the Cardinall was somewhat moued with this countermaunde, yet least he should be noted, not to ayde the Regent of Fraunce, in so greate a cause and so necessary an entreprise, he bowed from his former iorney, and passed the sea with all his company, and brought them to his cosyn, to the citee of Paris.

CHARLES the Frenche kyng, hauyng knowledge in the meane season by his espialls, which went round about the countrey, to intise and sollicite tounes and citees, to returne from the Englishe part, and become Frenche, that the inhabitātes of Champeigne and Beuauoys ought hym greate loue and synguler fauor, and gladly coueted to renounce the subieccion of England, and to be vnder his proteccion, and also offred to open him their gates, so that they should not therby, be in ieoperdy of their lifes and losse of their goodes, with all haste & diligēce remoued towarde Champeigne. The duke of Bedford beyng aduertised of his progresse, and hauyng his armie augmented, with the new aide, whiche the cardinal had of late conducted, marched forward with great spede to encountre and gene battaill, to his mortall enemy the Frenche kyng. When the duke was come to Senlys, the Frenchemen wer lodged on the Mountpilioll, betwene Senlis and Champiegne. Euery army knew of other, and euery hoste might behold other. Then the capes wer trenched, and the battailes pitched, and the feldes ordered. Thus, these great armies lay two daies,

nothyng

nothyng doyng but with skirmishes, in the whiche the Normans sore vexed the Frenchemen. Wherfore, the lorde Regent, gaue to them many high laudes and praisynges, and determined surely the next daie, to set on the French kyng in his cāpe, if he would not remoue out, and abide battaill. But while kyng Charles did politiquely consider, what a variable lady, Fortune was, and what a sodain and vnthought chaūce of a small thyng, might do in a battaill: for the detrimentes and ouerthrowes, that he and his nacion had taken and tasted by thenglishemen, wer to them a lernyng, an example and a plaine experiment, to auoyde open ioynyng, mutual cōflict, and force to force. And beside that, he had by his explorators and spies, plain and perfect knowledge, ỹ many and diuerse cities & townes in Fraunce, abhorryng thenglishe libertie, and aspiryng to the French bondage and natiue seruitude, (accordyng to the nature of Asses, whiche the more they be charged with, the more they desire) would, (whē they sawe their tyme) not onely rebell and returne to his faccion and parte, but also were ready to aide and assiste hym, in recouery of his desired realme and auncient dominion, in expellyng also the Englishe nacion, out of the territories of Fraunce. And therefore, he imagined that the duke of Bedforde, was so hasty to geue hym battaill, thynkyng, that if he then wer ouercome, the game had, for the Englishemen been clerely gotten, & to the Frenchemen, a perpetuall checkemate. Wherfore he determined neuer, (except very necessitie compelled or constrained him) to fight in open battaill with the Englishmen, nor by a feld to aduenture his realme with thē, of whom his predecessors so often tymes had been vanquished. Wherfore, like a carpet capitaine he in the night, remoued his campe and fled to Crespy, and yet his nōbre was double to the Englishe army. The duke of Bedforde, seyng that the Frenche kyng was thus cowardly retrayted, and as a man, whiche durste not once assaie the stroke of an Englishe arme, shamefully reculed: with all his power and armie, returned agayn to Paris, sore suspectyng the deceiptfull faith of the pollitique Parisians. The bishop of Winchester, after the Frenche kynges flight, went into Beame, and there did somwhat, but what it was, authors kepe silence, and so do I: But shortly, he without any greate praise, and small gayne, returned into Englande, more glad of his retraite, then of his aduaūsyng forwarde. Sone after, the bishop of Rome without his agrement, vnlegated hym, and set another in his stede & authoritie, with which doyng, he was neither cōtent nor pleased.

¶ THE EIGHT YERE.

ON the vi. day of Nouembre, being the day of sainct Leonard, kyng Henry, in the eight yere of his reigne, was, at Westminster with all pompe and honor, crouned kyng of this realme of England. At which coronacion, to reherse the costly faire, the delicate meate, the pleasaunt wines, the nombre of coūrses, the sortes of dishes, the labors of officers, the multitude of people, the estates of Lordes, the beauties of Ladies, the riches of apparell, the curious deuises, the solempne banquettes, it would aske a long tyme, and wery you: Wherfore leuyng the pleasaunt pastyme in England, I will returne to the troubleous warres in Fraunce. The. viii. vers.

AFTER that the French kyng was fled from the duke of Bedford, (as you haue harde before) and was come to Crespy in Valoys, he was credibly informed, how the citezens of Champaigne, desired greatly to be vnder his gouernaunce and subiection. Wherfore, he mindyng not to lese so faire an offred prey, ceased not, til he came to the toune, where, with all reuerence and benignitie, he was receiued and welcomed. And after that, were rendered to hym, the tounes of Senlis and Beauoys. And the Lorde Longuenall tooke by stelth, the castle of Aumarle and slewe all the Englishemen, and in short space, the lorde Barbasan, whiche long had been prisoner in the Castle Gaylard, so muche, what with faire wordes and large promises, persuaded his kepers, that he not only deliuered his awne persone, but also caused the toune, to turne from thenglishmen, to the part of kyng Charles

his Master. Whiche kyng, although he muche reioysed, at the good successe, that Fortune had to hym sente, yet he was somwhat desperate, how to recouer his countrey from the possession of the Englishemẽ, except he vnknitted the knotte and league, betwene the duke of Burgoyn and them. Wherfore, he sent his Chauncellor, & diuerse Ambassadors to the duke of Burgoyn, first, excusyng himself of the death & murder, of duke Ihon his father, & after, declaryng to him, that there could be nothing more foule, more dishonest, nor more detestable, then, for his awne peculiar cause, & priuate displeasure, to ioyne with his auncient enemies, and perpetual aduersaries, against his natiue countrey and naturall nacion: not onely requiryng hym, of concord, peace, and amitie, but also promisyng golden mountaines, and many more benefites, then at that tyme, he was either able or could performe. This message was not so secrete, nor the doyng so closely cloked, but the Duke of Bedford, therof was plainly informed. Whiche beyng sore troubled, and vnquieted in his mind, because he sawe the power of thenglishe nacion, daily waxe lesse, he, of all thynges, first forseyng, if any losse should of necessitie chaunce, of those tounes and countreis, whiche his noble brother, kyng Henry the fifth had conquered, in the very countrey of Fraunce, for lacke of tuicion or defence: yet for an ankerhold, he determined to kepe, possesse, and defende, the Dutchie of Normandy, the olde inheritaunce and auncient patrimony, of the kynges of Englande, and frō them onely, by force and not by iustice, by violence and not by right, sithe the tyme of kyng Henry the thirde, (the deuilishe deuision then reignyng in the realme) wrongfully deteined, and iniuriously vsurped. Wherfore, he diligently prouidyng, for thynges that might chaunce, appoynted gouernor of the citee of Paris, Lewes of Luxenberough, bishop of Turwine and Ely, beyng Chauncellor of Fraunce, for the kyng of England, a man of no lesse wit, then of birthe, leuyng with hym, a conuenient nombre of Englishemen to defende bothe the citee and territory of Paris, & the isle of Fraūce then beyng in the Englishmens possession and gouernaunce.

THESE thynges thus ordered, he departed from Paris, into Normandy, and called at Roan a parliament, of the thre estates of the duchie, in the whiche he declared vnto them, the great liberties, the manifolde priueleges, the innumerable benefites, whiche they had receiued of the kynges of Englande, duryng the tyme, that they wer possessors and lordes of thesame duchie, not puttyng in oblioion, the misery, bondage, and calamitie, whiche they had sustained, by the intollerable yoke and daily tributes, continually layed in their neckes like Asses, by the cruell and coueteous Frenchemen: and puttyng theim also in remembraunce, how the kynges of England, wer not only brought furth and discēded, of the Normans bloud & progeny, but wer the very true & vndoubtfull heires, to thesame countrey and duchie, lineally succedyng & lawfully discendyng from Rollo the hardy, first duke and prince of the same dominion: Requiryng theim farther, to liue in loue and amitie emongest theim self, to be true and obedient, to the kyng their soueraigne Lorde, and to kepe their othe and promes, made and sworne to his noble brother, kyng Henry the. v. promisyng to them, Englishe libertie and priueleges royall. While the duke of Bedford was thus, interlayning and encoragyng the Normans, Charles the new Frenche kyng, beyng of his departure aduertised, longyng and thrystyng for to obtain Paris, the chief citee & principall place of resort, within the whole realme of Fraunce, departed from the toune of Senlis well accompanied, and came to the toune of sainct Denise, whiche he found desolate, and abandoned of all garrison, and good gouernaūce. Wherfore, without force and small damage, he entered into the voyd toune, and lodged his armie at Mountmartyr, and Abberuilliers, nere adioyning, and lying to the citee of Paris. And from thence, sent, Ihon duke of Alaunson, and his sorceresse Ione, (called the mayde, sent from God) in whom, his whole affiaunce then consisted, with thre thousande light horsmen, to get again the citie of Paris, either by force, or by faire flatterying, or reasonable treatie, and after them, he without delaie or deferryng of tyme, with all his power, came betwene Mountmartyr and Paris, and sodainly, approched the gate of sainct Honore, settyng vp ladders to the walles, and castyng faggottes into the diches, as though, he would with a French bragge, sodainly haue gottē the faire cite. But thenglishe

thenglishe capitaines, euery one kepyng his ward and place assigned, so manfully and fiersly with a noble corage, defended themselfes, their walles and toures, with the assistence of the Parisians, that thei rebutted and draue awaie the Frenchmen, & threwe doune Ione, their greate goddesse, into the bottome of the toune ditche, where she laie behynd the backe of an Asse, sore hurte, till the tyme that she all filthy with mire and durte, was drawen out, by Guyschard of Thienbrone, seruaunt to the duke of Alaunson. The Frenche Kyng, seyng the greate losse, that he had susteined at this assaut, and accompted his pretensed conquest, in maner impossible, leuyng the dedde bodies behind hym, and takyng with hym, the wounded capitaines, whiche wer of no small nombre, returned into Berry. But in the meane waie, the citezens of Laignie, became his subiectes, and made to hym an othe, promisyng to continewe from thence furth to hym, both true and obedient.

THE Duke of Bedford, beyng in Normandy, and hearyng of this sodain attempt, lost no tyme, nor spared no trauaile, till he came to Paris. Where he, not onely thanked the capitaines, and praised the citezes for their assured fidelitie and good will, towarde their kyng and souereigne lorde, but also extolled their hardines, & manly doynges, aboue the Starres, and high elementes: promisyng to them, honor, fame, and greate aduauncementes. Whiche gentle exhortacion, so incoraged and inflamed the hartes of the Parisians, that they swarel promised, and cõcluded, to be frendes euer to the kyng of Englande and his frendes, and enemies alwaies to his foes and aduersaries, makyng proclamacion by this stile. Frendes to Kyng Henry, frendes to the Parisians, enemies to England, enemies to Paris. But if they spake it with their hartes, either for feare, that Charles the Frenche kyng, should not punishe them, if he once obteined the superioritie, ouer their citee, & toune, or that thei flattred thenglishmen, to put themselfes in credite with the chief capitaines, you shal plainly perceiue, by the sequele of their actes.

SONE after these doynges, came to Paris with a greate company, Phillip duke of Burgoyn, whiche was of the Regent, and the lady his wife, honorably receiued, and highly feasted. And after long consultacion had, for recoueryng of the tounes, lately by the Frenche kyng stollen and taken, it was agreed, that the duke of Bedford, should rayse an armie, for the recouery of thesaid fortresses, and that the duke of Burgoyne, should be his deputie, and tary at Paris, for the defence of the same. After this greate businesse, thus concluded, and appoynted, the Duke of Bedforde hymself, without any greate resistaunce, recouered again the toune of sainct Denise, and diuerse other Castles. And after that doen, he sent the Bastard of Clarence, to laye siege to the Castle of Toursie, beyng bothe by the naturall situacion, and mannes pollicie, very strong, and in maner vnable to be beaten doune. The siege continued sixe monethes, but in conclusion, the capitain discomfited of al releue and succor, rendered the fortresse, the life of hym and his souldiers only saued. Whiche offre was taken, & the castle raised, and cast doune to the grounde. Duryng this siege, sir Thomas Kiriell knight, with foure hundred Englishemen, departed from Gourney in Normandy, and rode by Beauoys, spoylyng, robbyng, and wastyng the countrey, to the suburbes of Cleremont. Wherof, hearyng the Erle of thesame toune, assembled all the men of warre, of the garrisons adioynyng, to fight with thenglishmen: and so the Frenchemen with all diligence set forward, & found their enemies in a straight place, nere vnto Beauois. The erle of Cleremount seyng that he could not hurte theim, with his men of armes, by reason of the straight, came doune on fote with all his company, and fiersly set on the Englishmen. The fight was fierse, and the aduauntage doubtful. But in conclusion, the archers shot so terrible, that the Frenchmen, not able to abide the smart, and gaules of the arrowes, fled a pace, and the Englishmen leuyng the straight, leped on horsebacke, and folowed the chase. In the whiche wer taken two hundred prisoners, and thrise as many slain. The Erle, by the swiftnesse of his horsse, escaped his enemies, and came to the toune of Beauoys: and so sir Thomas Kiriell, with plentie of spoyle and prisoners, returned to Goruay, tenderyng to GOD his hartie thankes, for that good chaunce and happie victory.

YET Fortune sent not this good lucke alone, for therle of Suffolk at thesame very season,

besiegyng the toune of Aumarle, wherof was capitain the lord Rambures, (after. xxiiii. great assautes geuen to the fortresse) had the toune and castle to hym symply rendered. Wherefore, he caused. xxx. of the tounes men, for their untruthe, to be hanged on the walles, and all the rest he raunsomed, and sent the capitain into Englande, where he remained sixe yeres continually, & after by excaunge was deliuered. After this, the erle fortefied the toune, with men, munitions and vitaile, and so by a litle and litle, the Englishmen recouered again many tounes, whiche before they had loste, without any greate losse of their people. Whiche thyng, the Frenchemen well consideryng imagened by what means, how to get again the toune of Laual, whiche ỹ lorde Talbot (before as you haue heard) gat, by scalyng in a night. Wherfore, to possesse their desired prey, they with money, and gay promises, first corrupted a Miller, that kept a Mil adioynyng to the wall, so that the Miller, suffered the lorde Homet with thre hundred other, to passe, through his Mill into the toune, in a very darke night. When they wer entered, they slewe the kepers of the gate, and let in the Lorde Bertrand de la Ferrier, with fiue hundred men of armes: whiche either slewe or toke prisoners, all thenglishemen within the toune. And shortly after, Sir Stephen de Vignoles called the Heire, toke by scalyng, the toune of Lonuiers in Normãdy, and did muche damage, to all the tounes adioynyng.

¶ THE NYNTH YERE.

The. ix. yere.

WHile these chaunces happened, betwene the Englishmen and Frenchemen, Phillip duke of Burgoyne, maried the Lady Isabell, daughter to Ihon, kyng of Portyngall, and greate aunte to the kyng of Englande. In honor of whiche mariage, he instituted and began an ordre of. xxxvi. knightes without reproche, called the ordre of the golden flece, and deuised statutes, mantels, collers, and Ceremonies for thesame, muche like to the ordinaunces, of the noble ordre of the Garter begonne in Englande, almoste an hundred yeres before the inuencion, of this fraternitie and fredship. On the which wife, he begat, the hardy duke Charles, father to Marie, after maried to Maximiliã kyng of the Romans, as (when place requireth) shalbe hereafter to you declared.

IN this very season, the Englishemen in the colde moneth of Decembre, besieged the toune of Laigny, in the whiche was the Puzel and diuerse other good capitaines. But the weither was so cold, & the raine so greate and so continuall, that they, of force cõpelled, not by their enemies, but by intemperate season, reised their siege: and in their returne, the Puzell and all the garrison within the toune, issued out and fought with thenglishmen, where, (after lõg fightyng) both parties departed without either great gain or losse. After this enterprise done, the duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the erles of Arundell and Suffolke, and the lord Ihon of Luxenbrough, and with a great puissaunce, besieged the toune of Champeigne: whiche toune was well walled, manned, and vitailed, so that the besiegers, must either by assaut or long tariyng, wery or famishe them within the toune. So they cast trenches, and made moynes, and studied al the waies that they could deuise, how to compasse their cõquest and enterprise. And it happened in the night of the Assencion of our lorde, that Pothon of Xentraxles, Ione the Puzell, and fiue or sixe hundred men of armes, issued out of Chãpeigne, by the gate of the bridge towarde Mowntdedier, intendyng to set fire in the tentes and lodgynges of the lord of Baudo, which was then gone to Marigny, for the Duke of Burgoyns affaires. At whiche tyme, sir Ihon of Luxenborough, with eight other gentlemen (whiche had riden aboute the toune to serche and vieue, in what place the toune might be most aptly and conueniently assauted or scaled) were come nere to the lodges of the lorde of Baudo, where they espied the Frenchmen, whiche began to cut doune tentes, ouerthrowe pauilfons, and kil men in their beddes. Wherefore, shortely they assembled a great nombre of men, as well Englishe as Burgonions, and coragiously set on the Frenchmen. Sore was the fight and greate was the slaughter, in so much

much that the Frenchemen, not able lenger to indure, fled into the toune so faste, that one letted the other to entre. In whiche chace was taken, Ione the Puzell, and diuerse other: whiche Ione was sent to the duke of Bedford to Roan, wher, (after lōg examinaciō) she was brent to ashes. This wytch or manly woman, (called the maide of GOD) the Frenchemen greatly glorified and highly extolled, alledgyng that by her Orleañce was vitailed: by her, kyng Charles was sacred at Reynes, and that by her, the Englishmen wer often tymes put backe and ouerthrowen. O Lorde, what dispraise is this to the nobilitie of Fraunce: What blotte is this to the Frenche nacion: What more rebuke can be imputed to a renoumed region, then to affirme, write & confesse, that all notable victories, and honorable conquestes, which neither the kyng with his power, nor the nobilitie with their valiauntnesse, nor the counsaill with their wit, nor the cōmonaltie with their strenght, could compasse or obtain, were gotten and achiued by a shepherdes daughter, a chamberlein in an hostrie, and a beggers brat: whiche blindyng the wittes of the French nacion, by reuelacions, dreames & phantasticall visions, made thē beleue thynges not to be supposed, and to geue faithe to thynges impossible. For surely, if credite may be geuen to the actes of the Clergie, openly done, and cōmonly shewed, this woman was not inspired with the holy ghost, nor sent from God, (as the Frenchmen beleue) but an enchāteresse, an orgayne of the deuill, sent from Sathan, to blind the people and bryng them in vnbelife: as by this letter, sent frō the kyng of England, to the duke of Burgoyn, to you euidently shall appere.

" MOSTE dere and welbeloued vncle, the feruent loue and great affection, whiche you (like a very catholique prince) beare to our Mother holy Churche, and to the aduancement of our faithe, doth bothe resonably admonishe, and frendly exhort vs, to signifie and write vnto you, suche thynges, which, to the honor of our Mother holy Churche, strengthenyng of our faith, and pluckyng vp by the rotes, of moste pestilent errors, haue been solemply done within our citee of Roan. It is commonly renoumed, and in euery place published, that the woman, commonly called the Puzell, hath by the space of twoo yeres and more, contrary to Goddes lawe, and the estate of womanhed, been clothed in a mannes apparell, a thyng in the sight of God abhominable. And in this estate, caried ouer and conueyed, to the presence of our chief enemy and yours, to whom, & to the prelates, nobles, & commons of his parte she declared that she was sent from God, presumptuously makyng her vaunt, that she had communicacion personally, and visibly with sainct Michaell, and a greate multitude of Angels, and sainctes of heauen, as sainct Katheryn, and sainct Margarete: by the whiche falshode and subtilitie, she made diuerse to beleue, and trust in her faithe, promisyng to them great and notable victories, by the which meane, she did turne the hartes of many men and women, from the truthe and veritie, and conuerted them to lies and errors. Beside this, she vsurped a cote of armes, and displaid a standard, whiche thynges, be apperteinyng only to knightes and esquiers: and of a greate outrage, and more pride and presumpciō, she demaunded to beare the noble and excellent Armes of Fraunce, whiche she in part obteined, the whiche she bare in many skirmishes and assautes, and her brethrē also (as men report) that is to say: the feld azure, a swerd, the poynt vpward in pale siluer, set betwene two flower deluces, firmed with a croune of gold. And in this estate, she cam into the feld, & guided men of war, and gathred cōpanies, & assēbled hostes to exercise vnnatural cruelties, in sheding of christen bloud, & stirring sedicions, and commocions emongest the people, inducing them, to periurie, rebellion, superstitiō and false error, in disturbyng of peace and quietnes, and renewyng of mortal warre. Beside this, causyng herself to be honored and worshipped of many, as a woman sanctified, and dampnably openyng, diuerse imagined cases long to reherse, in diuerse places well knowen and apparantly proued. Wherby, almoste al Christendom is slaundered. But the diuine puissaunce, hauyng compassion vpon his true people, and willyng no lenger to leaue them in peril, nor suffre thē to abyde still in waies daungerous, and newe cruelties, hath lightly permitted, of his greate mercie and clemency, thesaied

thesaied puzell to be taken in your host and siege, whiche you kept for vs before Champeigne, and by youre good meane, deliuered into our obeysaunce and dominion. And because we were required, by the bishoppe of the Diocese, where she was take, (because she was noted, suspected, and defamed to be a traitor to almightie God) to deliuer to hym as to her ordinary and Ecclesiasticall iudge: We, for the reuerence of oure Mother holy Churche, (whose ordinaunces we will preferre, as oure owne dedes and willes, as reason it is) and also for the aduaunсement of Christen faithe, bayled thesaied Ione to hym, to the intent that he should make processe against her: not willyng any vengeaunce or punishmēte to be shewed to her, by any officers of our secular Iustices, which they might haue lawfully and resonable done, considerynge the greate hurtes, damages, and inсōueniences, the horrible murders, and detestable cruelties, & other innumerable mischiefes, whiche she hath committed in our territories, against our people, and obediēt subiectes. The whiche bishop, takyng in company to hym, the Vicar and inquisitor of errors, and herisies, and callyng to them, a great and notable nombre of solempne doctors, and masters in diuinitie, and lawe Canon, began by great solempnitie, and grauitie, accordyngly, to procede in the cause of the saied Ione. And after that, thesaid bishop and inquisitor, iudges in this cause, had at diuers daies ministered, certain interrogatories to the said Ione, and had caused the confessions & assercions of her, truly to be examined by thesaid doctors and masters, and in conclusiō generally, by all the faculties of our dere and welbeloued daughter the Vniuersity of Paris. Against whom, (the confessions and asserciōs, maturely and deliberatly considered) the Iudges, Doctors, & all other the parties aforesaied, adiudged thesame Ione, a superstitious sorceresse, and a diabolical blaspheмeresse of God, and of his sainctes: and a persone scismatike and erronious, in the lawe of Iesu Christe. And for to reduce and bryng her again, to the communion and company, of oure Mother holy Churche, and to purge, her of her horrible, and pernicious crimes and offences, and to saue and preserue her soule, from perpetuall payne and dampnacion, she was moste charitably and fauorably admonished and aduised, to put away and abhor, all her errors and erronious doynges, and to returne humbly to the right way, and come to the very veritie of a Christen creature, or els to put her soule and body in great perell and ieoperdie. But all this notwithstandyng, the perelous and inflamed spirit of pride, and of outragious presumpciō, the whiche continually enforceth hymself, to breke and dissolue the vnitye of Christen obedience, so clasped in his clawes, the harte of this woman Ione, that she, neither by any ghostly exhortacion, holy admonicion, or any other wholsome doctrine, whiche might to her bee shewed, would mollifie her hard harte, or bryng her to humilitie. But she aduaunced and auowed, that all thynges by her done, wer well done: yea, and done by the commaundementes of GOD, and the sainctes before rehersed, plainly to her apperyng: Referryng the iudgement of her cause, onely to God, and to no iudge or counsaill, of the Churche militant. Wherefore, the Iudges Ecclesiasticall, perceiuyng her hard harte, so long to continue, caused her to be brought furth, in a common auditorie, before the Clergie and people, in a great multitude, there, for that purpose assembled. In which presence wer opened, manifested, & declared, solemply, openly, and truly, by a master in diuinitie, of notable learnyng and vertuous life, to the aduaunсement of the catholike faithe, and extirpyng of errors and false opinions, all her confessions and assercions, charitably admonishyng, and persuadyng her to returne, to the vnion and feloship of Christes Churche, and to correct and amend, the fautes and offences, in the whiche she was so obstinate and blinde. And accordyng to the lawe, the Iudges aforesaied, beganne to procede and pronounce the iudgement and sentence, in that case of right apparteining. Yet, before the Iudge, had fully declared the sentence, she began somewhat to abate her corage, and saied that she would, reconcile her self, to our Mother the holy Churche, bothe gladly and wyllyngly. The Iudges, and other Ecclesiasticall persones, gentely receiued her offer, hopyng by this meane, that bothe her body and soule, wer gottē again out of eternal losse and perdicion. And so, she submitted her self, to the ordinaunce of the holy Churche, and with her

her mouthe, openly reuoked, her erroros and detestable crimes: and thesame, abiured openly, signyng with her hande, thesaied abiuracion, and reuocacion. Wherevpon, oure Mother the holy Churche, beeyng pitifull and mercifull, glad and reioysyng of a synner, that will conuerte, willyng the strayed shepe to returne again to his folde and flocke, condẽpned thesaid Ione onely to doo open penaunce. But the fire of her pride, whiche was in her harte, sodainly brast out into hurtfull flames, blowen out by the belowes of enuie: and incontinent after, she tooke again, all her errors and false opinions, by her before, adiured and reuoked, for whiche causes, accordyng to the iudgementes and institucions of holy church, to the intent that she, hereafter should not defile, any other membre of the flocke, of our Lorde Iesus Christe: was again exhorted, and preached to openly. And because she still was obstinate, in her trespaces and villanous offences, she was deliuered to the secular power, the which cõdempned her to be brent, and cõsumed her in the fire. And when she saw that the fatall daie of her obstinacie was come, she opẽly confessed, that the spirites, whiche to her often did appere, were euill and false, and apparant liers, and that their promes, which they had made, to deliuer her out of captiuitie, was false and vntrue: affirmyng her self, by those spirites to bee often beguiled, blynded, and mocked. And so beyng in good mynde, she was by the Iustices caried to the olde market, within the citee of Roan, and there by the fire, consumed to asshes, in the sight of all the people.

THIS letter, the kyng of Englande, sente not onely to the Duke of Burgoyne, and other Princes, to declare the veritie of the matter, and the administracion of Iustice, but to admonishe all rude and ignorant persones, in all other countries, to refraine, from the credite and belefe of the saiynges, of suche prophane prophesies, and craftie imageners, as this peuishe painted Puzel was. Yet notwithstandyng, this lawful processe, this due examinacion and publike sentence, Ihõ Buchet, and diuerse Frenche writers affirme her to be a saincte in heauen. But because, it is no poynt of our faith, no man is bound to beleue his iudgement, although he were an Archedeken. But Paulus Emilius, a famous writer, rehersyng that the citezens of Orleaunce, had buylded in the honor of her, an Image or an Idole, saith, ỹ Pius bishop of Rome, and Anthony bishop of Florence, muche merueiled and greately wondered at her actes and doynges. With whiche saiyng, I can very well agree, that she was more to be marueiled at, as a false prophetisse, and seducer of the people: then to be honored or worshipped as a sainct sent from God into the realme of Fraunce. For of this I am sure, that all auncient writers, aswell deuine, as prophane, alledge these three thynges, beside diuerse other, to apparteine to a good woman. First, shamefastnesse, whiche the Romain Ladies so kept, that seldome or neuer thei wer seen openly talkyng with a man: which vertue, at this day emongest the Turkes, is highly esteemed. The seconde, is pitie: whiche in a womans harte, abhorreth the spillyng of the bloud of a poore beast, or a sely birde. The third, is womanly behauor, aduoydyng the occasion of euill iudgement, and causes of slaundre. If these qualities, be of necessitie, incident to a good woman, where was her shamefastnes, when she daily and nightly, was conuersant with comen souldiors, and men of warre, emongest whom, is small honestie, lesse vertue, and shamefastnesse, least of all exercised or vsed? Where was her womanly pitie, whẽ she taking to her, the harte of a cruell beaste, slewe, man, woman, and childe, where she might haue the vpper hand? Where was her womanly behauor, when she cladde her self in a mannes clothyng, and was cõuersant with euery losell, geuyng occasion to all men to iudge, and speake euill of her, and her doynges. Then these thynges, beyng thus plainly true, all men must nedes confesse, that the cause ceasyng, the effect also ceaseth: so ỹ, if these morall vertues lackyng, she was no good woma, then it must nedes, consequently folowe, that she was no sainct.

Three properties that appertayne to a good woma.

NOW leuyng this woman, consumed to asshes, lette vs returne agayne to the siege of Compeigne, whiche still cõtinewed. Durying whiche tyme, the Regent sente to the Duke of Burgoyne, liyng at the siege the erle of Huntingdon, sir Ihon Robsert, with a thousande Archers, whiche daily skirmished, with theim of the toune, and made suche Bastiles and fortresses, that the toune must nedes be rendered, or els they within, famished

mished. But se the chaunce, when victory was at had Tidynges wer brought to the duke of Burgoyn, that Phillip duke of Brabante, was departed out of this worlde, leuyng behynde hym, no heire of his bodie: To whom thesaied duke pretended to be next heire. Wherfore, he takyng with hym, his best capitaines, for the recouery of so greate a duchy, departed from the siege, leuyng his poore people behynd hym, and ordeined in his place, for his leuetenaunt, sir Ihon Luxenborough, whiche beyng of small strength and lesse corage, after the dukes departyng, aduised the Englishmen, to depart for that tyme, tyll the next sommer: whiche therto at the first, would in nowise agree. But there was no remedy, for he was capitain generall, and had the ordynaunce vnder his rule, so that without that, thei could nothyng doo: Wherfore in greate displeasure, they returned into Normandy. After whose departure, the captain set fire in all the bastiles, and secretly departed, leyng behynde him, diuerse peces of ordynaunce, for lacke of cariage. With which returne, the dukes of Bedford and Burgoyn, wer sore displeased: for if he had continued his siege, eight daies lenger, the toune had been rendered, without dent of swerd. For pestilence and famyne, had almoste consumed all the souldiors, and left the toune, with out saueguard or defence.

AFTER this siege broken vp, Ihon duke of Norffolke, toke again the tounes of Dapmartyn, and the Chasse Mongay, and diuerse other tounes. And therle of Stafford, toke the toune of Brie, in Countie Robert, and from thence, foraged al the countrey to Sens, and after toke Quesnoy in Brie, Grand Puys, and Rampellon, with many prisoners as sir Iaques de Milly, and sir Ihon de la Hay. Duryng whiche tyme the Frenchmen toke Louiers, & Villuense. And then the toune of Melune rebelled, and had suche ayde, of other tounes adioynyng, that the Englishe souldiors, wer fayne to leaue Melune, Morret and Corbell. Thus accordyng to the chaunce of war, the one part gat, and the other lost. Thus the Englishe affaires (as you haue hard) within the realme began to wauer, and waxe variable, whiche caused the Englishe capitaines, to be of diuerse opinions. * For one part, beyng sory and pensiue, adiudged the thynges present, light and of no moment, in comparison of them whiche they sawe likely to folowe: and another sort, adiudged that present time, to be moste ieoperdus, and moste repleted with perils: Because they sawe, the power of their enemies, now increased, and their owne strēgth rather decaied, then cōserued. And so euery man studiyng on this businesse, aduised secretly with hymself, what counsaill was best to be taken, and what waie was best to be folowed, to remedy these thynges, thus wnueryng, in a doubtful balance. And then it was concluded, that it was moste apte and mete, for the tyme presente, that kyng Henry in his royall person, with a newe army, should come doune into Fraunce, partly to comfort and visite his awne subiectes ther: partly, either by feare or fauor, (because a childe, of his age and beautie, dooth commonly allure to hym, the hartes of elder persones,) to cause the Frenchemen to continue, in their due obeysaunce towarde hym. Wherfore, after a great hoste, conuenient for that purpose, assembled, and money for the maintenaūce of the warre, redy gathered, and the realme sette in an ordre, and the Duke of Gloucester, appoynted gouernor (which duryng the kynges absence, appeased diuerse riottes, and punished many offenders,) the kyng with a great power, tooke shipping at Douer, and landed at Calice, and there taried a good space; and from thence he remoued to Roan, where, with al triumphe, he was receiued, and there soiorned, till the middest of August, his nobles daily consultyng, on their greate busines, and waightie affaires.

¶ THE TENTH YERE.

The x. yere. IN the moneth of Nouembre, he remoued from Roan to Penthoise, and so to saincte Denice, to the intent to make his entrie, into the citee of Paris, and there to be sacred kyng of Fraunce, and to receiue, the sceptre and Croune of the realme and countrey.

THERE were in his company, of his owne nacio, his vncle the Cardinall of Winchester, the Cardinall and Archebishoppe of Yorke, the dukes of Bedforde, Yorke, and Norffolke, the

Erles of Warwicke, Salisbury, Oxford, Huntyngdon, Ormond, Mortayn, Suffolke, and of Gascoynes, the Erle of Longuile, and Marche, beside many noble men of England, Guyan, and Normandy. And the chief of the Frenche nacion, wer the dukes of Burgoyn, and Lewes of Luxenbrough Cardinall and Chauncellor of Fraunce for kyng Henry, the bishops of Beauoys and Neyon, bothe peres of France, beside the bishopp of Paris, and diuerse other bishoppes, therle of Vaudemont, & other noble men whose names were very tedious to you to here rehersed. And he had in a gard, aboute his person, thre thousand strong archers, some on horsebacke, and parte on fote. And as he was commyng, betwene sainct Denice and Paris, he was met at the Chapell, in the meane waie, by Sir Simon Moruer prouost of Paris, with a greate company, all clothed in redde Satin, with blewe whoddes, whiche did to hym, due reuerence and lowe obeysaunce. After whom, came diuerse riche and notable burgesses, of the toune of Paris, all appareled in Crimosyne clothe. After they had doen their reuerence, there approched to the kyng, the. ix. worthies, sittyng richely on horsebacke, armed with the armes to them apperteinyng. Next after them, came the knight of the watch, for the prouost Marchauntes, and with him all the officers of the court, apparceled in blewe, and hattes redde. And in a long space after, came Master Phillip de Noruillier, chief president of the Parliament, appareled in a robe of estate: and all the other presidentes of the parliament, clothed in robes of scarlet, and in like robes folowed the Lordes of the Chamber of accomptes, and of the finaunce, the Masters of the Requestes, the secretaries, and Regesters, and euery cõpany, as their course canie, saluted the kyng, with eloquent oracions, and heroicall verses, and so conueyed hym to the gate of saincte Denice, where the prouoste, of the Marchauntes, and the Shrefes of the toune, receiued hym with a Canapie of blewe veluet, richely embraudred, with flower of delices gold, and bare thesame ouer hym, through the toune, whiche on euery side, was hanged with riche clothes of Arras and Tapistrie. And at effery porte and bridge where he passed was set a pageaunt, of greate shewe and small coste, whiche, because they wer but trifles, I ouer passe, and speke but of one deuise, made before the gate of the Chastelet, wherevpon a stage stode, a goodly childe clothed with habite royall, set full of flower delices, hauyng two Crounes on his hed, representyng the yong kyng, and on his right hande, stode twoo noble personages, in the armes of Burgoyne and Flaunders: and on the lefte side of hym, stoode three personages, clothed in the armes, of Bedforde, Salisbury, and Warwicke, whiche to hym deliuered, the swerde of Englande. This pagiaunt was well regarded, and highly praised. From thence he departed to the palice, and offered in the Chapell, and from thence he departed, to the hous of Tournelles, and there toke his repast. And after dinner Isabel, late wife to kyng Charles, his grandfather, long before deceased. And the next daie he was conueighed, to Boys de Vyncennes, where, he reposed hymself, till the. xv. day of Decembre: on which daie, he returned to the palaice of Paris. And on the. xvij. of thesaied moneth, he departed from the place, in greate triumphe, honorably accompanied, to our Lady church of Paris: where with also solempnitie, he was anoynted and crouned kyng of Fraunce, by the Cardinal of Wincheester: (the bishop of Paris, not beyng content, that the Cardinal should do suche a high Ceremony, in his Churche and iurisdiction.) And the offeryng, he offred breade and wine, as the custome of France is. When the deuine seruice was finished, and all Ceremonies due, to that high estate were accoplished, the kyng departed toward the palaice, hauyng one crowne on his hed, and another borne before hym, and one scepter in his hand, & the second borne before hym. What should I speake, of the honorable service, the daintie dishes, the pleasaunt conceiptes, the costly wines, the swete Armony, the Musical instrumentes, whiche were sene and shewed at that feast, sith all men maie conieture, that nothyng was omitted, that might be bought for golde, nor nothyng was forgotten, that by mannes witte could be inuented. Yet this high and ioyous feast, was not without a spotte of displeasure, for the Cardinall of Wynchester, whiche at this tyme, would haue no man to hym egall, commaunded the duke of Bedforde, to leue of the name of Regent, durying the tyme that the kyng was in Fraunce: affirmyng the chief ruler beyng in presẽce, the authoritie of the substitute,

The coronacion of kyng Henry the vi. in Paris.

stitute, was clerely derogate: accordyng to the cõmon saiyng, in the presence of the high power, the smal authoritie geueth place. The duke of Bedford, toke suche a secret displeasure with this dooyng, that he neuer after fauored the Cardinall, but repugned and disdained at al thynges that he did or deuised. And so because the Cardinall would haue no temporall Lorde, either to hym superior, or with hym egall, he set furth this proude and arrogant conclusion, thorowe whiche vnhappie deuision, the glory of thenglishemen within the realme of Fraunce, began first to decaye, and vade awaie in Fraunce.

THE next daie after this solempne feast, wer kept triumphant Iustes and Turneis, in the whiche, Erle of Arundell, and the Bastard of Sent Polle by the iudgement of the Ladies, wan the price and gat the honor. When he had kepte open hous to all comers, by the space of. xx. daies, because the ayre of Paris, was sounwhat contrariaunt to his pure complexion, he was aduised by his counsaill, to returne to Roan. But before his departure, he caused al the nobilitie, the presidẽtz of the parliament, the prouostes of the citee and of the Marchauntes, and the chief burgesses of the toune and citee, and al the doctors of the. vniuersitie, to be assembled in his presence: to whom the duke of Bedford said in this maner.

An oracion, of the duke Bedforde, made to the Parisiens.

IT is not vnknowen to you all my lordes, aswell spirituall as temporall, how this noble region and famous countrey, of antiquitie called Gaule, and now Fraunce, sith the tyme of Charles surnamed the Greate, beyng bothe Emperor of Rome, and kyng of this realme, hath been accompted, reputed, and renoumed, the moste christen region, and famous seignory, within the circle of al christendõ, yea, and within the whole part of Europe, and not vndeseruyngly, for. iij. causes. First, for your sincere faithe and obedient loue, toward your sauior and redemer Iesu Christ. The second, for obseruyng your fidelitie & due obeysaũce, to your kynges and soueraigne Lordes. Thirdly, for kepyng and performing your promises and agremẽtes, aswell by woorde as by wrytyng: from the whiche no Pagane, nor honest Christian will or should disagree. This famous renoume and immaculate honor, so long continewyng without reprochẽ or blotte: I thinke, yea, and doubt not, but you will to the death, kepe, defend, and obserue, as your noble parentes and auncient progenitors, before you (to their ineffable praise) haue vsed and accustomed. Wherfore, sith it is not vnknowen to all you, that the noble and vertuous prince, kyng Henry the fifth, my moste derest and welbeloued brother, was the very true inheritor, and the vndoubtfull successor to the croune of this realme of Fraũce, as cosin and heire to Lady Isabell, daughter and sole inheritrice, to kyng Phillippe the Faire. For the recouery of whiche right and title, what pain he tooke, and what charge he was at, I well knowe, and some of you haue felte, as a greate scourge to your nacion, onely prouided by God, to afflicte and punishe them: whiche will withhold & vsurpe, other mennes rightes, possessions, and inheritaunce. But God oure sauior and redemer, (whiche wil not suffre his people, intendyng to conuert, to be dampned for euer, but gently calleth them to mercy and saluacion) of his greate goodnes & gentlenes, willed the holy ghost to shed and poure into the hart of the noble prince, kyng Charles, your late welbeloued and most drad soueraigne lord, the knowledge of the lawfull line, and of the true pathe of the inheritaunce, of the croune & scepter of this realme. Which vertuous man, hauyng neither an harte hardened in his awne opinion, nor a mynd ambicious of Empire, (as many tyraũntes, and couetouse princes, before this daie haue had, vsed, and accustomed) for aduoydyng farther effusion of christen bloud, and for the saluacion of his soule, without battaill, or stroke of weapon, was content (vpon an honorable cõposicion) to restore the lawful inheritaũce to the true heire and to rendre his title to the right lignage, & vndoubted lyne. Whiche treatie and finall composicion, was nether wantonly ouerlooked, nor vnwisely ouersene. For al the noble peres, of this realme, bothe spiritual & temporall, yea, & the most part of the nobilitie, (except a certain wilde and wilfull persones) with the whole comunaltie, (in whõ the very base and burden of the realme doth consist) not onely by worde, but by auncient writyng signed with their handes, and strengthened with the seales of their armes, here redy to be shewed, haue frankly and frely with out scruple or contradiccion

diccion, agreed, and affirmed thesame. By whiche composicion, (as the mirror and plain shewe and token of kyng Henries right) he was by the three estates, assigned, and allowed, as heire apparant to thesaid kyng Charles, lately deceassed. But cruell death seperatyng his body from his soule, long before the expectacion of his people, suffered him not to possede and enioye the title and regalitie of this his due inheritaunce, and succession royall. Yet, God willyng not the stocke, of so noble, so famous, and so vertuous a prince, to remayne bareyn without budde or flower, hath sent to hym, and frō hym to you a florishing child, a goodly prince of bothe the noble houses, of England & Fraunce indifferently discended: as who would saie, that by nature, he is neither perfect Englishe, nor perfect Frenche, but a man indifferent, called an Englishe Frencheman, and a Frenche Englishman. Whiche noble prince, and your soueraigne Lorde, you may with glad hartes, and louyng countenaunces, se, heare, and behold. And as for his honorable behauor, & princely maiestie: fewe princes of full & ripe age, be to hym comparable, or equipollent. As for his beautie and other giftes of nature, scace Absalon can be to hym assembled. But hauyng respect to the vertuous disposicion the Godly mynd, and sincere conscience, of so noble a child and princely infant, I surely thinke, and perfectly beleue, that he is aboue all other, the blasyng Starre, and the vnmatched Paragon. This precious stone and noble Iuell, is not onely come out of his naturall countrey, and norishyng Region, to receiue the Croune and possession, of this his realme and dominion, but also, (like a good shepherde) to vieue, se, and knowe you, as his welbeloued flocke, and moste desired subiectes: and you likewise, (as louyng and obediēt vassals) to behold, and knowe your soueraigne lord and prince, to the intent, that as you, aboue all other nacions, aswel christen as Ethenicke, haue serued, loued, and obeyed, your rulers and Kynges, before these daies: so be now doubteth not but to find you as louyng to hym, as the Turtle to her make, as sure to hym as the Adamant to the stele, and as permanent in his obedience, as the hard mountayne of Olympe, which, neither craft nor engyne can either consume, or remoue. And all mistrust of your ingratitude, is clerely banished from his harte? considerynge, that he knoweth, that you daily heare it preched, that you should feare God, and honor your kyng, and that he, which is in stubburnesse and obstinacie toward his prince, is disobedient towarde God: For the Prince in yearth, is the Vicar of GOD, and hedde and shepherde of Christes flocke: to whō bothe spirituall persones and temporal, be subiectes, and inferiors in al causes of rule & gouernaunce. And although some persones within this realme, seduced more by phantastical error, then obstinate arrogancy, haue take part, and entered into amitie with Charles de Valoys, vntruly callyng himself the French kyng: yet the verie true and vndoubtful prince, and our soueraigne Lorde, here beyng present, is resolued and content, to remit and pardon their offences and crimes, so that they within twelfe daies, returne to the true folde, and forsake the infected flocke, and sedious company. Wherefore, his request is at this tyme, that you, for the fidelitie, whiche you haue euer borne to hym, and for the loue, that he hath, and styll intendeth to beare to you, will vouchesafe hereafter without lettyng of tyme diligētly study and busely take pain, bothe to kepe his louyng subiectes in good ordre, and due obeysaunce towarde hym, and also to se them line in mutuall amitie and bratherly concord, betwene theim selfes: not forgettyng, that the olde prouerbe, whiche saieth: inward discord, bryngeth realmes to ruyne. Which honorable requestes, if you accōplishe and performe, (as of your very bounden duety, you be bound in deede) you shall deserue so muche fauor, of your kyng and soueraigne Lorde, that to all your honest requestes, his eares shalbe open, & to al your reasonable desires, his mouth shall not be stopped. And thus he wissheth you, health in bodies, increace in your substaunce, and to your soules, ioye and felicitie without ende perpetually.

WHEN the duke had finished and ended this his oracion, the people beyng glad and reioysyng at his sayinges, cried: liue kyng Henry, liue Kyng Henry. After which crie passed, the noble men, aswell of Fraunce and Normandy, did to hym homage, and the common people, sware to hym feaultie: to whom, (although he were a child) he gaue both pleasaunt

and faire wordes, with hartie thankes, and many gratificacions, to the great admiracion of the Frenche people.

AFTER he had feasted, the nobles and commons of Fraunce within the citee of Paris, he with a great company, departed from thence, and by small iorneis came to Roan, where he celebrated with great solempnitie, the high feast of Christmas. While these noble Ceremonies wer thus in doyng, in the citee of Paris, sondery chaūces, diuersely hapned in seueral places, to the displeasure of the one part, and to the gain of the other. For sir Frances Surrien Arragnoys, a noble capitain in Normandy, toke by force and pollicie, the toune of Mountarges, with a greate prey of treasure and prisoners, and therein he put a garrison, and vitailed the toune, to the greate displeasure of the Frenche Kyng. Aboute thesame season, the Erle of Arundell, beyng truly informed, that the lorde Bousac, Marshall of Fraunce, was come to Beauoys, intending to do some feate in Normādy, assembled the nombre of thre and twentie hundred men, and laied hymself priuelie, in a close place, nor farre from thesaied toune, and sent a great nombre of light horssemen, to ronne to the barriers of the citee. The Frenchmen like valiaūt men of warre, issued out, and manfully fought with the Englishemen: whiche sodainly fled, towarde the stale. The Frenchmen, corragiously folowed thinkyng the game gotten on their side: but when they wer entered into the straight, therle set fresibly on them, so that after long fightyng, there wer slain and taken, in maner al the Frenchmen, saue a few, whiche fled into the toune, with the Marshall. Emōgst the capitaines was found prisoner, the valiaunt capitain, called Poynton of Sanctrayles, (which without delay,) was exchaunged for the lorde Talbot, before taken prisoner, at the battaill of Patay. There was also taken one, called the shepherd, a simple mā, and a sely soule, whom, the Frenchmen reputed, to be of suche a holinesse, that if he touched the walle of a toune of their enemies, that incontinent, it would fall to the grounde, and ouerturne. Suche false phantastical fainers, were at that tyme much regarded, and no lesse beleued in Fraunce.

THIS chaunce succeded not, fortunatly alone: for Richard Beauchampe Erle of Warwicke had agreate skirmishe, before the toune of Gourney, where he discōfited and repulsed his enemies, and beside the carions, whiche wer left dedde on the ground, he tooke prisoners thre score horssemen, all gentlemen of name and armes. Like chaunce of infortune happened at thesame tyme, to Renate or Reyne duke of Barr, a greate frend to Charles the French kyng, bothe in lendyng hym money, and also in ministeryng to hym aide and succors. This duke bearyng displeasure, to Anthony Erle of Vaudemont, his cosyn and kynsman, gathered together a greate armie, and besieged the toune of Vaudemont. Therle, before the dukes approchyng, to thentent y he would not be enclosed and compassed about by his enemies within a wall, leauyng behynde hym a conuenient crue of men of warre, to defende the toune for a tyme with all diligēce rode to the dukes of Bedford & Burgoyne, beyng then at the greate triumphe at Paris, whose part he had euer taken. After long consultacion, it was agreed that sir Ihon Fastolffe, should go with hym, hauyng in his company sixe hundred Archers, and the duke of Burgoyne sent to hym, his Marshall, called sir Anthony Doulongon, with xv. hundred men. The erle of Vaudemont thus beyng accompanied, marched toward his enemies. Duke Reine, hearyng of his commyng towarde hym, was somewhat dismayed, fearyng, least if his enemies should approche to the walles, and be espied by the garrison within the toune, that, at one tyme he should be assailed before, by them that would issue out of the toune, and behind by therle and his armie. Wherfore, like a hardy capitain, he brake up his siege, and met face to face, with therle and his company: betwene whom, was a cruell and a mortall battaill. The horsemen indured long, but in conclusion, the Englishe Archers, so galled the horses and so wounded the men, that the Barroys and their frendes, wer cōpelled to flie: in whiche chace was taken, the saied duke of Barr, the bishop of Myes, the lorde of Rodemaque, sir Euerard of Saseabery, the Vicoūt Darcy, and two hundred other, beside thre thousande men, whiche wer slaine. In this lucky tyme also, no lesse occasion of victory, was offred to the Englishmen, beyng in another parte, if when the pigge had been

profered

profered, thei had opened the poke: for Robert, Lorde Willoughby, and Mathew Gough a valiaunt Welsheman, with. xv. hundred Englishemen laied siege to a toune in Aniow, beyng bothe by situacion, and pollicie, verie strong and defensible, called sainct Seueryne. The Englishmen assailed it not so couragiously, but they within, with egall audacitie, boldely made defence: so that fortune semed, to waie bothe the parties in egall balaūce. Charles the French kyng, beyng thereof aduertised, sent with all spede, the lorde Ambrose de Lore, with many noble and valiaunt personages, to aide and relcue his frendes, inclosed in the toune by his enemies. This lorde de Lore, beyng capitain of the toune, made muche haste to comfort his deputie and capitain within thesame, and so marched forward with greate spied: but fearyng to be sodainly compassed aboute he taried still at Beaumont, lokyng for the armie and capitaines, that should folow, and then altogether to set on their enemies, and so to reyse the siege. Whiles he there made his abode, and toke his leysure, the Englishmen, by their espialles, were asserteined and aduertised, what progresse their enemies made, and what they intended. Wherfore, they pollitiquely prouided, to fight with the one parte, before the whole puyssaunce wer ioyned. And so a greate parte of them, departed secretly in the night, toward their enemies, and found the watch so out of ordre, and oversene, that a thousande men wer entered into the camp before thei were espied. But the slaiyng of men and cuttyng doune of tentes, awaked the capitaines, whom this sodaine feare, and vnlooked chaunce so greately abashed, that no man in maner, either could heare his felow or hymself, or could make signe to expulse and driue out their enemies out of their campe. But when the day begaune to appere, and the sonne had setforth his bright beames, that all thyng might be sene and perceiued, the Englishemen, giuen to couetousnes of spoyle and desire of Rauyne, neither chaced, nor folowed their enemies, but beyng content with their prey and gayne, began to retraite toward the siege again. But se the chaunce: the Frenchmen which wer commyng after, heard by the noyce of the people, that some fraie was then in hand, put the spurres to the horse, and set on their enemies, beyng laded with bagges and wallettes, of preys and spoiles. The other part, whiche before fled, returned again, and assailed their enemies. The Frenchmen egerly assailed, and the Englishemen manfully defended, whiche beyng out of ordre, wer compelled to flie, of whom, Matthew Gough and diuerse other wer taken prisoners, and yet of the other parte, many were slain, and a great nombre taken, emongest whom, was the lord of Lore, which, for all the battaile, was kept and not deliuered.

THE lord Willoughby, hearyng of this chaunce reysed the siege & departed verie sore displeased. Therefore let euery capitain take good hede of victorie, the whiche as she is harde to obtain, so she is quicke to flie awaie: for it is daily sene, that he, whiche thynketh suerly, that he hath her in his handes, before he can catche her, is deceiued, & ronneth into a great losse and daūger: and on the otherside, when she is gotten, (except good watche be hourely kept) she will steale awaie, with muche hurte and detriment, to the first gainer. Thus the Englishmen, for the gredy appetite of gain, lost the triumphaunt victorie, whiche they had in their handes. While the Englishe and Frenche nacions, thus stroue and contended, for preeminence, principalitie, yea, & for the superior power of life, by the vnreasonable rage of warre in Fraunce, the rich men were spoyled of their goodes, the spirituall persones, were taxed and brought low, the comen people wer slain, murdred, and trode vnder the foote, women wer defiled, virgynes wer rauished, townes wer destroied and wasted, toune dwellers and citezens, wer robbed and exiled, beautiful buyldynges, wer cruelly brent, nothing was spared, by the crueltie of Mars: whiche by fire, bloud, or famyne, might be catched or destroied, beside a hūdred more calamities, that daily vexed and troubled the miserable French nacion. Although Fraūce, wer at this tyme, thus miserably afflicted: yet Englande, was not without dolloure and trouble: for daily Englishmen, aswel noble as peane personages, wer slain taken, wounded, or hurte, their substance was continually exacted, and cōsumed for maintenaunce of the warres, so that mischief and calamitie, was indifferent to bothe the nacions, and quietnes and gayne, were expulsed & banished from them both: in so muche that

that the lamentacion and dolor of bothe the coũtreis, wer heard through the whole west part of the worlde, and of their continual discencion, al Europe and Affrike, had their eares and mouthes full, so that all men, not onely marueiled that Fraũce could so muche trouble so long time sustain, but more wõdered that the realme of Englande, beyng but an Isle, was able so to scourge, plague and trouble, the large French region, for whiche cause Euginye the fourth, beyng bishopp of Rome, intendyng to bryng this cruel warre, to a frendly peace, sent his Legate, called Nicolas, Cardinall of the holy crosse, into Fraunce to thentent to make an amitie, and a concord betwene the two princes and their realmes. This wise cardinall, came first to the Frenche kyng, and after to the duke of Bedford beyng at Paris: exhortyng concord, and persuadyng vnitie, shewyng, declaryng and arguyng, peace to be moste honorable and more profitable to Christian princes, then mortall warre, or vncharitable discencion. Which gouernors of Christes people, ought to haue an iye, to the profite of their people, to se Iustice duly ministered, to rule theselfes by reason and not by wil and to abstain frõ malice, and abhorre all wrong and iniury, to whiche thynges, warre is euer enemie & cleane contrary.

WHEN the Legate had thus persuaded the princes on euery part, bothe, gently aunswered, that they wer content to come to a reasonable ende. But when the first communicacion was moued, and by cõmissioners treated, their dooynges were so farre disagreeable, from their wordes, that not onely reasonable and honest condicions of peace, could be neither heard nor accepted, but more frowardnes, pertinacie, & malice was kindeled and sprong in their stomackes, then before that time had been sene. The Cardinal beyng in vtter dispaire, of cõcludyng a peace betwene the two realmes, (least he should seme to departe empty of all thynges, for the whiche he had taken so muche trauaile) desired a truce for sixe yeres to come, which request, as it was to him, by bothe parties hardly graunted, so was it of the Frenchmen, sone and lightly broken, after his returne: For the Bastarde of Orleaunce, newly made Erle of Dumoys, tooke by treason the toune of Charters, from the Englishemen: affirmyng by the lawe of armes, that stealyng or byng a toune without inuasiõ, or assaute, was no breach of league, amitie, nor truce. In the whiche toune, he slewe the Bishop, because he was a Burgonyõ, through which occasion, newe malice increased and mortal warre began again to rise and spryng.

WHILE these thynges wer doyng in Fraunce, Henry Beaufforde Cardinall of Winchester, was sailed again into Englande, to appeace and represse certain diuisions and commocions, sprong vp, by mischeuous and pernicious persones, within the realme, whiche vnder the colour of a newe sect of religion, coniured together, to disquiet & vexe, the whole quietnes of the realme. But after that Willia Maundeuile and Iho Sharpe wer taken, and executed by the gouernor and the kynges Iustices, the remnaunt yelded, and cõfessed their offences: wherof two articles wer these, as some men write: that priestes should haue no possessions, and that all thynges, by the ordre of Charitie, emongest Christen people, should be incommon. After this sedicious coniuracion, by diligent enquirie, was thus quẽched out, the Cardinall began to commen with the duke of Gloucester, concernyng the affaires and busines of Fraunce: and suspecting that the truce would not long continue betwene bothe ỹ realmes, (as it did not in dede) diuised, how to send more aide, and men to the Duke of Bedforde, and gathered vp more money, and treasure, for the further maintenance of the warres, and resistence of their enemies. Wherupon the Duke of Gloucester, called a Parliament, in the whiche, money was assigned, and men, wer appointed. Durỹg whiche Parliament, Iames the kyng of Scottes, sent Ambassadors, to conclude a peace, with the duke of Gloucester, which, (because the kyng was absente), referred the matter to the iij. estates. After long consultacion, (not without greate argumentes) a peace was graunted and concluded, which all men iudged, long to continue, because kyng Iames, was then vexed with ciuil warre and intestine discencion, and also the Frenchemen had taken truce, (as you haue hard) for. vi. yeres.

WHEN the parliament was finished, the Cardinall well garnished with men and money, departed

departed out of Englande, and came to Roan to the kyng, to whom also resorted from Paris, Ihon, Duke of Bedford, to debate and consult of thynges, not vnlikely to happen and chaunce. Wherfore, a greate counsail was celebrate, within the Castle of Roan, and many doubts wer moued, and fewe waighty thynges out of hand concluded. Some imagined, that their enemies, would not long kepe promise, nor yet obserue the truce, by them solemply graunted: considerynge, that the Frenche hartes brente, and their iyes were very sore, to se the riche Duchie of Normandy, the faire citee of Paris and the pleasaunt Isle of Fraunce, to be brought and reduced, vnder the obeysaūce and subiection, of thenglish nacion. Wherfore, thei would not omit, or ouerse one thyng, that souded to defence, least the Frenchmen sodainly, (not keping their promes, & brekyng the truce,) might cause thenglishmen to be in greate & perilous ieoperdy, not knowyng what cousaill to take, nor sodainly to prouide a remedy for a mischief, bothe for lacke of men and substaunce. Other wer of opinion, that nombres of men, could not long be maintained and kepte together, without breache of truce, and violatyng of peace: knowyng that the landes of men, be properly geuen to spoyle, and euer redy to gain, and moste especially, when they be daily redy in harneis, prone and quicke to set on their enemies. And therfore, thei would the walled tounes, to be wel manned and defēded, and the rest of the army, to be sent into England, again, there to remain and tary til the tyme of the truce wer expired and ouer passed.

AFTER this disputacion, with many argumētes ended, the dukes of Bedford and Yorke, and Edmond late erle of Mortayn, and now by the death of Ihon duke of Somerset, (which died without heire male, leauyng behind hym, a sole doughter called Margaret, after, countesse of Richemōd) erected to the name and title, of duke of Somerset, liked and approued, the first argument, & first moued reason: affirmyng best that warre must be prouided for, and that money out to be disbursed, and to aduoyde all doubtes, that a greater army, was necessary to be gathered together and assembled. When al thynges wer agreed, kyng Henry departed to Calice, and from thence to Douer, and so by easye iorneis he came the. xxi. daie of February, to the citee of London, where he was receiued, not onely with greate pompe and triumphe, but also highly presented with giftes and money, as in the Chronicle of Robert Fabian, you maie rede at large, whiche thyng I ouer passe.

AFTER that the kyng, was departed into Englande, the Duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, and capitain of Calice, taried behynde in the marches of Picardy: where he was informed, that certain souldiors of Calice, grudgyng at the restraint of wolles, begamne to mutter and murmure against the kyng and his counsaill, so that the toune of Calice, was like to stand in ieoperdy. Wherfore the duke, forseyng the mischief that might insue, & thinkyng it wisedom, to withstand the first mocion, caused the chieftaynes of this faccion, to be apprehended, and after due examinacion had, diuerse were put to death, and many banished & exiled the Marches for euer. After that he had purged the toune of that vngracious and sedicious company, and had furnished it, with new souldiors & discrete men of war, he was determined, first to repaire again to Paris, but his harte would not serue hym for sith his departure, Lady Anne his wife and Duchies, was departed to God, and honorably enterred in the Celestyns at Paris: by whose death, and for other causes, (as partely you haue hard) the sure loue, and approued fidelitie, betwene the duke of Burgoyn, his brother in lawe and hym, began to waxe fainte and colde. For whiche cause, he beyng persuaded by the lorde Lewes of Luxenborough, bishoppe of Tyrwyne and Ely, and Chauncellor of Fraunce for kyng Henry, agreed to marye the Lady Iaquet, doughter to Peter Erle of sainct Paule, and niece to the saied bishop, and to lorde Ihon of Luxenborough: to the intent, that by this newe affinitie, the olde acquaintaunce and familiaritie, whiche he had with that noble familie of Luxēborough, should be renewed and inforced, and with a more surer knot, knit and confirmed. Wherupon he departed from Calice to Tirwyne, where, he was highly receiued of the Erle of sainct Paule, and of his brethren, and there he maried, the faire and freashe lady Iaquet, of the age of xvii. yeres, with all triumphe and nupciall solempnitie. After whiche Ceremony ended, he returned with his newe spouse to Calice, and so into Englande, where,

he with his wife remained, vntil August next, and then returned again to Paris. The Duke of Burgoyne, (whose mynde began to incline, a litle and litle toward kyng Charles) was sore greued and angry, that the duke of Bedforde, was ioyned in affinitie, with the noble and famous hous of Luxēborough: by the whiche he sawe, that the power of the Englishmen, should be greatly aduaunced. But the mariage was fully ended, and he could finde no remedy.

¶ THE ELEUENTH YERE.

The. xi. yere.

WHile these thynges were doyng thus, in other places the French souldiors lackyng wages, (and emōgest theim, a greate nombre, whiche in hope of prey, and desire of spoile, had cast vp the plough, and left their labor,) began priuely, (as tyme serued, and occasion gaue place) to take bothe Englishmen and Burgonyons, and raunsomed and spoyled theim, at their pleasures. And although they were prohibited thus to do, (durynge the tyme of truce & peace) yet inconclusion, they spared not openly to robbe, spoyle, and burne: yea, & to steale tounes, whiche they affirmed to be no breache of truce. The Englishmen, pricked and vexed, with these open wronges, and manifest iniuries, prepared for warre, after the sixe moneth, that the truce was taken and concluded. And by this meanes, the war was renewed and begonne again. The vntrue Frenchemen, breakers of peace, and not kepers of truce, reysed a crewe of men, and sodainly tooke the toune of sainct Valerie, standyng in Normandy, on the Riuer of Soame: and another army, vnder the cōduict of sir Ambrose, lorde of Lore, wasted and destroyed all the countrey aboute Caen. The Duke of Bedford, not myndyng to lie still in ydlenesse, sent the Erle of Arundell, the Erle of Warwickes sonne the Lorde Lisle, Adane Marshall of Fraunce, for kyng Henry, and. xii. C. men, with ordinaunce and munitions, to besiege the toune of Laigny, vpon the Riuer of Marne. Whiche Erle, with the shot of a Canon, brake the arche of the bridge, and gat from the Frenchmen, their bulwarke, and set it on fire. Diuerse assautes were attempted, but the toune was well defended: for within, wer shut vp, eight hūdred men of armes beside other meane souldiors.

THE duke of Bedford, beyng therof aduertised, gathered an armie of sixe thousande men of warre, wherof wer capitaines, Robert, Lorde Willoughby, sir Andrewe Ogard, Chamberlein to the duke, sir Ihon Saluaine, Baylife of Roan, sir Ihon Montgomerie, Bailife of Caux, sir Phillip Halle, Baylife of Vernoyle, sir Richard Ratclife, deputie of Calice, sir Raufe Neuell, sir Raufe Standishe, sir Ihon Hanforde, sir Richard Euthin, sir Richard Harryngton, Bailife of Eureux, sir William Fulthorpe, sir Thomas Griffyne of Irelande, Dauy Halle, Thomas Stranguish, Leonard Ornestō, Esquiers, and Thomas Gerard, whiche solde the toune of Mounstrean Faultyon, to the Frenchemen: and with all thynges necessarye, came to the siege before Laigny. He, there, made a bridge of boates, and brought his ordinaunce so nere the *toune, that to all people, it semed not long* able to resist. But the Erle of Dumoys Bastard of Orleaunce, with diuerse hardy capitaines, as valiauntly repulsed, as the Englishemen assauted. This siege contyneued, as fire against flame, and sometyme flame against fire. For although the Englishemen slewe more nombre, yet they gat neither prey, nor boty: and although the Frenchemen, kepte valeauntly the walles, and defended the loupes, yet they loste bothe men and capitaines, and wer long secluded from their aide and succors, til Charles the French kyng, perceiuyng this toune, to be the thre corner key, betwene the territories of the Englishemen, the Burgonyons, and his awne, and that the losse therof, should turne hym to innumerable damages and incredible hurtes, sent the lorde of Rieux, Poyton, the Heire, the lorde Gaucort, and sixe thousand men, with great plentie of vitailes, to thentent, either to reise the siege, or to vitaile the toune. The French capitaine, made a bragge, as though thei would fight with thenglishemen, within their felde and Campe. The Englishemen would not

not issue out, but kept themselfes in good ordre, euer lokyng for, their entrie and inuasiō. The Regent perceiuyng, that thei approched not, sente to theim an herault of Armes, declaryng his intent, and the corage of his company, whiche nothyng more desired, then battaill. And to shewe hymself as a capitain, meanyng that, which he offred, & not dissimulyng that, whiche he spake: he incontinent, diuided his men into three battailes, no more wisely ordered, thē pollitiquely gouerned: as who would saie, come on Frencheman, if thy harte will serue. But his aduersaries, more craftie then hardy, more pollitique then coragious, framed themselfes in suche ordre of battaile, as thei wer able to do all thyng, and yet inconclusion, (concernyng marciall feates) thei did nothyng. For, while thei made a proude bragge, and a stoute skirmishe with the Englishemen, thei appoynted diuerse rude and rusticall persones, to conueye into the toune, xxx. oxē and other small vitaill, but this swete gain, was sowerly paied for, if the losse with the gain, be pondered in one balaunce: for bauyng regard to. xxx. leane oxen, in the conflict were slain, the lorde Sentrayles, brother to Pothon, the valeaunt capitain Ihon, brother to the lord Gawcort, and fiftie other noble and valeaunt personages, beside other common people, whiche bought that bargayne, aboué the price of the common Marketţ. The Frenchemen, perceiuyng their infortunate chaunce, and not only conesyderyng, the vnspekeable heate, whiche then wexied their people, beyng in the beginnyng, of the hote moneth of August: but also, perceiuyng the Englishmen, to be planted and settled, in a place vnable to be wonne, and in a grounde, bothe dāgerous to inuade, and hard to assaile, like men desperate of gain, and without hope of victory, departed to Fort vnder Yerre, where, by a bridge of tunnes, they passed into the Isle of Fraunce. The Duke of Bedforde, (like a wise prince) not myndyng to lease the more for the lesse, nor the accident for the substaunce, fearyng that Paris and other tounes, more necessary to thenglishemen, and of more estimacion, would returne to his aduersaries, thynkyng if the greater power were holden, the lesse should be sone obtained, reysed his siege, and returned to Paris, nothyng lesse myndyng, then to trie his querell with dent of sweard, against his enemies: and so sent Bedford his herault, to the lorde Gawcort, and other chieftaines of his army, offeryng hym battail, and a pitched feld, within a conuenient grounde, where so euer he would, within the Isle of Fraunce, assigne or appoyūt. To the whiche officer of Armes, the capitaines aunswered, that battaill they feared not, nor the Englishe puyssaunce, thei not muche regarded, but thei saied: that tyme was to gain, and tyme was to lose, of the whiche twoo, thei doubted not to espie the one, either to their greate gain, or to their apparaunt losse. Wherupon thei sent the lorde Ambrose de Loyre, with. vii. C. horsemen, to robbe and spoyle the poore people, commyng to the faier, on the day of sainct *Michaell the Archangell*, kepte in the suburbes of the toune of Caen. But whē Dauy Halle Esquier, capitain of the toune, for the duke of Yorke, issued out to fight with hym, he departed by flight, without any either botie or gain of the faier. The Frenchmen perceiuyng, that neither power, force, nor pollicie, could auaile against the Englishe nacion, determined to trippe and deceiue them, by their accustomed seruaunt, called master Treason, and so by money, corrupted Piers Audebeuffe, Constable of the castle of Roan, that the Marshall of Fraunce, and the lord Fountaynes, with twoo hundred persones disguised, entered into the Castle, but thei wer sone espied, and driuen to the dongeon, where thei wer taken and yelded: wherof some wer hanged, some hedded, and some raunsomed at the pleasure of the Regent: and suche ende had the traytors, whiche would by treason, rather then by battaill, obtained their prey and desired purpose.

THIS pageaunt plaied, the Regent sent Peter of Luxenborough Erle of sainct Paule, and Robert, lorde Willoughby, with a competēt crue of men, to besige the toune of Sainct Valerie, whiche the Frenchemen alide before had taken. These valeaunt capitaines, not myndyng to slepe their busines, enuironed the toune with a strong siege. Within the toune wer sir Lewes de Vancort, sir Phillippe de la Toure, and sir Reignold de Verseilles, capitaines, with three hundred good fightyng men, which by the space of iii. wekes, manfully

defended the same. But at the. xxi. daie they perceiuyng the fiersenes of thenglishemen, and the weakenes of themselfes, (hauyng no hope of relief, nor confidence in any aide) rendered the toune, their horsse and harneis onely saued. The Erle put, in the garrison of the toune, freashe and valeaunt souldiors, and appoynted capitain there, sir Ihon Awbemond: in whiche toune sodainly, (whether it wer by infeccio of the ayre, or by corrupt vitail by long liyng, whiche the tounes men did eate,) a great pestilence sprang, in the infortunate coūtrey. Whiche, after so many calamities and euill chaunces, beyng twoo tymes besieged by the Frenchemen, and thryse recouered by thenglishe nacion, was now infected and corrupted, with the pestilent plague: whereby twoo partes of the people, within shorte space, wer destroyed and consumed.

AFTER this toune gotten, the Erle of sainct Paule, and the Lorde Willoughby, returned to the Regent, where, they wer well welcomed. And after, thesaid Erle departed from Paris, to laie siege to the Castle of Monchas, but beyng encamped, nere to the toune of Blangy, he, by a sodain maladie, finished his daies, and departed the worlde, leauyng his seigniories, to Lewes his sonne and heire. For whiche dedde Erle, wer solempne obsequies kepte, bothe in Paris and in London, because he was father in lawe to the Regent. In the meane season, the Frenchmen entered into the costes of high Burgoyne, and brent, toke, and destroyed tounes: for whiche cause, the Burgonyons beyng sore displeased, assembled a greate army, bothe to reuenge their querels, and also to recouer again the tounes, from theim iniustely taken: to whom, (as to his frendes) the duke of Bedforde, sent Robert Lorde Willoughby, and sir Thomas Kiriel, with a conuenient company of souldiors, whiche enteryng into the laundes of Laonoys, wer encoūtred with a great nōbre of their enemies: but by whose force, (after long fight) the Frenchmen wer slain and dispersed: wherof wer left dedde in the feld, an hundred and sixtie horsemen, beside prisoners, whiche after in a fury, wer all killed and put to destruccion.

¶ THE. XII. YERE.

The. xii. yere. WHile these chaunces thus happened in Fraunce, Ihō lord Talbot, gathered together a crue of chosen men of war in England, to the nombre of viii. C. & sailed into Normandy, and passed by Roan toward Paris, and in his way, he toke the strong Castle of Ioisg, betwene Beauoys and Gisors, and caused all the Frenchmen within to be hanged on the walles, and after, raised and defaced the Castle, and came to the Duke of Bedford, to Paris. The presence of which renoumed capitain, (a maruelous thyng it is to se) so incoraged the hartes of the English nacion, that thei thought, nothyng able to resist their puyssaunce, and so discoraged the hartes of the Frenchemen, that thei wer in doubt, whether it wer better to fight, or to flie. And this was not without a cause: for surely, he was a chosen capitain, & in marcial feates, a man fully instructed, and his corage and practise in warre, was fearfull to the Frenche nacion, and to his awne coūtremen, an especial hope and a sure defence. When this hardy Baron, had commoned with the Regent, and agreed what waie he should take, without long delay or prolongyng of tyme, he departed from Paris with his army, and besieged the Castle of Beaumont vpon Oise, wherof was capitain, sir Amadour de Vignolles, brother to the Heire. Whiche castle was sone rendered, vpon condiciō. After that, he regained without long siege, the tounes of Creile, the bridge of sainct Maxens, the new toune in Esmoy, Crespy in Valoys, and Cleremoūt in Beauoys: and so with greate riches, and fatre prisoners, he returned again to Paris. Thus prosperous successe happened, not to the lorde Talbot alone: but also thesame very season, therle of Arundell, toke the Castle of Bomelyne, and raised it to the ground, and after, tooke by force the Castle of Dorle, and from thence came to sainct Seleryne, where the lorde Ambrose of Lore, was capitain, which issued out, and fought with the Englishemen so egerly at the firste, that he droue theim backe an arowe shot by fine force.

force. But the Erle so incoraged his men, that they toke newe corages to them, and set so fiersly on the Frenchemen, that they slewe a greate nombre, and droue the remnaunt into the toune.

AFTER this victory, he besieged Louiers, wherof was capitain, the Heire, and his brother, which rendered the toune, without stroke or assaute. For all this good lucke, therle forgat not to returne, to the toune of S. Seleryne, but assembled a great army, and enuironed the toune about with a strong siege. Whe he had lien there almoste iij. monethes euery daie attemptyng or dooyng somewhat, for the performaunce of his enterprise, in conclusion at the thre monethes ende, he gaue so fierce an assaut, that by force he entred the toune, and slewe Ihon Allemagne and Gulliam sent Aubyne, the chief capitaines, and viii.C. other men of warre, and the Children of the lorde Lore, wer taken captiues: he replenished and fortified the toune again with newe men, and municios, and made there capitain, sir Ihon Cornwale. Whiche acte thus accomplished, he departed, and came before the strong toune of Sillye, and there pitched his campe. The inhabitauntes of thesame, somewhat dismaied with the chaunce that late happened to the toune of S. Seleryne, deliuered to him pledges, vpon this condicion: that if thei wer not rescued, within xxx. daies nexte insuying, then they, (their lifes saued) should rendre the toune, into his possession: whiche offre was taken. The capitaines within the toune, sent a post to the French kyng, to aduertise hym of their hard chaunce, which incontinent sent to them, Arthur, Erle of Richemond, (but after some writers, Ihon duke of Alaunson) with a greate company of men. When therle sawe the Frenche succors appere, he restored again y pledges to the gouernors of the toune, and issued out of his campe, takyng a place moste mete and conuenient for to abide battaill, for whiche he sore thirsted and longed. The Duke or the Erle, (take whiche you list) lyng by a brooke side, whiche a man might stride ouer, seyng the Englishemen, so warlike and strongly embattailed, thought it not for his profite, to geue battaill, or to serue forward: but in the dedde time of the night, cowardly fled, and with shame returned: although some Frēche writers affirme, that he loked that the erle of Arundell, should haue geuen hym battaill, and because he profered not forward, therfore the Frenchmen departed. This apereth to be an apparaunt lye, and a Frenche bragge: for if they came to rescewe the toune, why did not they geue battaill, & so driue awaie thenglishmen from the toune? If they came to fight, why departed they without any stroke striken? But it seineth that thei came, to make a Frenche face, and for to do nothyng. For thei without skirmishe or succoryng the toune, departed in the night secretly, (as you haue hearde.) When thei within the toune knew, that their succors failed, thei rendred themselfes, to the mercy of therle of Arundel, which gently receiued the, & leauyng a garrison in the toune, departed to Mauns, and in the meane waie, toke the Castles of Mellay and sainct Laurece. About this tyme, the lord Willoughby, and sir Thomas Kirkell, returnyng with great victories out of the parties of Burgoyne, tooke in their waie, the toune of Louiers, and furnished it, bothe with men, and municions.

EMONGEST so many good chaunces, some euill are accustomed to fall and happen, or els the gayners, will not knowe themselfes. So it happened that a greate nōbre, of rude and rustical persones in Normādy, dwellyng by y sea coast, either prouoked, or intised therunto, by the Frenche kyng, or desirous of alteracion and chaūge, (whiche thyng the commen people muche couete and desire) made an insurreccion, and put on harneis, & by force expulsed certain garrisōs, out of their houldes, and toke certain tounes: publishyng and proclaimyng openly, that their onely purpose and intent was, to expel and banish, the whole Englishe nacion, out of their coūtreys and coastes. Wherfore, it maie euidently appere, that the blacke Ethyopian, or the blacke coloured rauē, wil soner turne their colours, than the vniuersal people, bred in Fraūce will hartely loue, or inwardly fauor, an Englishe borne child. And yet, the Normans of long tyme, louingly and gentely, haue obeyed to the subiection of Englande, and haue of the Englishe nacion, been wel accepted and regarded, but now thei,

forgettyng their duetie, and remēbryng their hurtes, did not doubt, to rebell against their prince and soueraigne Lorde.

THIS mischeuous cōpany, thus frantiquely gathred together, with all spede marched toward Caen, to the intent there, bothe to assemble a greater nombre of people, and also to consult, what way thei should folow in their newe begon attēptate. But the dukes of Yorke & Somerset, which then wer liyng in Normandy, bearyng of this vngracious faccion & troubelous cōmocion, & hauyng knowledge by their espials what iorney they intended to take: incōtinent without delay, sent therle of Arundell and the lorde Willoughby, with vj.M. archers, and. xiij. hundred light horsses, to staie and kepe them, either for settyng furthe, or makyng farther progresse. Therle of Arundell goyng one waie, appoynted the Lorde Willoughby, with twoo thousande Archers, and a certain nombre of horsemen, to go afore hym, to lye in watche and stale, secretly by the waie, to stop the iorney and passage of the rebelles, whē they should approch. The lorde Willoughby, couertly couered hymself and his company, sendyng worde to the Erle, of the place where he lay, to thentent that he might make a signe and a token, (when tyme should be most luckey and fortunate,) to inuade & set on their enemies. Whiche thyng doen, therle folowed at the backe, the ragged route and mischeuous multitude, as a man, that draue the deare before him into the buckestalle, or the sely coneis into the secrete hay. When the ignoraunt multitude, approched nere to the place of the stale the Erle made a token, and shot a gonne for a signe. Then the Lorde Willoughby, set on them before, and the Erle behynde, shotyng so fiersly, that the dastarde people, partly amased with the sodain chaunce, and partly, galled and wounded with the shot of the arrowes, threwe awaie their harneis: desiryng nothyng but death. Therle of Arundel, (moued with compassiō) caused his souldiors to leaue of & staye, from farther murther or bloud shedyng, & apprehendyng such, as he thought, to be the ledars and chief stirrers of the people, let the other returne home frankly & frely: but yet there were a.M. and more slain, before the souldiors, could be brought again vnder their standerdes.

AFTER this commocion appeaced, and the sodain rage in the beginnyng staied and brideled, diligēt inquirie was made of the malefactors, and suche as wer found gilty, by diuerse terrible executions, (accordyng to their desertes,) miserably ended their traiterous lifes. Duryng which rebellion, Peter Rokefort and his cōpany, gat by treason the toune of Deape, & diuerse other houldes, therunto adioynyng. After the Erle of Arundell, had obtained so many conquestes, and notable victories (as you haue heard) he attempted another, which was the last worke and extreme labor, of his liuyng daies. For the duke of Bedford, beyng informed, that his aduersaries, had sodainly surprised & takē the toune of Rue, and therin had put a garrison, which sore vexed the coūtreis of Ponthiew, Arthoys, and Bolenoys, sent word to therle, that he without delaye, should besiege thesaid toune. Therle obeyed to his cōmaundement, and incontinent, sente for all the people vnder his gouernaunce, & in his marchyng forward, came to Gourney, where he heard tel, how ỹ there was a certain Castle, nere Beauoys, called Gerborye, whiche either by force of rasyng, or violence of weather, was sore decaied and defaced. And because this place was opportune and very necessarie, to prohibite, let and stop thenglishmen, to make sodain runnynges in, or rodes into the countrey of Beauoys: Charles the Frēche kyng commaunded sir Stephen de Veignolles, commonly called the Heire, to se the castle reedefied and fortified. Thesaid sir Stephen with a great company, came to the grounde, and lackyng neither stuffe necessary, nor artificers sufficient in small tyme erected the Castle, and began to defend the fortresse. The erle of Arundell, beyng credible informed of their dooynges, and perceiuyng that this newe edificacion, was very preiudicial to the Englishe part, determined first to take the Castle supposyng litle or no resistence, therin to be shutte vp, but he was deceiued, for there was the Heire, with many good and valeaunte capitaines. The Erle with fiue hundred horsemen, encamped hymself in a litle close, not farre from the Castle: the Frenchemen, which wer thre thousande men, perceiuyng that the Erle and his horses wer wery, and that his archars wer not yet come, determined for their aduauntage to set on him, before the cōmyng of his footmen, whiche they knewe

knewe to be litle more, then a mile behynde the Erle. Wherfore, for a pollicie, they set furthe fiftie horssemen, as though there were no mo in the Castle. The Erle perceiuyng that, sent farth sir Randolfe Standishe, to encountre with them, hauyng in his company a hundred horsses: the Frenchemen fought coragiously a while, and sodainly came out all the remnaunte, and slewe sir Randolfe Standishe, and all his company, and boldly set on the Erle and his bande, whiche manfully defended them, so that the Frenchmen gat litle aduauntage, for al their great nombre. The Heire perceiuyng the hartes, corage and defence of the Englishe people, caused thre Culuerynes to be shot emongest theim, wherof, one strake the Erle on the ancle, and so brake his legge, that for pain he fell from his horse, then the Frenche men entered emongest the Englishe army, and tooke the erle, beyng on the grounde, prisoner, and sir Richard Wooduile, and sixe score more, and there wer slain almoste twoo C. The remnaunt saued them selfes aswel as thei might. The Erle was caried to Beauoys, wher, of this hurte he shortly died, and was buried in the friers Minors. He was a man of a singuler vertue, constancie and grauitie, whose death in so troubelous a worlde, did sore appall the hartes of his nacion. By this infortune, Rue was not besieged, nor Gerborie taken, suche is the chaunce of warre, thus Lady Fortune daily turneth her whiele, and mightie Mars, often varieth his countenaunce, so that one tyme the Englishemen gat by assaut and yieldyng, diuerse strong tounes, Castles, and piles. At another season, the Frenche people, somtyme by bargain, somtyme by assaut, obteined thesaid citees and fortifications again, or other in their stede. Whiche daily attemptes, I omit and ouer passe, because in the, no notable acte, nor greate Warlike feate was doen or committed. For small thynges, require litel writyng, and fewe actes, require lesse speakyng. For I assure you, that he, which should write the negligent losses, and the pollitique gaines, of euery citee, fortresse, and turrett, whiche were gotten and loste in these daies, should fatigate and wery the reader, more with volumes, then queares and the hearer, more with triflyng woordes, then with notable matter. Wherfore sithe in all myne authors, I finde no matter, either greatly necessarie, or muche conuenient to be spoken of concernyng any high enterprise: I therfore, leauyng bothe the nacions, daily studiyng how to greue, and gain of the other, will turne againe to other thynges accidentall whiche chaunced in this xii. yere.

ABOVT the moneth of Iune, Ihon duke of Burbon and Auerne, taken prisoner at the battaill of Agyncourte xviii. yeres paste, (as you haue before heard) now paiyng his raunsome, whiche was. xviii. M. l. sterlyng and hauyng ready prepared all thynges necessary, for his triumphaunt returne into his countrey, was taken with a moste sore and greuous feuer, whiche shortely vnbodied his soule, in the citee of London, on the daie appoynted, for his departure into Fraūce: whose corps was enterred, in the Grey Friers of thesaied citee. So by this, euery creature maie se: that man purposeth & God disposeth. I may not forget a chaunce whiche happened this yere, to the example of princes, and a spectacle of gouernors. For the deuill hymself, to set farther diuision betwene the Englishe and Frenche nacion did apparell certain catchepoules, and Parasites, cōmonly called titiuils and tale tellers, to sowe discord and dissencion, betwene the dukes of Bedford and Burgoyne, not fainyng trifles nor phātasies, but thynges of reproche, repugnaūt to bothe their honors, estates, and dignities, with the whiche, eache of them was as well pricked, as hastely spurred, so that all loue, betwene theim ceased, all affinitie was forgotten, and all olde familiaritie was cast by disdain, into the caue of oblivio. Suche a pestilent breath hath Flattery, and suche mischif ensueth, of Princes light credence. This grudge was perceiued, by their mutuall frendes, whiche by charitable exhortacion and Godly aduertisement, exhorted theim, to renewe their old loue and familiaritie, and to mete and enterueiu, in some place decent and conuenient. The Duke of Bedforde, gladly condiscended, to come to sent Omers, beyng the duke of Burgoyns toune, and thither, accordyng to his appoyntment, he in honorable estate, came and resorted, and likewise did the duke of Burgoyne. The duke of Bedford, beyng Regent of Fraunce, & sonne, brother and vncle to kynges, though that the duke of Burgoyne, should first haue visited and saluted him: duke Phillip on the other part, beyng Lord & souereigne of the

toune, iudged it not mete, nor to stande with his honor, to go to hym, where he was lodged, but was content, by entreatie of frendes, to mete with him in a place indifferent, betwene bothe their harberowes: whiche offer was not accepted, & so, bothe parties departed discontent, & neuer after sawe or commoned with other. What should I speake of the corage of these twoo proude princes, the duke of Bedford myndyng to haue no pere, and the duke of Burgoyne, willyng to haue no superior, by whose proud disdain, and enuious discord, shortly England lost, and Burgoyne gayned not long, as you shall perceiue, in this history ensuyng.

¶ THE. XIII. YERE.

The. xiii. yere.

THe Bastard of Orleaunce, called the erle of Dumoys, the lorde Rocheford Marshal of Fraunce, with other in the beginnyng of this. xiii. yere, tooke the toune of saincte Denise by treason, and skirmished with theim of Paris, and leauyng behynd hym a greate garrison, tooke the toune of Howdone, and the bridge of saincte Maxence by composicion, and at that tyme was taken the toune, of Pount Meulane, by sodain scalyng of twoo fishermen: which entered vp at a common priuie, standyng on the walle. Thus tounes vnwalled, wer preys to rauenous men of war, so that the poore inhabitauntes within theim, (not beyng able to kepe their fidelitie or allegeaunce, when sheilde and defence lacked,) were constrayned and compelled, to yeilde and rendre theimselfes, to the more power, and vpper hande: least they beyng nedy and innocente people, should be vexed and turmented, with the vnreasonable men of warre: So that in all Christendome, no Region was more vnquiete, more vexed, more poore, nor more to be pitied, then the coūtrey of Fraūce. And although the rude and poore people, suffred many plagues and aduersities: yet the souldiors prospered not in all thynges. For although prey & spoyle sometyme refreshed their myndes, and did comfort their stomackes, yet some tyme they wer slain, taken, and licked vp, or thei were ware. For euery prince studied, and circumspectly compassed, how to kepe, defende and releue, the citees and tounes, of their seuerall faccion, and priuate fidelitie. Wherfore, when sacietie of slaughters, and aboundaunce of murthers, had replenished the stomackes, of bothe the nacions, and that bothe in generall, perceiued their hurtes, pondered their losses, and considered their ruynes, and daily afflictions: although their stomackes wer haute, and their hartes stony, yet they waxed soft, priuely inclinyng to peace, and wishyng concord, and not without an vrgente cause: For all thynges necessary to mans liuyng, penurie shewed her self furth, and aboundaūce was hidden in a caue. The corne feldes laie vntilled, the meddowes wer ouer troden, the woodes wer spoyled, so that all men went to harneis, and no man to the plough. The churches were seldome vsed for deuocion, but many tyemes spoyled, for desire of gayne. These, and suche innumerable mischiefes, caused bothe the people, beyng enemies, to desire peace, and yet the one part, disdained opēly to offre it, or the other priuatly to receiue it.

THE crie and noyse of this perilous and insaciable warre, was blasted through Europe, detested through Christendome, and especially, at the Counsaill of Basill, where then themperor Alberte, and all the princes and potestates of Christendome, or their deputies, were assembled, for the mio of the vngracious scisme, in the vsurped sea of Rome vntruly, and against all scripture, called sainct Peters see. Wherfore the Emperor and the temporall princeis, supposyng the exhortacion of Spirituall fathers, should more profite emongest the twoo high stomacked, and proude encoraged nacions, of Englande and of Fraunce, desyred Eugeny then bishop of Rome, to be the author and arbitrer, of that great strife and contencion: so that by his meanes, counsail and exhortacion, the weapon might be taken out of the handes, of twoo so inuincible nacions, which neuer would yeild or bowe, the one to the other, neither yet, once heare of abstinence of fightyng, or refusyng from warre: so much were their hartes hardened, and so princely were their stomackes. And one thyng, muche

put

put them in hope, of some good conclusiō, because the duke of Burgoyn was willyng, (so that it wer not of his awne suite,) to returne and reconcile himself, to Charles, his mortal enemie and auncient aduersary. Wherfore, by authoritie of this generall Counsaill, two discrete persones, called the Cardinalles of sainct Crosse, & Cypres, came to the toune of Arras in Arthoys, whither, were sente for the kyng of Englande, Henry Beaufford Cardinall of Wynchester, Henry, Archebishop of Yorke, Williā de la Pole Erle of Suffolke, and Ihon Hollande Erle of Huntyngdon, with diuerse other knightes and Esquiers: and for the Frenche kyng, were there present, Charles Duke of Burbon, Lewes Erle of Vandosme, Arthur of Brytayne Constable of Fraunce, the Archebishop of Reyns, and sir Phillip Harcort. There, was the duke of Burgoyne, in proper persone, accompanied with the duke of Gelders, and the Erles of Estampes, Lygnye, sainct Paule, Vaudemont, Neuers, & Daniel, sonne to the prince of Orange, with a great gard and a gallaunt company.

VPON the daie of the first session, the Cardinal of sainct Crosse, declared to the thre parties, the innumerable mischiefes, the multitude of incōueniences, whiche had succeded, through al Christendom, by their daily discord and continuall discencion: exhorting and requiring thē for the honor of God, for the loue that they bare to the settyng furthe of Christes religion, and for the aduaūcement, of the publique wealth of all Christendō, that they would laye all rancor apart, represse all wrath and anger, and conform themselfes to reason, and to Godly concorde, by the whiche, they should receiue, honor, profite, and continuall quietnesse, in the worlde, and of God, a reward euerlastyng. After whiche admonicion, thus to them geuen, and after diuerse daies of communicacion, euery part brought in their demaund, whiche wer moste contrary, and hard to come to a good conclusion. The Englishemen required, that kyng Charles should haue nothyng, but at the hande of the kyng of Englande, and that not as duetie, but as a benefite, by hym of his mere liberalitie geuen, and distributed, to whiche the Frenchmen aunswered, that kyng Charles would haue the kyngdom, frakely & frely, without begging it, of another man: requiryng the kyng of England, to leaue the name, Armes, and title of the kyng of Fraunce, and to be content with the dukedomes of Aquitain and Normādy, and to forsake Paris, and all the tounes, whiche they possessed in Fraunce, betwene the Riuers of Loyre and Soame, beyng no parcell of the Duchie of Normandy. The Englishemen, loth to lease so good a boty as Paris, did not esteme and allowe, the demaundes of the French Ambassadors and they on the otherside, couetyng and desiryng, to obtein again the renoume and glory of their Region, whiche was Paris, would in no wise condiscend, to any part of the Englishe requestes. Thus, the pride of the one part, and the ambicion of the other, letted concord, peace, and quietnes. The Cardinals, seyng the frostie hartes, and hardened myndes of bothe parties, determined not, to despute the titles, but offered to them, honest and reasonable condicions, of truce and peace, for a season: whiche articles bothe parties, either for frowardnes, or for disdain openly refused: In so muche as, the Englishmen in greate displeasure, departed to Calice, and so into Englande. One writer affirmeth, that they beyng warned of a secrete conspiracie moued against theim, sodainly remoued from Arras, and so sailed into their countrey.

WHILES this treatie of peace, was thus in cōunicacion at Arras, the lorde Talbot, the Lorde Willoughby, the lorde Scales, with the Lorde Lisle Adame, and fiue thousande men, besieged the toune of S. Denise, with a strong bande. The Erle of Dumoys hearyng therof, accompanied with the Lorde Lohac, and the lorde Bueill, & a great company of horsemen, hasted thitherward, to rayse the siege, and in the meane waie, they encountered with sir Thomas Kiriell, and Matthew Gouthe, ridyng also toward S. Denise, betwene whom, was a great conflict, and many slain on bothe parties: but sodainly came to the aide of the Frenchmen, the garrison of Poūt Melance, which caused the englishemen to returne, without any great arme or damage, sauyng that Matthew Gouth, by fonderyng of his horsse, was taken and caried to Pount Melance. Duryng whiche fight, the toune of sainct Denise, was rendered to the lorde Talbot, and the other lordes, whiche caused all the walles to be raised, and abated doune to the ground, sauyng the walles of

the Abbay, and a toure called Venyn. After this toune gotten, the Lorde Willoughby, left sir Ihon Ruppelley at Pounthoyse, & departed to gouerne Paris, whiche then began to smoke, and sone after, brast out in flame, (as you shall shortly, apparantly perceiue). After whose departure, thenhabitaines of Pounthoyse rebelled, & drove out thenglishmen by very force, and rendered themselfes subiectes to king Charles. This toune was small, but the losse was great, for it was the very conuenient kaye, betwene Paris and Normandy, so that now the gate betwene them *bothe*, was set open and the passage at large.

LET vs now again, returne to the counsail at Arras. After the Englishe Ambassadors wer departed, the Frenchemen and the Burgonyons, began familiarly to common of a peace, and talke of an amitie, to the whiche *mocion*, Phillip duke of Burgoyne, was neither deiffe nor straunge: for he in the beginnyng of his rule, being muche desirous to reuenge and punishe the shamefull murder doen to his father, and to kepe hymself in his high estate, and preeminence, began to be associate, and to reigne with thenglishe power, and to serue the kyng of Englād thinking, that by his amity and ioynyng, that he should neither harme nor hurte, the common wealth of the countrey, whereof at that tyme he bare the whole rule, nor yet lose one iote or poynt, of his authoritie, or gouernaunce. But when it happened, contrary to his expectacion, that the kyng of Englande, by the right course of inheritaunce, tooke vpon hym the whole rule and gouernaunce, within the realme of Fraunce, and ordered by the aduise of his cōsaill, all causes, iudgementes, warres, and cōcordes, & that the duke iudged, that he was not had in great confidence, nor in perfite truste, as he thought, because the Duke of Bedforde, would not suffre the toune of Orleaunce, to be rendered to hym, (as you before haue heard): He therfore imagined, & determined with hymself, to returne into the pathe again, from the whiche he had straied and erred, and to take part, and ioyne with *his awne* bloud and nacion: so that some honest meane, might be sought by other, and not by hymself, least paraduenture by his awne sekyng, he might bind himself in condicions hurtfull, & sore inconueniences, to the Frenche kyng, and also be noted of vntruth, and traiterous behauor, toward the king of Englande and his nacion: to whom he had done homage, leage, and sworn fealtie. Now this Counsaill, was to hym a cloke for the rayne, as who should say, that he sought not amitie, of the Frēche kyng, (whiche thyng in his harte, he moste coueted and desired) but was therunto persuaded, by the generall counsaill, and by the bishop of Rome, whom it was reason, in all honest requestes, that he should submitte hymself, and humbly obey. And so, shadowed with this counsaill, without long argument or prolongyng of tyme, he tooke a determinate peace, and a final conclusion, vpon these condicios: that he should haue to hym deliuered, the counteis of Arthoys, Ponthiew, and Bullonoys, and the tounes of Amience, Corby, Mondidier, Heron, sainct Quintyne, & *Abbeuile*, with many other seigniories, & superiorities, whiche be not for my purpose to reherse. Prouided alwaie, that the *French* kyng, paiyng in redy money, to ỹ duke or *his heires*, *iiij.C.M.* crounes, should haue thesaied tounes and countres, to be redeliuered again: and many *other* thynges, the Frenche kyng graunted, to the duke of Burgoyn, whiche after, he was not able to performe, nor accomplishe, for he had no power, to make deniall to the duke, of any demaund or request, whiche the Duke either phantasied or moued: as who would saie, that he thought in himself, that suche an aduersary, whiche desired so honest, and so reasonable condicions, (considerynge the state of the tyme, and the occasion, of concorde, moste apparauntly offered to hym,) ought neither to be refused nor cast away, the whiche chaunce, was to hym lucky and fortunate: for surely, ỹ thyng forsene and loked for, succeded and toke place, as you shall perceiue. This concorde, was so pleasaunt to the Frenche kyng, that he not only sēt for hym: but as a swane that swimmeth after her make, met hym in proper persone, at the citee of Reynes, and (after long cōmunicatiō) standing vp vpō his fete, said to him these wordes.

The oracion of the French kyng to the duke of Burgoyne.

DVKE *Phillipp cosin*, and pere of Fraunce, with all my harte welcome, and at your comming, my harte is fulfilled with ioy, and my spirites be refreshed with solace, for now, all doubte of the recouery, of my lande and seigniory, is clerely banished, and fully abandoned: consideryng

considerynge that I haue now, ioyned and vnited to me, the principall pere, the moste noble prince, (nexte to the Croune) and the moste valeaunt capitain, that hath been, or is, in our daies, sene, or knowen, whom the nobilitie honor, the chiualrie fauor, and the poore commons loue, and daily desire to beholde: So that all men loue, and embrace you, aboue all creatures, and worship and reuerence you, aboue all Lordes, because you, beyng a straiyng shepe, are now returned, to your olde flocke, and like a man wanderyng out of the pathe, are now brought again, to the right waie, and true limite. For surely, this text was euer beaten muche in my hedde: that euery realme, deuided emongest theimselfe, should turne to desolaciō, and that all discord, should bring powertie, and that of all discension, should succeade misery: whiche intollerable calamities, I euer iudged to ensue, by the discorde and contrauersie, betwene vs twoo. But now the sore is cured, and the ship brought into the sure hauen: trustyng perfectly, and nothyng mistrustyng, but by your healp and aide, we shall expell, cleane pull vp by the rootes, and put out, all the Englishe nacion, out of our realmes, territories and dominions. And if you helpe vs, (as you maie) and if you aide vs, (as you be able) we here promise you, in the worde of a prince, to be yours, yea, so yours, that al ours, shalbe yours, at your commaundement and desire, not as ours, but as yours, to doo and spende at your pleasure. To the whiche, the duke of Burgoyn aunswered, that he would let scape nothyng, that appertaynedd to his duetie, nor forget any poynt, whiche might turne to his dishonor.

WHEN this league was sworne, and this knot was knit, the duke of Burgoyne, to sette a vayle, before the kyng of Englandes iyes, sent Thoison Dor, his kyng at Armes, to kyng Henry with letters: that he, beyng not only waxed faint, and wexied, with continual warre, and daily conflictes, but also chafed daily, with complaintes and lamentacion, of his people, whiche, of the Frenchemen, suffered losse and detriment, embraydyng and rebukyng hym openly, affirming that he onely was the supporter and mainteyner, of the Englishe people, and that by his meanes and power, the mortall warre was continued and sette forward, and that he more diligētly studied, and intentiuely toke pain, bothe to kepe, and maintein thenglishemen in Fraunce, and also to aduaūce and promote their desires, & intentes, rather then to restore kyng Charles his cosyn, to his rightfulinheritaunce, & paternal possession: by reason of whiche thynges, and many other, he was in maner compelled and constrained to take a peace, and conclude an amitie with kyng Charles, exhortyng kyng Henry, with many flatteryng wordes, when honest and reasonable condicions wer offered, to take thē, and to make an ende of the warre, which so long had continued, to the decay of bothe the realmes, and to the effusion, of Christen bloud, be side the great displeasure of almightie God, whiche is the author of peace and vnitie: promising hym his aide, and furtheraunce in that behalfe, with many glosyng and flatteryng wordes, whiche I passe ouer.

HERE is to be noted, that the Duke of Burgoyne, which thought hymself by this concord in maner dishonored, and spotted with infamy sente his letters to the Kyng of Englande, rather to purge and excuse hymselfe, of his vntruth and infidelitie, (yea of periury, if a poore man maie vse that terme, of so greate a prince) to thentent that it should appere, that he, by cōpulsion, and not by voluntarie affeccion, was turned to the French part: not for any malice or displeasure, whiche he bare to kyng Henry, or to the Englishe nacion. This letter was not alitle loked on, nor smally regarded of the kyng of England, and his sage cōsaill: not onely for the waightines of the matter, but also for the sodain chaunge of the man, & for the straūge superscripcion of the letter, which was: To the high and mightie Prince, Henry, by the grace of GOD Kyng of Englande, his Welbeloued cosyn: Neither namyng hym *kyng of Fraunce*, nor his souereigne lorde, accordyng as, (euer before that tyme) he was accustomed to do. Wherfore all they, whiche wer present, beyng sore moued with the craftie deede, & vntrue demeanor of the duke, (whom they so muche trusted) could neither temper their passions, nor moderate their yre, nor yet bridle their toungues: but openly called hym traytor, deceiuer, and moste inconstant prince. But when the rumor of the Dukes returnyng, was published emongest the common people, they lefte woodes and went to stripes: for

they beyng moued and pricked, with this vnhappie tidynges, ran fiersly vpon all the Flemynges, Hollanders, and Burgonyons, which then inhabited within the citee of London, and the suburbes of thesame, and slewe and hurte, agreate noombre of them, before they, by the kynges proclamacion, could be prohibited, to leaue of and abstain, from such violence, and iniurious doyng: for the kyng nothyng more mynded, then to sane innocent bloud, and defende them, whiche had not offended.

AFTER the letter twise redde, and wisely brooked, he willed the officer at Armes, to tell his master, that it was not conuenient, nor honorable for hym, to be enemie to the Englishe nacion, without cause or occasion geuen, but his duetie, (all thynges consydered) was to haue kept his auncient truthe and oulde allegeaūce, rather then to be the occasion, of newe warre and freashe discencion: aduertisyng hym farther, that it was not the poynt of a wise mā, to leaue and let passe, the certain for the vncertain, admonishyng hym also, not to mynngle and mixte his safetie and sureuesse, with the vnstablenesse and vnsuretie of his newe alye, and cosyn, kyng Charles When the messenger was departed, the kyng of England and his counsaill, thought and determined, to worke some displeasure to the duke, and to set some conspiracie, against hym in his awne coūtrey. Wherfore by rewardes, they did suborne and corrupt certain gouernors and rulers, of tounes and cities, within the dukes countreis and dominiōs, (which nacions surely, be euer procliue & ready, to commocion and rebellion.) But the Gantoys, whiche of that feate euer bare the bell, and wer the common rysers, against their souereigne lordes, some of them imagenyng, that the power of the Englishmen, was not long like to continue, within the realme of Fraūce, more for feare, then loue of their Duke, sat still and mooed not, but let other tounes alone, whiche sore troubled the Dukes wittes, and a greate while, did disquiet and vexe his senses.

THIS yere the. xiiij. daie of September, died Iho duke of Bedford, Regent of Fraunce, a man, as pollitique in peace, as hardy in warre, and yet no more hardy in warre, then mercifull, when he had victory, whose bodye was, with greate funerall solempnitie, buried in the Cathedrall churche of our Lady, in Roan, on the Northside of the high aulter, vnder a sumptuous and costly monument: whiche tombe and sepulture, when kyng Lewes the. xj. sonne to this kyng Charles, which recouered again Normandy, did well aduise and behoulde, certayne noblemen in his company, buyyng more youthe then discrecion, and more enuie in their hartes, then consideracions of their parentes, counsailed hym to deface and plucke doune the tombe, and to cast the deede carcasse into the feldes: affirming, that it was a greate dishonor, bothe to the kyng and to the realme, to se the enemie of his father, and theirs, to haue so solempne & riche memorial. Kyng Lewes aunswered again, saiyng: what honor shall it be to vs, or to you, to breake this monumēt, and to pull out of the ground and take vp, the deed bones of hym, whō in his life, neither my father, nor your progenitors, with all their power, puyssaūce, and frēdes, wer once able, to make flie one foote backward, but by his strength, witte, and pollicie, kepte theim all out of the principall dominions, of the realme of Fraunce, and out of this noble and famous duchie of Normandy: wherfore I saie, first, God haue his soule, & let his body now lye in reste, whiche, when he was a liue, would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all: and as for the tombe, I assure you, is not so decent, nor conuenient for hym, as his honor and Actes deserued, although it wer muche richer, and more beautifull.

¶ THE. XIIJ. YERE.

The. xiiij. yere. AFter the death of this noble prince, and valeaunt capitain, the bright sunne, that commonly shone in Fraūce faire and beautifully vpon the Englishmen, began to be cloudie, and daily to waxe darker: for the Frēchmen seyng the chief capitain taken awaie, began not only to refuse their obedience, and loyaltie, which thei had sworne, and promised to the kyng of Englande, but takyng swearde in hande, rebelled, persecuted, and openly defied the Englishmen,

Englishmen, yet all these mischaunces, not one poynt abated, the valeaūt corages of the Englishe people: for they nothyng mistrustyng God, nor good Fortune, set vp a newe saile, and began the warre new again, and appoynted for regent in Fraunce, Richard duke of Yorke, sonne to Richard erle of Cambridge. Although the duke of Yorke, bothe for birthe and corage, was worthy of this honor and preferment, yet he was so disdained of Edmond duke of Somerset, beyng cosin to the kyng, that he was promoted to so high an office, (whiche he in verie deede, gaped and loked for) that by all waies and meanes possible, he bothe hindered and detracted hym, glad of his losse, and sory of his well dooyng, causyng hym to linger in Englande, without dispatche, till Paris and the floure of Fraunce, were gotten by the Frenche kyng. The duke of Yorke, perceiuyng his euill will, openly dissimuled that, which he inwardly thought priuely, eche workyng thynges, to the others displeasure. This cancard malice, and pestiferous diuision, so long continued, in the hartes of these twoo princes, till mortall warre consumed theim bothe, and almoste all their lynes and ofsprynges, as within few yeres you shall perceiue and se.

THE Normans of the countrey of Caux, beyng somwhat hartened, by the death of the duke of Bedforde, began a newe rebellion, and slewe diuerse Englishmen, and robbed many praty tounes, whiche wer of kyng Heries faccion & part, & toke the toune of Harflew by assaute, and diuerse other tounes. The lorde Talbot beyng aduertised, of thys rebellion, sent for the Lorde Scales, sir Thomas Kiriell, and the lorde Hoo, whiche afflicted and plagued the people of Caux, that they slew aboue fiue thousand persones, and brent all the tounes, and villages in the countrey, not beyng walled, so that in that parte, was neither habitacion nor tiliage, for all the people fled into Britayne, and all the beastes of the countrey, wer brought to Cawdebec, wher a good shepe was sould for an Englishe peny, and a kowe for xii. peace. Daily was skirmishyng & fightyng in euery part, in so muche that the Lorde Scales with foure hundred Englishemen, discomfited at the Rye beside Roan, the Heire and fiftene hundred valeaunt Frenchemen, and sir Richaide Reignold de Fountaynes, sir Aleyne Gerond, Alayne de Monsay, and Geffrey Grame capitain of the Scottes, and thre hundred, and mo wer taken prisoners, beside seuen faire and pleasaūt coursers. But this victorie staied not the hartes of the Frenche nacion, for their myndes were so full of treason, and their malice so greate against the Englishemen, that many tounes turned, to the parte of kyng Charles, without conquest or desire, and diuerse were sould for couctousnes, and many were deliuered by treason, as Depe, Boys de Vyncennes, and other.

HERE is one especiall poynte to be noted, that either the disdayne emongest the chief peres of the realme of Englande, (as you haue hearde,) or the negligence of the kynges counsaill, (whiche did not with quicke sight, forese and preuent thynges for to come) was the losse of the whole dominion of Fraunce, betwene the riuers of Soūme and Marne, and in especiall of the noble citee of Paris. For where before tymes there were sent ouer, for the aide and tuicion of the tounes, and citees, brought vnder the obeysaunce, of the English nacion, thousandes of men, apte and mete for the warre, and defence: now were sent into Fraunce, hundredes, yea scores, some rascall, and some not able to drawe a bowe, or cary a bill. For the lorde Willoughby, and the bishop of Tyrayne, whiche had the gouernaunce, of the greate and large citie of Paris, had in their company, not two thousande Englishmen. Whiche weakenes kyng Charles well perceiued. Wherefore he appoynted Arthur of Britayne, the Erle of Dumoys Bastarde of Orleaunce, the Lordes de la Roche, and Lisle Adame, and other valeaunt capitaines, aswell Burgonyons as Frenche, to go before Paris, trusting by the fauor of certain citezens, with whom he had greate intelligence, and knewe theinglishemennes power and doynges, shortly to be lorde of the citee and toune, without any greate losse or battaill. So these capitaynes came before the citee of Paris, but perceiuyng, that all thynges succeded not, accordyng to their expectaciō, returned to Mount Marter, and the next daie, sodainly set on the toune of sainct Denise, where, the Englishemen manfully defended theim selfes, but beyng oppressed with so greate a multitude, they wer compelled to flie into the Abbaye, and into the Toure of Venyn, for succor

and refuge: in whiche conflicte two hundred Englishemen wer slain, and the rest, vpon a reasonable composicion, rendered the toune, and departed to Paris.

THOMAS Lorde Beaumond, whiche of late was come to Paris with eight hundred men, issued out of Paris, with sixe hundred souldiors, onely intendyng to se, and vieue the doynges and nombre of the Frenche armye, but he was sodainly espied, and compassed aboute: so, that within a small space, he was discomfited and taken, and with hym foure score prisoners, beside two hundred which wer slain on the feld, and the remnaunt chased to the very gates of the citee. The Parisians and in especiall the Master of the Halles, and some of the Vniuersitie, and Michael Laillier, and many notable burgesses of the toune, (whiche, euer with an Englishe countenaunce, couered a Frenche harte) perceiuyng the weakenes of the Englishemen, and the force and strengthe of the Frenchemen, signifiyng to the Frenche capitaines, their mindes and intentes, willed them to come with all diligence, to receiue so riche a prey to them, without any difficultie, offred and geuen. The Constable delaiyng no tyme, came with his power, and lodged by the Charter-hous: and the lorde Lisle Adame, approchyng the walles, shewed to the citezens, a charter, sealed with the greate seale of kyng Charles, by the whiche he had pardoned them their offences, and graunted to them all the old liberties and auncient priuileges, so they would hereafter be to hym, obedient, true, and seruiceable. Whiche thyng to theim declared, they ranne about the toune, cryng: sainct Denise, liue kyng Charles. The Englishemen perceiuyng this, determined to kepe the gate of S. Denise, but they were deceiued, for the cheynes were drawen in euery streate, and women and children cast doune stones, and scaldyng water on the Englishemennes heddes, and the citezens persecuted them, from streate to streate, and from lane to lane, and slewe and hurt, diuerse and many of theim. The bishop of Tyrwyne, Chauncellor there for kyng Henry, and the lord Willoughby, and sir Simon Morurier, toke great pain, to appeace the people, and represse their furie: but when they saw, that all auailed not, they withdrue theimselfes, to the Bastell of sainct Anthony, whiche fortresse, they had well vitailed and furnished, with men and municions.

WHILES this rumor was in the toune, therle of Dumoys & other scaled the walles, and some passed the Riuer by boates, and opened the gate of sainct Iames, at the whiche the Constable with his banner displaied entered, at whose entrie, the Parisians wer very glad, and made greate ioye. The bishop and the Lorde Willoughby, with their small copany, defended their fortresse, tenne dales, lokyng for aide, but when they sawe that no comforte appered, they yelded their fortresse, so that they & theirs, with certain baggage, might peaceably returne to Roan, whiche desire was to them graunted. Then as they departed, the Parisians rayled, mocked, and taunted the Englishmen, with the moste spitefull wordes, and shameful termes, that could be inuented or deuised: so that all men maie apparauntly perceiue, that their hartes neuer thought, as their toungues vttered. For notwithstandyng their obeysaunce and fidelitie, sworne to Kyng Henry, and nothyng regardyng the finall composicion, to the which they had sette their common seale, when they sawe thenglishmen at the weakest, they turned the leafe and sang another song: declaryng to all men their inconstaunt hartes, their waueryng mindes, and vntrue demeanor. Thus was the cite of Paris brought again into the possession of the French kyng, which, ther altered officers, and ordained lawes, at his pleasure, for the surety & safegarde of hym, his realme, and people.

AFTER this glorious gain, the Frenche kyng besieged the toune of Crayle, vpon Oyse, wherof sir William Chaberlayn, was capitain, whiche, with fiue hundred Englishmen, issued out of the toune, and after long fight, discomfited his enemies, and slewe twoo hundred, and toke a greate nombre prisoners: the remnaunt not likyng their market, departed to Champeigne, and other tounes adioynyng. Duryng whiche season, xii. Burgesses of the toune of Gysors, solde it for money to Poyton of Xantrayles, but he had not the Castle deliuered. Wherfore with all his power, he besieged thesame, wherof the Lorde Talbot beyng aduertised, sent for the lorde Scales, and they bothe with xviii. hundred

died men; rescued the Castle, toke the toune, and discomfited their enemies, and slewe of theim aboue foure hundred persones. Now was the the old prouerbes verefied, that he that commeth a daie after the faire, commeth to late, and when the stede is stollen, it is no bote to shutte the stable dore. For when Paris, sainct Denise, sainct Germayns in Lay, and many other tounes in Fraunce, were taken and betrayed, for lacke of succors and sufficient garrisons, then the duke of Yorke appoynted at the parliament before, to be Regent of Fraunce, and by the disdaine and enuie of the duke of Somerset, and other, not till now dispatched, was sent into Normandy, with eight thousande men, and in his company, the Erles of Salisbury, and Suffolke, and the Lorde Fawconbridge, and diuerse valeaunt capitaines. When he was landed at Harflewe, the Erle of Salisbury, besieged the Castle of Chamboys, whiche shortly was to hym rendered. Then the Duke remoued to Roan, where he set good orders, and did greate Iustice in the countrey, wherfore the Normans in their Chronicle, highly extoll and muche magnifie hym, for that poynte: howbeit, they saie, that he gat by long siege, the toune and Abbay of Fecape, and did none other notable act, duryng the tyme of his rule and gouernaunce.

PHILLIP Duke of Burgoyne whiche, (as you haue heard) brake bothe his othe and promise with the kyng of England, imagened with hymself, that the Englishmen were like shortely, to be expulsed out of al the tounes on that side the sea, and that they had no certain refuge nor place to resorte to, out of ieoperdy, but onely the toune of Calice. Wherfore he assembled his counsaill, and the beddes of the cities and tounes of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and Zelande, in the toune of Gaunt, wher was declared to them, the right, title, and interest, that he had to the toune of Calice, and the countie of Guysnes, as a very patrimony, belongyng to his inheritaunce: shewyng farther, that thesaid toune was the golfe, and swallower vp, of all the golde & siluer of his countries and dominions, foa asmuche as ther, was the staple of wooles, tynne, leade, and other marchaundise, for the whiche, the Englishemen would take no common currant money, but only gold and siluer, to the greate impouerishment of his seigniories, and Regions: saiyng farther, that Calise onely was the common stop, betwene his countreis and Britayne, and Spayne, so that Southward, nor Westwarde, his subiectes could not passe, without the daungier of that toune. Wherefore these detrimentes considered, he determined, (if they would assent) shortly to recouer and conquer, that toune and the countie of Guisnes. To this purpose all the counsaill, and cõmon people, not onely agreed, but also promised aide, bothe of men and money. Lorde how the Flemines bragged, and the Hollanders craked, that Calice should be wonne and all the Englishemen slain, swearyng, and staryng, that they would haue it within thre daies at the moste: thynkyng verely, that the toune of Calice, could no more resist their puyssaunce, then a potte of double beere, when they fall to quaffyng.

TO tel you what ordenaũce was new cast, what pouder was bought what engynes were deuised, what harneis was prouided, what vitale was puruey ed for this greate enterprise: I will not comber you in rehersyng euery thyng perticulerly because the Flemynges write, that the prouision was more then toung could speake, or harte could thinke yet you maie beleue as you list. These doynges were not so priuie, but sir Ihon Radcliffe deputie of the toune of Calice, was therof enformed and shortly of thesame, aduertised kyng Henry, and his counsaill, whiche incontinent sent thither, the Erle of Mortayne sonne to the Duke of Somersette, and the Lorde Cammeys with. xv. C. men, and greate foyson of vitaile, whiche issued out of Calice, and came before Graueiyne, where thei wer encountred, with a greate nombre of Flemynges, whiche were shortly discomfited, and foure hundred of theim slain, and sixe score taken prisoners, and caried to Calice. And within twoo daies after, the Englishmen draue by fine force, the lordes of Waurayn and Bado, to the barriers of Arde, & discomfited the company to the nõber of. xv. C. and slewe. vij. valeaunt capitaines, and toke many gentlemen prisoners. Phillip duke of Burgoyne, abidyng still in his high & warlike enterprise, assẽbled together of Flemynges, Pycardes, Holländers, and Henowiers a great army, to the nombre of. xl. M. so well armed, so wel vitailed, so wel furnished with ordenaunce,

& so

& so well garnished in al thynges, that thei thought in their hartes, and blasted emongest theim selfes, that the Calicians, would leaue the toune desolate, & flie for their sauegard, hearyng onely the approchyng of the Gauntoys. But thei reckened before their host, and so paied more then their shotte came to. When this gallant army, was passed the water at Graueiyn, the duke intending to begin his greate conquest, besieged and assauted the litle and poore Castle of Oye, whiche hauyng in it but. L. souldiors, of the whiche. xii. sold their liues derely, the remnaunt compelled by necessity yeilded themselfes symplie to the duke, whiche to please the Gauntoys, beyng of the moste puissaunt cõpany in his army, liberallygaue to thẽ bothe the Castle and the prisoners, as a signe and token of good lucke, and fortunate victory. Whiche rude & beastly persons, nothyng expert in warre, or lawes of Armes, not only rased and abated the Castle, but also hanged. xxix. of the captiues, & had so doen with all the remnaunt if the duke, (disdainyng their cruelitie) had not intreated for the rest.

AFTER this victory, litle honorable and lesse profitable, the Pycardes besieged the Castle of Marke, and three tymes assauted it, more to their losse, then gayne. The Englishemen within, whereof sir Ilion Geddyng was capitain, set out the banner of sainct George, and rang the belles, to the intent to haue succors from the toune of Calice. But the capitaines there, mynding not to lese the more for the lesse, nor the substaunce for the accident, wished them good lucke, and good fortune without any aide sedyng. For doubt of the dukes great army & power, The souldiors within Marke, beyng but twoo hundred and sixe, seyng no hope of succor, and desperate of Comfort, rendered theimselfes to the duke vpon condicion: that their lifes and lymmes should be saued, and so thei wer conueyed in suer custody, to the toune of Gaunt, and the castle of Marke was rased and defaced.

AFTER this act dooen, the duke of Burgoyne, accompanied with the Duke of Cleues, the Erle of Estampes, the Lordes of Dantoyng, Croy, Cresquy, Humyers, and many other valeaunt Barons, & knightes, with his greate army, came before the toune of Calice, and placed his siege about thesame, moste to his aduauntage, and to the moste displeasure of his enemies. He gaue three great assautes to the toune, but his people wer not so fierce to assaut, but theenglishemen wer as quicke to defend: so that he gainyng so litle at these. iii. enterprises, was contẽt to abstain frõ farther approching toward the walles. At the first assaut the Heire, whiche was come to se the duke of Burgoyn, was sore wounded and hurte. Beside this, the duke had daily one great iye sore, which was by cause that at euery tyde, shippes arriued in the hauen, out of England, openly before his face, laden with victail, municiõs, and men and also the Calicians would for the nonce, putte out cattaill into the marish, vnder the toune walles, to thentent to prouoke the Flemmyngs to come within their catchyng, and daungier, whiche beyng couetous of prey and gayne, often aduentured, and seldome returned again: for many by this meanes wer taken prisoners, but many mo slain with ordenaunce. The duke one day rode about, to vieue and behold the situacion, and the walles of the toune, to thentent to take his moste aduaũtage, either by assaute or shot of ordenaunce. He was quickely espied and with the stroke of a Canon, a tropeter whiche rode next before him and thre horsses in his company, wer slain out of hande. When he sawe that all thynges succeded not to his purpose, he firste set the Lorde of Croy, and a conuenient nombre, to besiege the castle of Guysnes, where thesaied capitain gat litle profite, and did lesse harme: And after deuised how to stoppe the hauen, so that no succors should entre there, and also to prohibite thẽ within the toune, to make any egresse or rode outward, and so by this meanes, to famishe and compell them to yield, and rendre the toune. This deuise was set forward, and nothyng slepte: for iiij. great hulkes wer laden, with great square stones, semented & ioyned together with lead, to thentent that they should lye still, like a mout and not to seuer a sunder. These shippes with the rẽnaunt of the dukes nauie, wer cõueyed into the mouth of Calice hauen, and in a full sea by craft and pollicie, were sounke doune to the ground, but whether God would not that the hauen should be destroyed, either the conueyers of the hulkes, knewe not the very channel, these foure great shippes at the lowe water, laie openly vpon the sandes,

without any hurte doyng to the rode or chānel, which whē the souldiors had perceiued, they issued out of the toune, and brake the shippes, and caried bothe the stones and the tymbre into the toune, which serued them well, to their fortificacions. The seconde deuise was also accomplished, whiche was a strong bastell, set on a litle mountayne, furnished with iiij. C. men and muche artilarie, whiche fortresse did let thenglishemen to issue out, when they would, to their greate displeasure and disturbaunce.

WHILES these thynges wer in doyng, there ariued into the dukes army, an herault of England called Pembroke, belongyng to the duke of Gloucester, whiche declared to the duke of Burgoyne, that the Protector of England his master, (if God would send him winde and wether) would geue battail to hym and his whole puyssaūce, either there, or in any other place, within his awne countrey, where he would appoynt: but the daie he could not assigne, because of the inconstancie of the wind, and mutabilitie of the aire. The duke (like a noble man) aunswered the herault: sir saie to your master, that his request is both honorable and reasonable, howbeit, he shall not nede to take pain, to seke me in myne awne countrey, for (GOD willyng) he shall fynde me here, till I haue my will of the toune, ready to abide hym, and all the power that he can make. After this aunswere made, the Heraulte was highly feasted, and had a cup and a hundred golden gyldens, to hym deliuered for a rewarde, and so returned to Calice. After whose departure, the duke called a greate counsaill, in the chief pauilion of the Gauntoys, and there declared bothe the heraultes message and his aunswere, desiryng them to regard his honor, the estimacion of their countreis, and the honesties of themselfes, and like men to receiue their enemies, and valeauntly to defende their aduersaries, promisyng to theim victory, gain and perpetual glory. Lorde how the Flemynges threatened, how the Pycardes craked, and how the Hollanders sware that thenglishmē should be killed and slain, promisyng to the duke rather to dye then to flie, or to be recreaunt. Whiles this great matter was in consultacion, the Calicians, not well contented with the basteil, whiche the Duke had newly builded, issued out of the toune, in a great nombre, part on foote, and part on horsebacke. The footemen ran to assaut the bastile, and the horssemen, went betwene the army and the assailaūtes, to stop the ayde and succors whiche might come. The alarmy was sounded, insomuch that the Duke in proper persone, was commyng on foote to releue his people, but by the meanes of the horsmen, he was staied and kept backe a space, in the whiche delaye of tyme, the Englishmen by fine force gat the place, and slewe. Clx. persones, the remnaunt were taken prisoners, and defaced the fortresse, and set it on fire: caryng with them, al the ordinaūce and artilerie, into the toune of Calice, to the great displeasure, of the Duke and his counsaill. The nexte daie after, there sprang a rumor in the army (no man could tell how) that the Duke of Gloucester with a greate puyssaunce, was all ready embarked and shipped, and would arriue at the nexte tyde, and come doune before Calice and raise the siege. What was the very cause, I cannot truly write: but surely, the same night the Duke fled awaie, and sent in all hast to the Lorde of Croye, to reise his siege before Guysnes, whiche tidynges were to hym very ioyous, for he neither got nor saued: so these twoo capitaines departed, leauyng behynde, bothe ordinaunce, vitaill, and greate riches. The Frenche writers, to saue the honor of the Duke of Burgoyne, saie, that there was a certain discord and commocion, emongest the Flemynges and duche nacion: affirmyng, that the great lordes and the Pycardes, (whom the Frenchemen greatly extoll) would betraye and sell the Flemynges, and their frendes, & that, for thesame cause, in a greate fury they cried, home, home, & would not tary, for no request the Duke could make, nor no exhortaciō that could be giuen: and so by their misgouernaunce, the Duke was enforced to raise his siege, and to departe. The Flemishe authors affirme the contrary, saiyng: that they wer ready to abide the cōmyng of the duke of Gloucester, but the duke of Burgoyn fearyng to be trapped, betwene the duke of Gloucesters army before, and the garrison of Calice behynde, so that he could escape by no waie, fled away in the night, geuyng to theim no warnyng before. So that for lacke of tyme, and cōuenient space, to lade and cary their stuffe, and beyng commaunded to retire with all spede and diligence, thei were compelled to lose and leaue behynde theim.

theim, their vitaill, and tentes, to their great losse and detriment. Now it is at your libertics, (gentle reders) whether you will geue credite to the Frenchmen, (whiche wer absent, and no doers inthe acte) or to the Flemynges, (which were partakers of the losse and dishonor.) But the infallible veritie is, that he fled the. xxvj. daie of July in the night, and the next daie in the mornyng, the duke of Gloucester, landed in Calice hauen, and straight went into the Campe, where his enemies, the night before were lodged, and there he founde many goodly peaces of ordenaūce, and inespecially one, called Dygeon, named after the chief toune of Burgony, beside pauiliōs, wine, beere, meale, and innumerable vitaill.

THE Duke of Gloucester, seyng his enemies reculed, hauyng in his company. xxv. M. men, entered into Flaunders, burnyng houses killyng suche as would resist, destroiyng the countrey on euery parte, settyng fire in the tounes of Poperniche and Bailens, and wasted the suburbes of many faire citees, and in al this waie, thei lost no man, nor sawe any creature appere, to defend the countrey. After, they passed by Newe Castle and destroyed Rymesture, and Vallō Chappell, and then entered into Arthoys, to Arques, & Blandesques, settyng fire in euery part where thei came. Thus they passed by sainct Omers to Guysnes, and so to Calice at sixe weeks ende, where they were well refreasshed: for in all this iorney, they had litle plentie of good bread, whiche caused muche faintnesse, and diuerse diseases in the army. When the Duke of Gloucester, had sufficiently plagued and wasted the countreys of the Duke of Burgoyn, & brought great preyes of beastes and spoyle, to the toune of Calice, he settyng there all thynges in good ordre, returned in to England, where he was aduertised, how Iames kyng of Scottes, contrary to his othe, league and promise, had besieged the Castle of Rokesborough, with thirtie thousande men, whereof sir Raufe Graye was capitain, whiche manfully defended it. xx. daies, but the Scottish kyng beyng aduertised that the Erle of Northumberlande, was commyng to fight with hym, fledde with no lesse losse, then dishonor, to his toune of Edenbrough.

¶ THE. XV. YERE.

The. xv. yere.

AFter this daūgerous businesse finished, and for a time ended, by meane of frendes, and desire of Princes, a truce or abstinence of warre for a certaine tyme, was moued betwene the Kyng of Englande, and the duke of Burgoyne, for whiche cause wer sent to Graueleyne for the kyng of Englande, the Cardinall of Wynchester Henry Beaufford, Thon Lorde Mounbrey Duke of Norfolke, Humfrey Erle of Stafford, and diuerse other well learned and honorable personages: and for the duke there appered the duches his wife, the bishop of Arras, the lorde of Croy, and diuerse other. At whiche treatie, a truce was taken for a small tyme, and for a lesse space obserued. Whiche abstinence of war, was concluded betwene the kyng of Englande, and the duchesse of Burgoyne, (enterlessyng the duke and his name.) Some thinke that the kyng of England, would neuer enter in league with hym, because he had broken his promise, writyng, and fidelitie, written, sealed, and sworn to hym, and to his father. Other imagened, this to be doen by a cautell, to cast a myst before the Frenche kynges iyes, to the intent he should beleue, that this feate was wrought by the duchesse, without assent or knowledge of the duke or his counsaill, and so he was not bounde to accomplishe, any acte or thyng doen in his wifes treatie. Thus you may se, that princes sometyme, with suche vain gloses, and scornefull exposicions, will hide their doynges and cloke their purposes, to thentent that thei would not, either be espied, or plucke their hedde out of the coller, at their pleasure. But, (as the common prouerbe saieth) he, whiche is a promise breaker, escapeth not alway free: for it is well sene, that daily it chanceth, bothe to princes and meane persones, that for breakyng of faithe, and not kepyng of promise, many displeasures arise, and innumerable inconueniences ensue.

ABOVT this season, Katheryne quene and mother to the kyng of England, departed out of this transitory life, & was buried by her husband, in the minster of Westmynster. This woman, after the death of kyng Henry the fifth her husband, beyng young and lusty, folowyng

folowyng more her awne appetite, then frendely counsaill, and regardyng more her priuate affeccion, then her open honour, toke to husband priuily, a goodly gentilman, & a beautyful person, garnished with many Godly gyftes, both of nature & of grace, called Owen Tenther, a mā brought furth and come of the noble lignage, and aūcient lyne of Cadwaleder, the laste kyng of the Brytons, by whome she conceyued and broughte forthe. iii. goodly sonnes, Edmond, Iasper, and another, whiche was a monke in Westmynster, and liued a small tyme, and a doughter, which in her youth departed out of this transitorie life: After whose deathe kynge Henry, because they were his bretherne of one wombe descēded, created Edmonde, erle of Rychemonde, and Iasper, erle of Pembroke, whiche Edmond engendered of Margaret, doughter and sole heyre to Ihon, duke of Somerset, Hēry, which after was king of this realme, called king Henry the seuenth, of whom you shal heare more hereafter. Thys Owen, after the death of the Quene his wife, was apprehended and cōmitted to ward, because that contrary to the statute made in the. vi. yere of this kyng, he presumptuously had maried the Quene, without the kynges especiall assent, and agrement, out of which pryson he escaped, and let out other with him, and was agayne apprehendyd, & after escaped agayne.

THE duchesse of Bedford sister to Lewes, erle of sainct Paule, myndyng also to marye, rather for pleasure then for honour, without cōsayl of her frendes, maryed a lusty knyght, called sir Richarde Woduile, to the great displeasure of her vncle the bisshop of Tyrwyne, and the erle her brother: but they now coulde not remedie it, for the chaūce was cast and passed. This sir Richard was made Barō of Riuers, and after erle, and had by this Lady, many noble sōnes, and faire daughters; whereof one was Lady Elizabeth, after Quene of Englande, maried to Kyng Edward the fourth, (as here after you shal perceiue.)

WHILES this mariage was celebratyng, Iane late Quene of Englande, and before Duchesse of Britayne, doughter to the kyng of Nauer, & wife to kyng Henry the. iiij. died at the manner of Haueryng, and was buried by her husband at Canterbury, in which time diseased the countesse of Warwicke, and Henry Archebishop of Yorke.

I thought here to omit and ouerpasse, the regainyng and conquest of the strong toune of Harflew, once Englishe and after, (by craft) turned to the Frenche part, except the Frenche writers more then the English authors, had made mencion, and remembraunce, of the reduccion of the same. For they saie and affirme, that the Duke of Somerset, accompanied with the Lordes of Fauconbridge, Talbot, sir Francois Surrien Arragonoys, Mathew Gough, Thomas Paulet, Thomas Haringtō, Walter Limbrike, Ihon Geddyng, William Watton, Esquieres, and Thomas Hylton Balife of Roan, with a great puissaunce of the Englishe partie, compassed about and besieged the toune of Harflew, bothe by water, and by land. The capitaine within the toune, was called sir Ihon Destonteuile, and sir Robert his brother, with other to the nombre of sixe hundred good fightyng men. The assailauntes lost no tyme but made trenches, and cast diches, bothe to assaute the toune, and also to let the Frenche succors, that they should neither approche, nor ayde, the citezens shut in & besieged. Diuerse assautes wer geuen, which wer manfully resisted: but more to the losse of the defenders, then the assauters. Beside this, thenglishemen laied greate ordinaunce, before the gate of the toune, whiche continually vexed the inhabitaūtes, and ouer threwe buyldynges, and destroyed mancions: so that neither house, nor high way was sure, or refuge to the tounes men. This siege endured long, to the greate discomfiture of the people: whereof they aduertised the Frenche kyng and his counsaill, whiche sent thither the erle of ewe, therle of Dumoys, called the Bastard of Orleaunce, the valeaunt Bastard of Burbon, the lorde Gaucort, sir Giles of sent Symon, and the chief capitaines of all his realme, with foure thousand men, bothe pollitique and proued. This valeaunt armie passed the Riuer of Soame betwene Amyas and Corby, not mistrusting to gette that, whiche they lost and left behynd theim, and so thei came before the toune, and diuided theselfes in seuerall partes, to their moste aduauntage: daily skirmishyng with thenglishmen, but nothyng preuailyng, & so for feare of losyng honor, and desperacion of gain, the florishyng Frenchemen, returned again with-

muche labor, and litle profit. The capitaines of the toune seyng theire pillers broken, and their chief ayders discomfited, rendered the toune to the duke of Somerset, whiche made there capitaines, Thomas Paulet, William Lymbrike, Christopher Barker, and George sent George, whiche many yeres, (till the deuision beganne in England) manfully & valeauntly defended the toune, and hauen: but afterward, when the saied duke was Regent, and gouernor of Normãdy, he not onely loste the toune, but also the citee of Roan, the Empeire and chief iuell of the saied Duchie, with many other citees and fortresses, whiche he, more by entreatyng, then threatenyng, might still haue holden vnder his subiecciõ. But all men haue not wit alike, nor all rulers be not of one condicion and pollicie. For this duke Edmond, gatte this toune with great glory, when he was but a deputie, vnder the Regent, and after, beyng gouernor himself, lost the same, and all the whole duchie, to his greate slaunder and infamy, (as hereafter you shall perceiue). But, who can preuent fortunes chaunce, or haue spectacles to se all thynges to come, or chaunces that be present: seyng God disposeth that man purposeth, and that all worldely deuises, and mannes cogitacions, be vncertain and euer vnperfite.

ALTHOVGH I haue long talked of Fraunce, yet I may not forget the double dealing, & craftie demeanor, of Iames Kyng of Scottes: whiche beyng, (as you haue heard) late prisoner in Englande, not onely was garnished with learnyng and Ciuilitie, (whiche thynges, wer rare and straunge before that time, within the realme of Scotlãd) but also set at libertie, and honorably sent home. And to the intent that his amitie might be perpetuall, and that loue might continually succeade betwene bothe the realmes, by his meane and accord: firste, his greate raunsome was abridged, and diminished, and after, he was ioyned in mariage, with one of the bloud royal, to thentent that he, and his heires, should be vnited and knit, to the progeny of England, with an indossoluble knot, like the twisted tree, whiche cannot seuer, and like the hard flinte, whiche will not waxe soft: yet this vngentle prince, and forgetfull frend, puttyng in oblivion, bothe the dutie of his obeysaũce toward his soureigne and liege lorde, and the oth and promise, that he made to kyng Henry, when he did to hym homage, and liege at the Castle of Wyndesore, (as before you haue heard) turned his backe to his frend and kynsman, and loked to ỹ French part, which neuer did hym honor nor profite, not onely sendyng into Fraunce daily, aide & succors against the Englishe nacion, but also by newe alliaunce, sought and practised waies and meanes, how to ioyne hymself with forein princes, to greue and hurte his neighbors and adioynaunces, of the realme of England. And although his awne power wer small, to do to them any great damage, yet he thought that he, being linked in suche noble houses, should the lesse feare the malice of his enemies: vpon whiche feble foundacion, he concluded. ii. mariages the one with Lewes the dolphin sonne to Charles the French kyng, and the other with Fraunces duke of Britayn. Whiche mariages, were not desired for loue or riches, but onely for ayde, to resist and driue out the Englishmen out of Fraunce. For the Lady Margeret maried to the dolphyn, was of suche nasty cõplexion and euill sauory breathe, that he abhorred her company, as a cleane creature, doth a carion: whereupon she conceiued suche an inward grief, that within fewe daies after, she ended her daies. Although this lady had suche impedimentes, (as you haue heard) yet her sister Isabell, maried to Fraunces duke of Britayne, lacked, neither exceeding beautie, nor pleasaunt breath: but as for wit, womanhod, and Ciuile behauor, she neuer had, nor exercised. Wherfore, when the duke before his mariage, was by his counsaill admonished, to refuse and forsake so innocent a creature, he, more moued with her faire face, then her womanly wisedome, aunswered: that it was ynough for a woman, to iudge the difference betwene the shurte and the dublet of her husbande, and to knowe hym in the darke, from another man.

FOR these mariages, kyng Iames demaunded of his commons, a greate subsidye or tallage, whiche was sore grudged at, and in maner denied: so that he maried theim, with faire promises, and ayde and succor against thenglishemen. rather then with bagges of money, or chestes of plate. This forein alliaunce litle profited, or auayled the realme of Scotland,

Scotland, nor this new amitie, defended not kyng Iames: for Walter Steward erle of Athole, (whiche pretended a title to the Croune, by reason that he was begotten of kyng Robert the seconde, by his firste wife, and by whose occasion, Robert duke of Albany, murdered Dauid duke of Rothesay, elder brother to this kyng Iames, as in the story of kyng Henry the fourth, you haue heard declared) after the coronaciō of kyng Iames the first in Scotlande, earnestly sollicited hym to putt to death, duke Murdo, and all the offspryng of Robert first duke of Albany, trusting, that after he had destroyed that line, (which was a stop in his waie) to inuent some meane how to destroy the kyng and his children, and so to obtain the croune and preeminence of the realme. Wherfore, he perswaded Robert Steward his nephiew, and Robert Grame his cosyn, and diuerse other, to murther and slay the kyng their souereigne Lorde, whiche therto by deuilishe instigacion incensed and procured, came to the toune of Pertho, (commonly called S. Ihōs toune) and there entred into the kynges priuy chambre, and slewe first diuerse of his seruauntes, whiche made resistance, & after killed the kyng with many mortall strokes, and hurte the Quene, whiche, in defence of her husband, felled one of the traytors. When this vngracious deede was blowen about the toune, the people rose in greate plumpes, and found out the princecqueilers, and theim brought to straight prisone, whiche afterward, (accordyng to their desertes) were with most terrible tormentes, put to death and executed.

AFTER Iames the first, succeded Iames the seconde, his eldest sonne, whiche fearing sedicion and ciuile discord, vexed more his awne nacion, then the Englishe people.

NOW leauyng Scotland, let vs returne to the busines of Fraūce. Whiles the Scottes wer compassyng, how to destroy their kyng: The lorde Talbot, with a greate company, laied siege to the Castle of Tankeruile, whiche after foure monethes, was to hym simplie rendred, and gyuen vp. This toune was no greate gain to the Englishemen: for in the meane season, the Frenche kyng in his awne persone, besieged the strong toune of Monstreau Faultios, whereof Thomas Gerard was capitain: whiche, more for desire of reward, then for feare of enemies, sold the toune to the Frenche kyng, and had of him greate giftes, and good chere, whiche afterward was well knowen, to his shame and reproche. This toune had been rescued, or the Frenche Kyng foughten with all, if one chaunce had not happened: for the duke of Yorke was discharged of the office of Regent, and the erle of Warwicke preferred to thesame, so that the duke of Yorke liyng at Roan, would haue gladly rescued the toune, if his authoritie had not surceased, and the Erle of Warwicke could not, for the wind was so cleane cōtray to him, that he and his army, taried for the winde aboue tenne wekes. And so betwene the discharge of the one, and the charge of the other, this toune of Mōstreau, was deliuered and solde.

THIS presente yere, was a parliament kepte at Westminster, in the whiche wer diuerse and notable conclusions ordained and taken, aswell for the preseruacion of peace and concord at home, as for the maintenaūce of warre, and hostilitie in outward regions: in the whiche parliament, (who so will loke on the actes) shall perceiue that one act made, for byyng & sellyng by straūgers, was profitable to the publique wealth of this realme, if it wer wel kept, (as a few good actes or none be either by the negligēce of ỹ gouernors, or by the insolencie & pride of the people.)

NOW must we speake somewhat of Charles the Frenche kyng: whiche after he had gained again the citee of Paris, and diuerse other townes, was so puffed vp with pride, that he thought it but a trifle, to conquere Normandy, and expulse all the Englishe nacion, out of his countreys and seigniories. Wherfore, he sent Arthur of Britayn, Constable of Fraunce, & Ihō duke of Alāson, into Normandy with a great army, whiche besieged the toune of Auraūches, standyng vpō the knop of an hill, nere to the Britishe sea, bothe well walled and well manned. While they laie there long, litle gettyng and muche spendyng, the lorde Talbot with a valeaunt company of men, approched nere the Frenchemen, and encamped themselfes, in the face of their enemies, to prouoke and entise them to battaill and fight. The Frenchmen refusyng this offre, kept theimselfes within their trenches, daily

fortifiyng and repairyng their campe. The Englishemen perceiuyng their doynges, remoued their army halfe a mile farther, geuyng their enemies rome to issue out and to fight, but all this litle auailed: for the Frenchemen laye still and stirred not. The lorde Talbot, seyng their faint hartes, reysed his feld, and in the open sight of them all, entred into the toune, and the next daie issued out, and founde the Frenchemen ridyng abrode, to destroye the plain countrey, whom he enuironed, bet, and discomfited, slayng many, and takyng diuerse prisoners. Although the Frēchemen gat neither honor nor profite by this iorney, yet they enterpris'd a greater matter: for Ponthon of Sentrayles and the Heire, with diuerse other capitaines, and a great nombre of Frenchmen, hauyng promise of certain Burgesses of Roan, to be let secretly into the toune, came forward to a village calied Ryse, and there lodged. The lorde Talbot, the lorde Scales, and sir Thomas Kiriell, hearyng of their approche, set out of Roan at midnight, and with greate pain, came to Rise in the mornyng so couertly, that the Frenchemen, beyng sodainly surprised and set on, like men madd and amased, ran away, & fled: in the chase wer taken the lorde of Fontaynes, sir Alleyne Geron, sir Lewes de Balle, &. ix. knightes and esquires, beside other, and there wer slain, two hundred and mo: the Heire beyng sore wounded, by the swiftnes of his horsse, escaped very narowly. The Englishmen returned to the toune of Rise, and found there a greate nombre of horsses, and other baggages, whiche thei ioyously brought with them to Roan.

¶ THE XVI. YERE.

The. xvi. yere. ON the sixt daie of Nouembre, this present yere, the erle of Warwicke, as regent of Fraunce, passed the sea, after he had been seuen times shipped and vnshipped, and landed at Humflewe, with a. M. freashe souldiors and came to Roan, and then the duke of Yorke, returned into Englande, neither wholy pleased, nor halfe content. For he secretly smelled, that some men, priuely disdained his aduancement, and enuied his promociō: yet, (like a wise man) he kept his toung close, whatsoeuer his harte thought. Betwene the chaunge of these twoo capitaines, the duke of Burgoyne, (whiche sore enuied the glory of thenglishmen) besieged the Castle of Croytoy, with tenne thousande men and mo, hauyng with him greate plentie of gonnes, and goodly ordenaunce. The Erle of Warwicke hearyng of this feate, sent the lord Talbot, the lorde Fawconbridge, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir Thon Mountgomery, Thomas Limbricke, Thomas Chādos, Dauy Halle, and diuerse other knightes and esquiers, and many tall yeomen, to the nombre of fiue thousand men, whiche passed the Riuer of Soame, beside the toune of. S. Valery: for the passage of Blach Taque, was very daūgerous to go through, because the duke of Burgoyne had laied there ordinaunce, and other engyns, to let, trouble and stoppe the Englishemen to go ouer at that foorde. And yet, where the lord Talbot passed, his men went in the water vp to the chinne, so glad wer the men to rescew their felowes. When the duke of Burgoyn was enformed of the approchyng of the lorde Talbot and other, he with all his power, sauyng foure hundred, whiche wer left in a bastile, by tryn there newly buylded fled to Abbeuile, whiche bastile was sone gained, and the men within, either slain or taken.

AFTER this toune receiued, the lorde Talbot sente woorde to the duke of Burgoyn, that he would vtterly wast and destroy the coūtrey of Pycardy, except he, (like a valeaunt prince) would geue him battail. And accordyng to his promise, he brent tounes, spoyled, and slewe many people in Pycardy, but for all his doynges, the duke would not appere, but stale awaie from Abbeuile, and fled to Amyas. So the Lorde Talbot was. xx. daies full, in the countreis of Pycardy, and Arthoyse, destroiyng and burnyng, all that they could se or come to, and after departed. And in the meane season, sir Thomas Kiriell had gotten all the dukes cariages, and ordenaunce, and left asmuche vitaile in the toune of Croytoy, as would serue sixe hundred men a whole yere, and conueyed the remnaunt in safetie,

safetie, to the erle of Warwicke, which not onely receiued the capitaines, with good semblaunce, and louing cheare, but also highly magnified their actes, and muche praised their hardinesse.

AFTER this enterprise achiued, Henry Erle of Mortaine sonne to Edmond duke of Somerset, arriued at Chierbuege, with foure hundred archers, and thre hundred speres, and passed through Normandy, till he came into the Countie of Mayne, where, he besieged a castle, called S. Anyan, in the whiche wer three C. Scottes, beside Frenchemen. This Castle he toke by a strong assaut, and slewe all the Scottes, and hanged the Frenchmen, because thei wer once sworne English, and after, brake their othe: and after he gatte also another Castle, twoo miles from sainct Iulians, called Alegerche, which was shortly after recouered, and the Lorde Cameuys, whiche came to the rescue of thesame, in the meane waie was trapped and taken. Thus the victory flowed some tyme on the one parte, and sometyme on the other, but the treason of the Frenchmen, far surmounted in gettyng, bothe the pollicy and strength of the Englishe capitaines: for by the vntruth and perfidy, of the very Burgesses and inhabitaūtes of the tounes, of Meaux in Brie and. S. Susanne, thesame wer sold and deliuered to the Frenche parte, in the ende of this sixtene yere.

¶ THE. XVII. YERE.

The. xvii. yere.

WHat should I reherse the great tempestes, the sharpe blastes, the sodain piries, the vnmesurable wyndes, the continuall raynes, whiche fell and chaunced this yere in England: sithe suche tormentes be bothe naturall, and of God, at his pleasure diuersly ordered and altred. Of these vntemperate stormes, rose suche a scarcety, that wheat was sold at. iii. s. iiii. d. the busshell, wine at. xii. d. the gallon, Bay salt at. xiiii. d. the busshel, and malt at. xiii. s. iiii. d. the quarter, and all other graynes, wer sold of an excessiue price, aboue the olde custome.

IN the moneth of Iune, the Erle of Huntyngdone, (as Stewarde of Guyen) with twoo. M. archers, and foure hundred speres, was sente into Gascoyne, as a suppliment to the countrey, and the commons of thesame. For the kyng of England and his coūsaill, wer enformed that therle of Dumoys, lay on ỹ fronters of Tholose, secretly by rewardes and faire promises, entisyng and prouoking diuerse tounes in Guyen, to become French, and leaue thenglishe naciō. Wherfore, this erle (like a politique warrior) altered not onely the capitaines, in euery toune & cite, but also remoued the magistrates, and chaunged the officers, from toune to toune, and from rowme to rowme, so that by this meanes at that tyme, the erle of Dumoys, lost bothe trauaile and cost. In thesame moneth also, sir Richard Wooduile, sir William Chāberlain, sir William Peyto, and sir William Story, with a. M. men, wer sent to stuffe the tounes in Normandy, whiche surely at that tyme, had therof greate nede: for thenglish capitaines, had smal confidence in the Normās, and not to much, in some of their awne nacion. For that harlot bribery, and her felowe couetuousnes, ran so fast abrode with French crounes, that vnneth any creature, (without an especial grace) could hold either hād, close, or purse shut, suche a strong percer is money, and suche a gredie glotton is aunrice. You haue heard before, howe that kyng Charles harte by gettyng of Paris, was set vpon a merie pynne, and thought daily that all thynges more and more, would bothe applie to his purpose, and folowe his appetite. Whiche inuented imaginacion, sodainly bothe deceiued hym, and also appalled his haut corage, and abated hym somewhat of his proude stomacke. For sodainly there rose a straunge storme, and a quicke pirie, so mischieuous and so pernicious, that nothyng more execrable, or more to be abhorred, could happen in any Christian Region. Whiche sedicious tempest, if wise counsail had not with all spede repressed, no doubt, but kyng Charles, and the whole publique wealthe of Fraunce, had been turned vp, and cleane

ouerthrowen. For Lewes Dolphyn of Vyen, and heire apparaunt to kyng Charles, a yong prince, of a froward stomacke and euil condicions, desiryng libertie, and to be out of ward and rule, with such as wer of his nature and condicions, began to conspire against his father and souereigne lorde. The chief of this vngracious faccion with hym, wer Ihō Duke of Alaunson, and Ihon Duke of Burbon. These confederates gathered together a greate power, and the Dolphyn tooke vpon hym, the rule and gouernaunce of the realme, orderyng causes, not in his fathers name, nor by his authoritie, but after his awne will, affecion, and phantasie. When kyng Charles his father, had knowledge of this vnnaturall disobedience, and insolent and proude doynges, he was (& no maruel) greatly moued with this sodain commociō: thinkyng hymself borne, & predestinate to trouble, remēbryng, that it was no smal thyng, in his awne countrey so many yeres, both with straungers, & with his awne naciō, to fight and striue for rule and dignitie, but now to be cōstrained, to contend & make war, with his awne sonne and welbeloued child, for the Croune and regiment, of his realme & dominion. Yet these thynges did not bryng hym, beyng a man of greate wit, and counsaill, daily troubled and vnquieted with calamities and displeasures, into vtter despaire, or extreme wanhope: but like a pollitique prince, determinyng to withstand and resist the smoke at the beginnyng, before the fire & flame brast out abrode, called together all suche, as he had either in greate confidence, or especiall fauor, communicatyng to them, all his inward thoughtes, and priuie cogitacions. After long consultacion had, it was agreed by the most parte, that this sore was more mete to be cured, by pollitique and wittie handelyng, rather then by force, and dent of sweard. Wherfore, letters wer written, and postes wer sent to euery citee and borough, straightly prohibityng all and synguler persones, either to heare, or obey, any precept or commaundement, set furthe or published, by the dolphyn hymself, or by other, or in his name, and all offences doen in that confederacie, wer by open proclamacion, frely forgeuen and remitted. And beside this, diuerse graue and sage persones, wer sent to the dolphyn, and his alies, to common and cōclude a peace, and reconciliacion, betwene the Frenche kyng and theim, declaryng to them, that their ciuile war, and inward discencion, was the very meane to cause their enemies, vtterly to plague and destroy their native countrey, whiche was almoste desolate, and brought into subieccion, by the continual warre practised before. By which meanes and perswasions, the knot of this sedicious facciō, was losed and dissolued: and the kyng with his sonne, and other confederates, openly agreed and apparantly pacified. And so the spryng of these mischiuous secte, was stopped and repulsed, or the flodde had any thyng encreased, or flowen farther.

THE Englishmen (whiche euer sought their aduauntage) hearyng of this domesticall diuision in the realme of Fraunce, raised an armye, and recouered again diuerse tounes, whiche wer stollen from theim before, by the French nacion: and made great prouision, to recouer again the citee of Paris, but when thei heard, that the dolphyn was returned again to his father, and that all his mates, wer ioyned with the French kyng, they left of from that enterprise, and reuoked their purpose.

¶ THE. XVIII. YERE.

The xviii. yere. IN the moneth of Nouembre this presente yere, there was suche a great Frost, and after that, so depe a Snowe, that all the ground was couered with white, and all the diches hardened and frosen, whiche weather put the Englishemen in comfort, to recouer again the toune of Ponthoise, by the Frenche kyng gotten before, by corruptyng with money, diuerse Burgesses of the toune. Wherfore, the Englishmen beyng clothed all in white, with Ihon lorde Clifforde their capitain, came in the night to the diches, and passed theim without daungier, by reason of the Froste, and sodainly scaled the walles, slewe the watche, and tooke the toune, with many profitable prisoners. When this toune was thus gotten, lorde Richard Beauchampe erle

erle of Warwicke and Regent of Fraūce, died in the Castle of Roan, and was conueyed into England, and with solempne Ceremonies, was buried in his College of Warwicke, in a verie solempne and sumptuous sepulture.

THEN was the duke of Yorke again, made regent of Fraunce, whiche accompanied with therle of Oxford, the lorde Bourchier, called erle of Ewe, Sir Iames of Ormond, the Lorde Clinton, and diuerse other noble men, sailed into Normandy: Before whose arriuall, the Frenche kyng beyng sore greued with the takyng of the toune of Pounthoyse, assembled a great army, and besieged thesaid toune hymself, and made round about it, bastiles, trenches, & diches. and daily shot ordenaunce, and gaue therunto, diuerse greate and fierce assautes. But Ihon lorde Clifford, like a valeaunt capitein, defended the toune with suche valeauntnes, that the Frenchemen rather lost then gayned. The duke of Yorke at his landyng, hauing true knowledge of this siege, sent for the lorde Talbot, and a great nombre of souldiors, and so came nere to the toune of Pounthoyse, and there encamped hymself, and sent woorde to the Frenche Kyng, that he was there, ready to geue hym battaill, if he would come out of his campe and Bastiles. Kyng Charles was ruled by his counsaill, whiche in no wise would suffre hym to aduenture his persone, with men of so lowe and base degree: biddyng hym remembre, what losses he and his auncesters had susteined, by geuyng to the Englishemen battaill: whiche thyng they principally desire, willyng hym to kepe his ground still, and to bid theim entre at their perell, and in the mean season, to stoppe the passage of the Riuer of Oyse, so that no vitaile could be brought to the Englishe army by that way, by whiche meanes, he should not onely obtein his purpose, but also cause the Englishemen to recule backe again, for lacke of vitaile and succors. The Duke of Yorke perceiuyng, that the Frenche kyng was nothyng mynded to fight, determined to passe ouer the Riuer of Oyse, and so to fight with hym in his lodgyng, whereupon he remoued his campe and appoynted the lord Talbot and other, to make a countenaunce, as they would passe the Riuer by force at the gate of Beaumont, and appoynted another cōpany with boates, of tymbre & ledder, and bridges made of cordes and ropes, (whereof he had greate plentie, caried with hym in Chariottes) to passe ouer the riuer by neth the Abbay. While the lord Talbot made a crye, as though he would assaile the gate, certain Englishmen passed the water ouer in boates, and drew the bridge ouer, so that a greate nombre wer comen ouer, or the Frenchmen them espied. When they sawe the chaunce, they ran like mad men, to stoppe the passage, but their labor was loste, and all their pain to no purpose: for the moste parte of thenglishe people wer sodainly transported, in so muche that they chased their enemies, by fine force into the toune again, and toke sir Guylliam de Chastell, nephieue to the Lorde Caueby, and diuerse other gentlemen prisoners. The Frenchmen seyng their damage irrecuperable returned to the Frenche kyng, accomptyng to hym their euil chaūce & vnlucky fortune, which therwith was not a litle displeasaūt: and well perceiuyng, that if he taried the cōmyng of thenglishmen he was like to be either in greate ieoperdy, or sure to sustein muche dishonor and greate damage. Wherfore he remoued his ordinaunce into the bastile of. S. Martyn, whiche he had newly made, and leauyng behynd hym the lorde of Cotigny Admirall of Fraunce, with thre. M. men to kepe the bastiles, dislodged in the night from Maubuisson, and came to Poissye: for if he had taried styll in that place, the lorde Talbot with certain of his trustie souldiors, whiche passed the riuer of Oyse in ii. smal lether boates, had either slain or taken hym, in his lodgyng, the same night. The Englishemen the next daie in good ordre of battaill, came before the toune of Pounthoise, thinkyng there to haue founde the Frenche kyng, but he was gone, and in his lodgyng, they founde greate riches, and muche stuffe, whiche he could not haue space, to conuey, for feare of the sodain inuasion. Then the Duke of Yorke with his company, entered into the toune, and sent for newe vitaill, and repaired the toures and bulwerkes about the toune, and diuerse tymes assailed the Bastile of the Frenchemen, of the whiche he passed not greatly, because they wer not of power, either to assaut, or stoppe the vitailes or succors from the toune. The Duke lying thus in the toune Pounthoise, was aduertised, that the Frenche kyng and the dolphyn, with all the nobilitie of

Fraunce, wer lodged in Poissye, wherfore he intendyng once again to offre hym battaill, left behynd hym there, for capitain, sir Geruays Clifton, with a thousande souldiors, and remoued his army and came before Poysye, and set hymself and his men in good ordre of battaill, redy to fight. There issued out diuerse gentlemen, to skirmish with the Englishemen, but they wer sone discomfited, and foure valeaunt horssemen wer taken prisoners, and diuerse slain. The Englishemen perceiuyng the faynte hartes, and colde corage of their enemies, whiche nothyng lesse desired, then to encountre with the English nacion in open feilde, dislodged from Poysye, and came to Mante, and sone after to Roan.

WHEN the Regent and the lorde Talbot, wer returned again into Normandy, the Frenche kyng (for all this euill lucke) forgat not the toune of Ponthoise, and firste he considered, what charges he had susteined, bothe duryng the tyme of the siege, and also in makyng bastyles, trenches, and other deuises: and after remembred, that his people, and especially the Parisians (to whō this toune was an euill neighbor) would rayle and saie, that he was not able, or lacked corage, to gette so small a toune, or to discomfite halfe a hādfull of amased people. Wherfore these thynges set in ordre, he assembled all his puyssaunce, and returned sodainly again to Ponthoise: where, he firste by assaute gat the churche, and after the whole toune, and toke the capitain prisoner, and diuerse other Englishemen, and slewe to the nombre of foure hundred, whiche derely sold their lifes: for one Frenche writer affirmeth, that the Frenche kyng lost there, thre. M. men and mo, and the whole garrison of the Englishemen, was onely a. M: so thei gayned the toune, but they gat no greate boty of men. When the fame of this victory was blowen abrode, the hartes of the tounes men, began to appall, in somuche, that Melune, Corbuell, Eureux, and diuerse other tounes, yelded and turned at a proude crake, or a Frenche bragge, without stroke striken, or any blowe gyuen.

AFTER these hote rages, the wether began to wax more temperate for kyng Hēry and kyng Charles, wer agreed, to send Ambassadors, to commen and treate some good peace & conclusiō, betwene them, & their realmes. So the kyng of England, sent the Cardinall of Wynchester, with diuerse other noble personages of his counsaill, to Calice, with whom was also sent, Charles Duke of Orleaunce, yet prisoner in England, to thentent that he might be bothe the author of ỹ peace, and procurer of his deliuerance. The Frenche kyng, sent the Archebishop of Reyns, and the Erle of Dumoys: and the Duke of Burgoyne, sent the lorde Creueceur, and diuerse other, because that the duke of Orleaunce was passed the sea with the English Ambassadors, they would mete in none other place to commen, but in Calice. The Frenche Ambassadors perceiuyng their mynde, came to Calice, where the duke of Orleaunce, gently receiued therle of Dumoys (his bastard brother) thankyng him hartely for his pain taken, in gouernyng his cōtrey duryng the tyme of his captiuitie and absence. Diuerse communicacions wer had, aswel for the deliueraunce of the duke, as for a finall peace: in somuche, that after muche consultyng, and litle doyng, another tyme was appoynted for a newe assembly, and euery parte to declare to their soueraigne, the request and desire of the other. So these Ambassadors toke their leaue and departed, and thenglishe commissioners conueyed again the duke of Orleaunce into England, whiche had nothyng then to paie his raūsome, & yet he could not be deliuered, without paiment. The cause why these cōmissioners did not agre, was, (as the Frenche writers saie) that the Englishemen demaunded, not onely to haue and possesse peaceably the ii. Duchies of Aquitayn and Normandy, to their kynges & princes discharged of all resort, superioritie, and soueraigntie, frākly and frely, against the realme of Fraūce, the kynges and gouernors of thesame for euer: but also required to be restored to al the tounes, citees, and possessions, whiche they, within. xxx. yeres next before gone and past, had conquered in the realme of Fraunce. The Englishemen, thought that they demaunded but right and reason: and the Frenchemen, thought their request to be most hurtfull to their realme, and aūcient glory. So both parties, rather myndyng to gain or saue, then to lose, departed for that tyme, (as you haue heard). After which diet proroged for a tyme, Phillip Duke of Burgoyn,

goyn, partly moued in cõscience, to make some amendes & recompence to Charles duke of Orleaunce (then beyng prisoner in Englande) for the death of duke Lewes his father (whom duke Ihon, father to this duke Phillip, shamefully slewe, and cruelly murdered in the cite of Paris, (as in the tyme of kyng Henry the fourth, is plainly mencioned) And partly entendyng the aduauncement of his niece, lady Marie doughter to Adolphe, Duke of Cleue, by the whiche aliaunce, he trusted surely to knit, suche a firme knot and frendly amitie with the Duke of Orleaunce, that all olde rancor should cease and all discorde should be forgotten: and in their places, concorde should be stablished, and perpetuall loue embraced), sente messengers into Englande, to the saied duke, declaryng to hym his good will, deuise, and entent. Thinke not but this message, was ioyous to a captiue, beyng out of his natiue countrey, and naturall seigniorie, by the space of xxv. yeres? Suppose you that he, which nothyng more coueted and desired, then libertie and discharge, wold refuse so honorable an offre? Imagin you that a prince of a bloud royal, brought into thraldome, restrained frõ liberty and liuyng, farre from kyn and father, & farther from frẽdes, would not geue his diligent eare to that mocion, by the whiche he might be rẽstored, bothe to his auncient preheminence, possession and seigniory? Yes, yes, you maie be sure, he neither cõsulted on the matter, nor deferred the aũswere, but therunto gently agreed. What should I saie more? As some writers affirme, foure hundred thousande Crounes were paied for his deliueraunce, although other saie, but thre hundred thousande: and so he was deliuered out of Englãde into Fraunce at that tyme, bothe speakyng better Englishe then Frenche, and also swearyng, neuer to beare Armure agãinst the kyng of Englande. After his arriuall in Fraunce, he came to the Duke of Burgoyne, his especiall frend, gratifiyng and thankyng hym of his libertie and deliueraunce: and accordyng to his promes and cõuencion, maried the faire lady in the toune of Sainct Omers, on whom he begat a sonne, whiche after was Frenche kyng, and called Lewes the. xii. After his deliueraunce from captiuitie he forgat not his vncle Ihon Erle of Angolesme, whiche had been as a pledge in England, for the debt of Duke Lewes of Orleaunce, his father, sithe the laste yere of kyng Henry the fourth, (as in his story is declared): but made frendes, borowed money, and morgaged land, and so set him in libertie, and brought hym into his countrey. This Ihon, engendered Charles, father to Fraunces, the firste of that name, whiche after the death of Lewes the. xij. obteined the Croune of Fraunce.

HERE is to be noted, that olde rauncor newly appeasced, will commonly spryng out again: for all the vnhappie deuision, betweue the two noble families, of Orleaunce and Burgoyn, wer by this greate benefite and mariage, for a tyme geuen ouer and put in Oblion, and so continued by the space of xx. yeres and more, yet their children and cosyns, within, not many yeres after, fell so farr at square, that the house of Burgoyne, was spoyled of the fairest flower of his garland, (as you shall here afterwarde, at large declared) and in especiall, in the tyme of kyng Fraunces the firste, the verie heire of the house of Orleaunce, whiche not onely continually vexed with mortall warre, Charles the fift Emperor of that name, lineall successor to Phillip Duke of Burgoyne: but also did asmuche as in hym laye, to deprive thesaid Charles of his honor, and possessions, (as men writyng their lifes, will hereafter declare). The Frenche writers affirme, that this Duke of Orleaunce, was deteined thus long in captiuitie, by reason that the Englishemen, gayned yerely by hym, greate somes of money, by reason of his greate and liberall expenses, whiche he made daily in the realme of England. If this be true, I report me to all inditferent and reasonable persones, for who will spende his goodes frely, in the lande of his enemie, whiche maie by pinchyng and bearyng a lowe saile, waxe riche and be set at libertie? Or who is so proude to wast & consume his substaũce, in liuyng prodigally, that maie with the sparyng of thesame be deliuered out of captiuitie and bõdage? But surely it is apparaunt, that the reuenewes of his seigniories, wer neither able to raunsome hym, nor to maintcyne hym in põpeous estate: partly, because thenglishmen possessed diuerse tounes, belongyng to his Duchy: and partly, by reasõn that the rentes wer scace able to defende his possessions, against the inua-

sions of the English nacion, and Burgonions. But the very cause of his long deteinyng wer two: one, the lacke of money, the second and the principall cause, was this, that you haue heard before, how that Ihon Duke of Burgoyne father to Phillippe, shamefully and cruelly, caused Lewes Duke of Orleaunce, father to this Duke Charles, (of whom we nowe speake) to be murthered in the citee of Paris: for the whiche murder, all the alies and frendes to the Duke of Orleaunce, had enuie against the house and familie of Burgoyne, in somuche that the saied Duke Ihon beyng measured with the same measure, that he met with all, was likewise tyrannously murdered on the bridge of Monstreau Faultyou, (as you haue also heard declared before). For whiche cause, and for to be reuenged of so heynous an act, duke Phillip sonne to thesaid Ihon, not onely ioyned hymself in league and amitie with the Englishe nacion, but also did homage, and sweare fealtie to Kyng Henry the fifth, as to his kyng and souereigne Lorde: for whiche cause, the Englishemen entendyng to kepe the duke of Burgoyn, as a trusty treasure, and sure Iuell, perceiued, that if they deliuered the duke of Orleaunce, and set hym at libertie, he would not cease to vexe and trouble the duke of Burgoyne, in reuengyng the detestable murder, committed by his father against his parent: wherfore, bothe for the surety and sauegard of the duke of Burgoyne, and also to do hym pleasure, they kept still the duke of Orleaunce in Englande, demaundyng suche raunsome, as he was neither able, nor could finde meanes or waies to paie. But after that the duke of Burgoyn, (like an vntrue prince, and vnhonest gentleman) had broken his promes, not kept his faith, and was turned to the Frenche part, the counsaill of the kyng of Englande, studied and deuised, how to deliuer the duke of Orleaunce, to do displeasure to the duke of Burgoyn. Duke Phillip perceiuyng, what mischief was like to rise if he wer redemed, and set at libertie without his knowledge, to preuēte the matter, to his greate coste and charge, practised his deliueraunce, paied his raūsome, and ioyned with him, amitie and alliance, by mariage of his niece, (as before is rehersed) and by this meanes, was Duke Charles of Orleaunce, restored to his libertie, whiche had been prisoner in England, from the daie of sainctes, Crispine & Crispinian, in the yere of our Lorde. M. CCCC. xv. to the monethe of Nouembre, in the yere, a thousand foure hundred and fourtie.

¶ THE. XIX. YERE.

The. xix. yere. IN the beginnyng of this. xix. yere, Richard duke of Yorke Regent of Fraunce, and gouernor of Normandy, remembryng the greate charge, and weightie office to hym deliuered and committed, determined (after long consultacion) to inuade the territories of his enemies, bothe by sondery armies, and in diuerse places, to thentent that the Frenche people beyng vexed within their awne coūtrey, and peculiar dominion, should make no rodes nor enterynges, into the Duchie of Normandy the returnyng whereof, was somewhat suspicious. This deuise for that season, semed bothe profitable and necessary, wherefore, without long delaiyng of tyme, he sente Robert Lorde Willoughby, with a greate crue of souldiors, to inuade and destroye the countrey aboute Amias, and Ihon lord Talbot was appoynted, to besiege the toune of Deape, and he hymself, accompanied with Edmond duke of Somerset, set forward into the Duchie of Aniow. The Lorde Willoughby, accordyng to his commission, entered in the countrey to hym appoynted, and to thentent that his commission should not be espied, nor knowen, he straightly forbad and inhibited all maner fire, & of burnyng of tounes, whiche is the moste open and plain token of war, and inuasion. By reason wherof, the pore paysaūtes & rustical people goyng abrode, without feare or suspicion of euill, wer ouerronne or taken with the horssemen, or they could attain to any toune, or forcelet: so that innumerable people wer slain, & taken or they heard any tydynges of their enemies approchyng The Frenchmen in the garrisōs adioynyng, astonied at the clamor and cry of the poore people, issued out in good ordre, and manfully set on their enemies. The fight was sore, and the victory long doubtfull: But inconclusiō, the Frenchmen seyng their people

in

in the forefront of the battaill, to be killed without mercie, like men desperate, turned their backes and fearfully fled, the Englishmen folowed and slewe many in the chace, and suche as escaped the sweard, wer robbed and spoyled, by Lewes Erle of sainct Paule, whiche was commyng to ayde the Englishe nacion. In this conflicte were slain, aboue sixe. C. men of armes, and a greater nombre taken: So the Lorde Willoughby, like a victorious capitain, with riche spoyle and good prisoners, returned again to the citee of Roan. The dukes of Yorke and Somerset, likewise entered into the Duchie of Aniow, and Countie of Mayne, destroiyng tounes, spoyiyng ỹ people, and with great prey and profite, repaired again into Normandy. The Duke of Somerset, not filled with this gain entered into the Marches of Britayne, and tooke by a fierce assaute, the toune of Gerche, apperteinyng to the Duke of Alaunson, and spoyled and brent thesame, and after that, departed to Ponzay, where he soiourned two monethes, frō whence he sent daily men of war, which destroyed & wasted the countreys of Aniow, Traonnoys & Chartragonnoys.

THE French kyng in all haste, sent the Marshall of Loyache, with. iiii. M. men, to resist the inuasions of the duke of Somerset, whiche capitain determined to set on the duke and his people, in the dedde tyme of the night. This enterprise was not so secret, but it was reueled to the duke, whiche marched forward, and mette the Frenchemen halfe waie, and after long fight, them by fine force manfully discomfited, and slew a hundred persones and mo, and tooke captiues. lxii. whereof the chief wer the lorde Dausigny, sir Lewes de Buell, and all the other almoste, were Knightes and esquires. After this encountre, the Duke tooke the toune of Beaumot Le Vicount, and manned all the fortresses, on the Frontiers of his enemies, and with riche boties and wealthy captiues came again to the Duke of Yorke.

DVRYNG these fortunate chaunces & victories, the lord Talbot also, the vnweried chieftain & māly warrior, enuironed the toune of Deape, with depe trenches and terrible mountaynes, and did set vp vpon the mount de Poulet, a strong and defensible Bastile, at whiche tyme, was capitain of thesame toune, Charles de Maretz, a man of more force in battaill, then pollitique in defence of a siege: for the Englishemen beyng a small nōbre, had to them deliuered with faire wordes, and fainte strokes, the castle of Charlemesnyll, and diuerse other fortresses, adioynyng to the toune. Duryng the siege, many encounters were had, and many great assautes geuen, thenglishmen sometyme saued, and somtyme gained, but the moste losse lighted on the Frenchemen for a while. But of. iii. captaines sent furth at one tyme, (as you before haue heard) all cannot returne with egall honor, and cuen botie. For the lorde Talbot perceiuyng the toune of Deape, to be strongly defended, both with men, vitaile, and ordenaunce, and that he lacked all thesaid furnitures for the accomplishyng of his stoute enterprise, deliuered the custody of the Bastile, with the gouernaunce of the siege to his Bastarde sonne, a valeaunt young man, and departed to Roan, for ayde, money, and munitions. The Frenche kyng, was quickely aduertised of the lord Talbots absence, and of the estate of the Englishemen: wherefore without delaye, he mcanyng not to lose so great a prey, sent his eldest sonne Lewes dolphyn of Vyen, accompanied with the Bastarde of Orleaunce, called the erle of Dumoys, and diuerse other nobles of Fraunce, to the nombre of. xv. thousande persones, well armed, and no lesse garnished with all thynges necessary for their purpose. Three daies thei assayled the Bastile, and so many tymes thei were put backe, but poulder failed in the fortresse, and weapon wherwith to defend, was very scant, so that in conclusion, the Englishmen wer vanquesshed, and the Bastile taken and in it, the Bastard Talbot, sir William Peytow, and sir Ihon Repeley, whiche were shortely after redemed: The other Englishe souldiors seyng the Bastile gayned, stood all daie in good ordre of battaill, and in the night, pollitiquely returned to Roan, without losse or damage. At this assaute, the Frenchemen say, that thei slewe two hundred Englishemen, and deny not, but thei lost fiue hondred persones, and by this meanes, the one nacion loste the Bastile, and the other saued the toune, to the greate displeasure of the Lorde Talbot: whose presence

would asmuche auailed at this attempte, as his absence was losse and detrement to his frendes, and felowes in war and chiualrie. But gain is not alwaies perdurable, nor losse alwaies continuall.

WHILE these thynges wer a doyng, Phillip Duke of Burgoyn, hauyng an enuious hart, at the glory and fortunate successe of the Englishe people, intending to bereue them of one of their assured frendes, called Lewes of Luxenborough erle of sainct Poule, made sharpe war vpon his countreis, and toke diuerse tounes, and fortresses from hym, so that in conclusion more for feare, then for loue, he vtterly refused his faithe and promise, made to the duke of Bedford his brother in law and turned to the Frenche parte, and became a luke warme enemie to the realme of England. The losse of this frend and necessary neighbor, not alitle greued Kyng Henry and his counsaill: Howbeit, they made suche perueiaunce and prouision, by descrete counsail, that if he of euil will, would do theim litle good, yet he of malice should doo to them no greate hurte or damage.

THE Englishe capitaines beyng in Guyen, hauyng knowledge of the valeaũt doynges of their countreymen in the realme of Fraũce, determined to do some notable and noble enterprise, on the French costes adioynyng to Aquitayn: & so, thei besieged the strong toune of Tartas belongyng to the lorde Delabreth, their old and auncient enemie. The capitaines and gouernors of the toune, considerying their weaknesse, and the force of the Englishemen, toke this appoyntment with the Englishe capitaines, that the toune should remain neuter, and for the assuraunce therof, they deliuered Cadet the sonne of the lorde Delabreth in pledge, vpon this condicion: that if the lorde Delabrethe, would not assent to their agrement, then he should signifie his refusall, to the Englishe capitaines, within thre monethes next ensuyng: and he to haue his pledge, and thei to do their beste. The Frenche kyng, at the request of the lordes of Guyen, whiche wer not able to defende themselfes, toke this matter in hand, and caused the lord Delabreth to certifie his disagrement to therle of Huntyngdone, lieuetenaunt for the kyng of Englande, in the Duchie of Aquitayne. And to please the great Lordes of Guyen, he assembled lx. M. men, and came to Tholose, and so to Tartas: to whom the chieftaines of the toune, seyng no succors comyng, rendered the toune, and Cadet Delabrethe, which was left there as a pledge, was deliuered. The French kyng after the yeldyng of Tartas, remoued to sainct Seuere, a strong toune in Gascoyn, but smally peopled with men of warre, which he toke by force, and slewe thre hundred persones, and toke sir Thomas Rampstone prisoner. After this toune gained, he with all his power besieged the citie of Arques, and toke the Bulwarke of thesame, whiche was smally defended, and sone gotten. The inhabitauntes of the toune began sore to be afraied: and came to the lorde Mountferrant, capitain for the kyng of England, requiryng hym to haue mercie vpon them, and to rendre the toune to the Frenche kyng, vpon some honest couenaunt or cõposicion. The capitain perceiuyng the faint hartes of the Gascoyns, & knowyng that without their ayde, he was not able to resist the puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng, toke an agrement and departed with all the Englishe crue to Burdeaux, where he found the erle of Longuile, Capdaw of Dueffe, and sir Thomas Rampstone, whiche was a litle before deliuered.

AFTER this, the fortresses of Ryoll and Mermandie yelded them to the Frenche kyng. Although these tounes thus submitted theim to hym, yet he had them not long, nor made muche tariyng in the Duchie of Guyen, for the Englishemen not onely prohibited the Gascoynes, to minister to his armie, viandre and sustenaunce, but also gat into their handes and toke suche vitailes, as wer conueyed to him, from Tholose and Poytiers: So that in maner constrained with famyn and lacke of prouision, he retired his army again into Fraunce. After whose departure, the Englishe capitaines recouered again the citee of Acques, and the other tounes by the French kyng gained, and toke prisoner his lieuetenaunt, called Reignault Guillam the Burgonyõ, and many other gentlemen, and all the meane souldiors, wer either slain or hanged.

WHILE the Frenche kyng was in Guyen, the lorde Talbot toke the toune of Couchete,

and after marched toward Gayllardon, whiche was besieged by the Bastarde of Orleaunce Erle of Dumoys: whiche Erle hearyng of the Englishmennes approchyng, reysed his siege and saued hymself. A litle before this enterprise, the Frenchemen had taken the toune of Eureux, by treason of a fisher. Sir Fraunces Arragonoys hearyng of that chaunce, apparreled sixe strong men, like rustical people with sackes and baskettes, as carriers of corne and vitaile, and sent them to the Castle of Cornyll, in the whiche diuerse Englishemen were kept as prisoners: and he with an imbusshement of Englishemen, laye in a valey nye to the fortresse. These sixe companions entered into the Castle, vnsuspected and not mistrusted, and straight came to the chambre of the capitain, & laied handes vpō hym, geuyng knowledge therof to their imbushement, whiche sodainly entered the Castle, and slew and toke all the Frenchemen prisoners, and set at libertie all the Englishemen, whiche thing doen, they set all the castle on fire, and departed with great spoyle to the citee of Roan. Thus the lady victory, sometyme smiled on the Englishe part, and sometyme on the Frenche side. Thus one gayned this daie, and loste on the nexte. Thus Fortune chaunged, and thus chaunce happened, accordyng to the olde prouerbe, saiyng, in war is nothyng certain, and victory is euer doubtfull.

¶ THE. XX. YERE.

The. xx. yere.

NOw let vs leaue the marciall feactes, the mortal strokes, and daily skirmishes, practised betwene the English and Frenche nacion in the Region of Fraunce, and speake alitle of a smoke that rose in England, whiche after grewe to a greate fire, and a terrible flame, to the destruccion of many a noble man. You haue heard before, how the Duke of Gloucester sore grudged at the proude doynges of the Cardinall of Wynchester, and howe the Cardinall likewise, sore enuied and disdayned at the rule of the Duke of Gloucester, and how by the meanes of the duke of Bedforde, their malice was appeased, and eche was reconciled to other, in perfite loue and amitie, to all mens outward iudgementes. After whiche concord made, the Cardinall and the Archebishop of Yorke, did many thynges without the consent of the kyng or the duke, beyng (durynge the minoritie of the prince) gouernor & protector of the realme, wherwith the duke, (like a true harted prince) was neither contente nor pleased: And so declared in writyng to the kyng, certain articles, wherin the Cardinal and the Archebishop, had offended bothe the kyng and his lawes, the true tenor, here after ensueth.

¶ A complaint made to Kyng Henry the. vi. by the Duke of Gloucester, vpon the Cardinall of Winchester.

THese bee in parte, the poyntes and Articles, whiche I Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, for my trouthe and acquittall, saied late, I would geue in writyng (my right doubted Lorde) vnto your highnes, aduertisyng your excellēce, of suche thinges in partie, as haue been doen in your tendre age, in derogacion of your noble estate, & hurt of both your realmes, & yet be doen and vsed daily. 1

FIRST the Cardinall, then beyng bishop of Winchester, toke vpō hym the state of Cardinall, which was nayed and denayed hym, by the kyng of moste noble memory, my lord your father, (whō God assoyle) saiyng, ỳ he had as lefe set his croune beside hym, as to se hym weare a Cardinal hat, he beyng a Cardinal: for he knewe full well, the pride and ambicion that was in his person, then beyng but a bishop, should haue so greatly extolled hym into more intollerable pride, when that he were a Cardinall: And also he thought it against his fredome, of the chiefe Churche of this realme, whiche, that he worshipped, as duely as euer did prince, that blessed be his soule. And howbeit, that my saied Lorde 2

your

your father, (whom God assoyle), would haue agreed hym to haue had certain clerkes of this land Cardinals, & to haue no bishoprikes in Englande, yet is intent was neuer to do so great derogacion to the Churche of Caterbury, to make them that wer his suffraganes, to set aboue their Ordinary and Metropolitan, but the cause was that ingenerall, and in all matters whiche might concerne the weale of hym, and of his realme, he should haue proctors of his nacion, as other kynges Christen had, in the courte of Rome, and not to abide in this lande, nor to be in any parte of his counsailes, as been all the spirituall and temporall, at parliamentes and other great counsailes, when you list to call them: and therfore, though it please you to do hym that worship, to set hym in your priuie counsaill after your pleasure, yet in your parliament, wher euery Lorde bothe spirituall and temporall, hath his place, he ought to occupie but his place as a bishoppe.

3 ITEM thesaied bishoppe, now beyng Cardinall, was assoyled of his bishopricke of Wynchester, wherupon he sued vnto our holy father, to haue a bulle declaratory, notwithstandyng he was assupt to the state of Cardinall, that the sea was not voyde, where in deede it stode voyde by a certain tyme, or thesaid bulle were graunted, and so he was exempte from his ordinary, by the takyng on hym the state of Cardinal, and the churche bishopricke of Winchester, so standyng voyde, he tooke again of the Pope (you not learned therof ne knowyng wherby he was fallen into the cace of prouision) so that all his good was lawfully and clearly forfeited, to you my right doubted Lorde, with more as the statute declareth plainly for your aduauntage.

4 ITEM it is not vnknown to (you doubted lord) how through your landes it is noysed, that thesaied Cardinal and tharchebishop of Yorke had and haue the gouernaunce of you and all your lande, the whiche none of your true liege men, ought to vsurpe nor take vpon them. And haue also estranged me your sole vncle, my cosyn of Yorke, my cosyn of Huntyngdon, & many other lordes of your kin, to haue any knowledge of any greate matter, that might touche your high estate, or either of your realmes. And of Lordes spirituall, of right, the Archebishoppe of Cantorbury, should be your chief counsailer, the whiche is also estranged and set a side. And so be many other right sad Lordes, and well aduised, aswell spirituall as temporall, to the great hurt of you my right doubted lorde, and of your realmes, like as the experience and workes shewen clerely and euidently, more harme it is.

5 ITEM in the tendre age of you, my right doubted Lorde, for the necessitie of an armie, thesaied Cardinal lent you. iiii. M. l. vpon certain Iuels, preised at. xxii. M. marke, with a letter of sale, that and they wer not quited at a certain daie, you should lese them. The saied Cardinall seyng your money redy to haue quited your Iuels, caused your treasorer of Englande, at that daie beyng, to paie thesame money, in parte of another armie, in defraudyng you, my right doubted lord, of your said Iuels, kepyng theim yet, alwaie to his awne vse, to your right greate losse, and his synguler profite and auaile.

6 ITEM thesaid Cardinal, then beyng bishop of Winchester, & Chaucellor of Englād, deliuered the kyng of Scottes, vpō certein appoyntmentes (as maie be shewed,) presumpteously, & of his awne authoritie contrary to the acte of Parliament. I haue heard notable men of lawe say, that they neuer heard the like thing doen emong the, whiche was to great a defamaciō to your highnes, & also to wedde his niece to thesaid kyng, whom ỹ my lord of notable memory, your father, whō God assoile would neuer haue so deliuered. And there as he should haue paied, for his costes. xl. M. l. thesaied Cardinall, Chauncellor of Englande, caused you to pardon hym therof. x. M. marke, wherof the greater some he paied you, right alitle, what, I report me to your highnes.

7 ITEM, where thesaid Cardinal lent you, my redoubted lord, great & notable somes he hath had & his assignes, the rule & profite of the porte of Hāpton, wher the Customers been his seruaūtes, wher by likelihode & as it is to be supposed, he standyng the chief marchaunt of wolles of your lande, that you bee greately defrauded, and vnder that rule what Wolles and other marchaundise haue been shipped, and maie be from tyme to tyme,

hard is to esteme, to the great hurte, and preiudice of you my right doubted Lorde, and of all your people.

ITEM, howbeit that thesaid Cardinall, hath diuerse tymes, lent you great sommes of money, sithe the tyme of your reigne, yet his loene hath been so differred and delaied, that for the moste part, the conuenable season, of themployng of the good lente, was passed. So that litle frute or none come thereof, as by experience, bothe your realmes, haue sufficiently in knowledge. 8

ITEM, where there was Ieuelles and plate, preised at a. xi. M. l. in weight, of thesaied Cardinall, forfeited to you my right doubted lorde, he gat hym a restorment therof, for a loene of a litle percell of thesame, and so defrauded you wholy of theim, to your greate hurte, and his auaile, the whiche good might greately eased your highnes, in sparyng as muche of the poore commons. 9

ITEM, the Cardinall beyng feoft of my said lorde your father, (whō God assoyle) against his entent, gaue Elizabeth Beauchampe, thre. C. markes of liuelod, where that his will was, that and she wer wedded, within a yere, then to haue it, or els not, where in deede it was twoo or iii. yeres after, to your great hurt, & diminishyng of your inheritaunce. 10

ITEM, notwithstandyng ỳ thesaid Cardinall, hath no maner of authoritie nor interest into the croune, nor none may haue by any possibilitie, yet he presumeth and taketh vpon hym in partie, your estate royall, in callyng before hym, into greate abusion of all your lande, and derogacion of your highnes, whiche hath not been sene nor vsed, in no daies heretofore, in greater estate then he is, without your expresse ordenaunce and commaundement. 11

ITEM, thesaid Cardinal, nothyng consideryng the necessitie of you my right doubted Lorde, hath sued a pardon of dismes, that he should paie for the Churche of Wynchester, for terme of his life, geuyng therby occasion to all other Lordes spirituall, to drawe their good will for any necessitie, to graunt any disme, and so to laie all the charge vpon the temporaltie, and the poore people. 12

ITEM, by the gouernaunce and labor of thesaied Cardinal, and archebishop of Yorke, there hath been loste and dispended, muche notable and greate good, by diuerse Ambassadors sent out of this realme. First to Arras, for a feigned colourable peace, where as by likelincsse it was thought & supposed, that it should neuer turne to theffectual auaile, of you my right doubted Lorde, nor to your saied realmes, but vnder colour thereof, was made the peace of your aduersary, & the duke of Burgoyn. For els your partie aduerse, & thesaid duke, might not well haue foūd meanes nor waies, to haue cōmoned together, nor to haue concluded with other, their cōfederaciōs & conspiraciōs, made & wrought ther then, at ỳ tyme, against your highnes, whereby you might haue (right doubted lorde,) the greater partie of your obeysaunce, aswell in your realme of Fraunce, as in your Duchie of Normandy, and muche other thyng gone greatly, as through thesaid colourable treatie, and otherwise, sithe the death of my brother of Bedford, (whom God assoyle.) 13

ITEM, now of late was sēt another Ambassador to Calice, by the labor and counsaill of thesaied Cardinall, and Archebishop of Yorke, the cause why of the beginnyng, is to me your sole vncle, & other lordes of you kyn and counsaill vnknowen, to your greate charge, and against the publique good of your realme, as it openly appeareth. The whiche good if it bee imployed, for the defence of your landes, the marchaundises of the same, might haue had other course, and your said lādes not to haue stande in so greate mischief as they do. 14

ITEM after that, to your greate charge and hurte, of bothe your realmes, thesaid Cardinall and Archbishop of Yorke, went to your saied toune of Calice, and diuerse Lordes of your kyn, and of your counsaill in their felowship, and there, as there was natural warre, betwene the duke of Orleance, & the duke of Burgoyn, for murder of their fathers, a capitall inemnitie like to haue endured for euer, thesaid Cardinall & Archbishop of Yorke, licenced and suffered, thesaid duke of Orleaunce, to entreate and common a part, with the 15

counsaielli

counsaiell of your saied aduersaries, aswell as with the Duchies of Burgoyne, by whiche meane, the peace and alliaunce was made, betwene the two dukes, to the greatest fortifiyng of your said capital aduersaries, that could be thought, and cõsequently (my deare redoubted lorde,) to your greatest charge, & hurt to both your realmes. Vnder colour of whiche treatie, your said aduersaries, in meane time wan your citee of Meulx, & the cõtrey therabout, and many diuerse rodes made into youre Duchie of Normandy, to the great noysaunce and destruccion of your people, as it sheweth openly.

16 ITEM thesaid Archebishop of Yorke, sent with other into this your realme, from the saied Cardinall, after communicacion had with your aduerse partie, at your saied toune of Calice, made at his commyng into your notable presence at Wyndsore, all the swasions and colour, all mocions in the most apparaũt wise that he could, to induce your highnes to your agrement, to the desires of your capitall aduersaries, as I saw there in your noble presence, of his writyng, at whiche tyme, as I vnderstode, it was his singuler opinion, that is to say: that you should leaue your right, your title, & your honor of your croune, & nominacio of you kyng of Fraũce, duryng certain yeres, and ẏ you should vtterly abstain you and be content, onely in writyng, with, rex Anglie, &c. to the greate note of infamie, ẏ euer fell to you, or any of your noble progenitors, since the takyng of them first, the said title & right, of your realme and croune of Fraunce, to which matter in your presence ther, after ẏ it had liked your said highnes, to aske myne aduise thervpon, with other of your bloud and cõsaill, I aunswered and said, that I would neuer agree me therto, to die therfore, and of thesame disposicion I am yet, & will be while I liue in conseruacion of your honor, and of your othe made vnto your saied croune, in tyme of your coronacion there.

17 ITEM thesaied Cardinall & Archebishop of Yorke, haue so labored vnto your highnes, that you should entende to a newe daie of conuencion, in Marche or Aprill next commyng, where it is noysed to be more against your worship, then with it. And where it was euident to all the world, that the rupture and breakyng of thesaid peace, should haue fallen heretofore, of your aduerse partie, because of the great vntrouthes: Now by that meane it is like peraduenture, to be laied vnto the verie greate slaundre of you my doubted Lorde, like to come to none other purpose nor effecte, then other conuencions haue doen afore tyme. And so by subtilities and counsaill of your saied enemies, your lande (they in hope and trust of thesaid treatie, not mightely nor pũyssauntly purueyed for) shalbe like vnder the coloure of thesame treatie, to be brent vp and destroyed, lost and vtterly turned from your obeysaunce.

18 ITEM it is saied, that the deliueraunce of thesaied Duke of Orleaunce, is vtterly appointed by the mediacion, counsaill, and steryng of thesaied Cardinall and Archebishoppe of Yorke, and for that cause diuerse persons been come from your aduersaries into this your realme, and thesaied duke also brought to your citee of London, where as my lord your father (whom God assoile) peisyng so greatly the inconueniences, and harme that might fall, onely by his deliueraunce, concluded, ordened and determined in his last wil, vtterly in his wisedome, his cõquest in his realme of Fraũce. And yet then it is to be doen, by as great deliberacion, solempnitie and suretie, as may be deuised or thought, and seyng now the disposicion of your realme of Fraunce, the puissaũce and might of your enemies, & what ayde they haue gotten against you there, aswell vnder the colour of thesaid treatie, as otherwise, what maie or ought to be thought or said, for that laboryng thesaid duke (al thynges considered) by suche perticular persones, the lordes of your bloud not called therunto, I report me vnto your noble grace and excellencie, and vnto thesaied wise trewe men of this your realme.

19 ITEM where that euery true counsailor, specially vnto any kyng or prince, ought of trouth and of dutie, to counsail, promote, encrease, prefer, and aduaunce the weale and prosperitie of his lorde: Thesaid Cardinall, beyng of your counsaill (my right doubted lorde) hath late purchased of your highnes, certain great landes and liuelode: as the cas-

tle

tle and lordship of Chirke in Wales, and other lādes in this your realme, vnto whiche I was called sodainly, and so in escheuyng the breakyng & losse of your armies then again, seyng none other remedy, gaue thervnto myne asset, thinkyng that who that euer labored, moued or stered the matter firste vnto your Lordeship, counsailed you neither for your worship nor profite.

MORE thesaied Cardinall hath you bounde a parte, to make hym a sure estate of all the saied landes, by Easter nexte commyng, as could bee deuised by anye learned counsaill, or elles that suretie not made, thesaied Cardinall, to haue and reioye to him, and his heires for euermore, the landes of the Duchie of Lācastre, in Norffolke, to the value of. vii. or viii. C. markes, by the yere, whiche thyng semeth right straunge and vnsene, and vnhard waies of any liege man, to seke vpon his souereigne lord, bothe in his enheritaunce and in his Iuelles, and good. For it is thought, but if right & extreme necessitie caused it, there should, nor ought no such thynges to be doen: frō which necessitie (God for his mercy) euer preserue your noble person, wherfore my redoubted lord, seyng that ye should be so counsailed, or stirred to leaue your croune and enheritaunce in England, & also by fraude and subtile meanes, as is afore rehersed, so to lose your Iuelles: In my trouthe and in myne acquitall (as me seameth) I maie not nor ought not, counsaill so greate an hurte to you and to all your lande. 20

ITEM, it is not vnknowen to you my right doubted lorde, how often tymes I haue offered my seruice, to and for the defence of your realme of Fraunce, and duchie of Normādy, where I haue been put therfro, by the labor of thesaid Cardinall, in preferryng other after his singuler affeccion, whiche hath caused greate parte, of thesaied Duchie of Normandy, aswell as of your realme of Fraunce to be lost, as it is wel knowen, and what good (my right doubted lord) was lost on that army that was last sent thether, whiche therle of Mortayn, your counsaill of Fraunce, hath well and clerely declared to your highnes here beforne. 21

ITEM, my right doubted Lorde, it is not vnknowen, that it had not been possible to thesaied Cardinall, to haue comen to the greate riches, but by suche meanes, for of his Churche it might not rise, and enheritaunce he had none. Wherefore my right doubted Lorde, sithe there is great good behouefull at this tyme, for the weale and safegard of your realmes, the pouertie, necessitie, and indigence of your liege people, in highnes vnderstande, like it vnto your noble grace, to considre thesaid lucar of thesaid Cardinall, and the greate deceiptes, that you be deceiued in, by the labor of hym, and of the Archebishop, aswell in this your realme, as in your realme of Fraunce, and duchy of Normandy, where neither office, liuelode, nor capitain maie be had, without to greate a good geuen vnto hym, wherby great part of all the losse that is lost, they haue been the causers of, for who that would geue moste, his was the price, not consideryng the merites, seruice, nor sufficiaunce of persones. Furthermore it is greatly to be considered, how, when thesaied Cardinal, had forfeited al his good, because of prouision, as the statute, thervpō more plainly declareth, by hauyng the rule of you my right doubted Lorde, purchased hymself in greate defraudacion of your highnes, a charter of pardō, the whiche good and it had be wel gouerned, might many yeres haue susteined your warres, without any talage of your poore people. 22

ITEM, my redoubted Lorde, where as I write moche thyng, for the weale of you and of your realmes, peraduenture some will say and vnderstande, that I woulde, or haue writen it, by waye of accusement of all your counsail, whiche God knoweth, I do not: for your highnes may well se, that I name theim, that be causers of the sayed inordinate rule wherfore, considerynge that the sayd Cardinal & Archebisshop of Yorke been they, that pretende the gouernaunce of you, and of your realmes and lordshippes: Please it vnto your highnes, of your right wisenesse to estraunge them of your counsail, to that entent, that men maye be at their fredome, to say what they thinke of trueth. 23

FOR truth, I dare speake of my truth, the poore dare not do so. And if the Cardinal & the Archbisshop of Yorke, may afterward declare theselfes, of that is, and shalbe sayed 24

of them, you my right doubted lorde may then restore them agayn to your counsaill, at your noble pleasure.

WHEN the kyng had heard these accusaciõs, he cõmitted the hearynge therof, to his counsail, wherof the moste parte were spiritual persons, so what for feare, and what for fauour the mater was wynked at, and dalyed out, and nothyng sayde to it: and fayre contenaunce was made to the duke, as though no displeasure had ben taken, nor no malice borne, either in hart or in remembraũce agaynst hym. But venyme will once breake oute, and inwarde grudge will sone appeare, whiche was this yere to all men apparaunt: for diuers secret attemptes were aduaũced forward this season, against the noble duke Hũfrey of Glocester, a farre of, whiche in conclusiõ came so nere, that they bereft hym both of lyfe and lande, as you shall hereafter more manifestly perceyue. For first this yere, dame Elyanour Cobhã, wyfe to the sayd duke, was accused of treason, for that she, by sorcery and enchaũtmẽt, entended to destroy the kyng, to thentent to aduaũce and to promote her husbande to the croune: vpon thys she was examined in sainct Stephens chappel, before the Bisshop of Canterbury, and there by examinacion conuict & iudged, to do open penaunce, in. iij. open places, within the citie of Lõdon, and after that adiudged to perpetuall prisone in the Isle of Man, vnder the kepyng of sir Ihon Stãley, knyght. At the same season, wer arrested as ayders and counsailers to the sayde Duchesse, Thomas Southwel, prieste and chanon of saincte Stephens in Westmynster, Ihon Hum priest, Roger Bolyngbroke, a conyng nycromancier, and Margerie Iourdayne, surnamed the witche of Eye, to whose charge it was laied, ỹ thei, at the request of the duchesse, had deuised an image of waxe, representyng the kynge, whiche by their sorcery, a litle and litle cõsumed, entendyng therby in cõclusion to waist, and destroy the kynges person, and so to bryng hym death, for the which treison, they wer adiudged to dye, & so Margery Iordayne was brent in smithfelde, & Roger Bolyngbroke was drawen & quartered at tiborne, takyng vpõ his death, that there was neuer no suche thyng by theim ymagined, Ihon Hum had his pardon, & Southwel died in the toure before execution: the duke of Gloucester, toke all these thynges paciently, and saied litle.

¶ THE. XXI. YERE.

The. xxi. yere.

THE counsaill of Englande, forgat not the late enterprise of the Frẽche kyng, doen in the duchie of Guyen, wherfore, to fortifie the countrey, least he peraduenture, would attempt again alike iorney, they sent thether sir William Wooduile, with. viii. hundred men, to fortifie the frontiers, till a greater armie might be assembled: And farther made publique proclamacion, that all men which would transporte, or cary any corne, chese, or other vitaile, into the parties of Acquitain, should pay no maner of custome or tallage, whiche licence caused that countrey, to be well furnished of all thynges necessarie and conuenient. About this season, the kyng remembryng the valeaunt seruice, and noble actes of Ihon Lorde Talbot, created hym Erle of Shrewesburie, and with a company of three M. men, sente hym again into Normandy, for the better tuicion of the same, whiche neither forgat his dutie, nor forslowed his businesse, but daily laboured & hourely studied, how to molest & damage his enemies.

IN this yere, died in Guyen the Countesse of Comyng, to whom the Frenche kyng, and also the Erle of Arminacke, pretended to be heire, insomuche, that the Erle entered into all the landes of thesaied lady, as very inheritor to her of right, and tooke homage of the people of the countrey. But to haue a Rowland to resist an Oliuer: he sent solempne Ambassadors to the kyng of Englande, offeryng hym his doughter in mariage, not onely promisyng hym siluer hilles, and golden mountaines with her, but also would be bound, to deliuer into the kyng of Englandes handes, all suche castles and tounes, as he or his aunces-tors deteined from hym, within the whole duchie of Acquitayn or Guyen, either by conquest of

of his progenitors, or by gyfte or deliuery of any Freche kyng: offryng farther, to aide the same kyng with money, for the recouery of other citees, within thesaied duchy, from him and his auncestors, by the Frenche kynges progenitors, the lorde de Albrethe, and other lordes of Gascoyn, iniustely kept and wrongfully withhoulden. This offre semed bothe profitable, and honorable to kyng Henry and his realme, and so the Ambassadors, wer bothe well heard, and louyngly enterteined, and in conclusion, with a gentle aunswere (not without great rewardes) they departed into their countrey: after whom wer sent for the conclusion of thesaied mariage into Guyen, sir Edward Hulle, sir Robert Roos, and doctor Thon Grafton deane of saiuct Seuerines with an honorable company whiche (as all Englishe Cronographiers affirme) bothe concluded the mariage, and by proxie affied the young Lady. The Frenche kyng was not ignorant, of all these conclusions, wherfore disdainyng, that the Erle of Arminacke, should bothe vsurpe against hym, the Countie of Comyng, and also ioyne hymself, with his mortall enemie, the kyng of Englande, to recouer his right, and to punishe his rebell, he sent Lewes his eldest sonne dolphyn of Vyen, into rouergne with a puissaunt army, whiche sodainly toke the Erle of Arminacke, at the Isle in Iordayne, and his yongest sonne, and bothe his doughters, and by force obteined the countreis of Arminacke, Lonuergne, Rouergne and Moullesson, beside the citees of Seuerac and Cadenac, and chased the Bastarde of Arminacke out of his countrey, and costituted gouernor of all those seigniories, sir Theobald de Walpergne, bailif of Lyon. So by reason of this infortunate chaûce, the mariage concluded was differred, yea, and so long differred, that it neuer toke effect, as you shall heare more plainly declared.

¶ THE. XXII. YERE.

The. xxii. yere.

THus, while Englande was vnquieted, and Fraunce sore vexed, by spoyle, slaughter, and burnyng, all christendom lamented the continuall destruccion of so noble a realme, and the effusion of so muche Christen bloud, wherfore, to appeace the mortall warre, so long continueyng betwene these twoo puyssaunt kynges, all the princes of Christendom, so muche labored and trauailed, by their orators and Ambassadors, that the frostie hartes of bothe the parties, wer somewhat mollified, and their indurate stomackes, greatly asswaged. So there was a greate diete appoynted, to be kept at the citee of Tours in Touraine, where, for the kyng of Englande appered, William de la Pole erle of Suffolke, doctor Adame Molyns, keper of the kynges priuie seale, and Robert lorde Roos, and diuerse other: And for the Frenche Kyng were appoynted, Charles Duke of Orleaüce, Lewes de Burbon erle of Vandosme, and greate Master of the Frenche kynges housholde, sir Piers de Bresell Stewarde of Poytou, and Bartram Beauriau, Lorde of Precignye. There were also sente thither, Ambassadors from the Empire, from Spayne, from Denmarke, and frō Hungary, to be mediators betwene these twoo princes. The assemble was greate, but the coste was muche greater, in somuche that euery parte, for the Honor of their Prince, and praise of their countrey, set furth themselfes, aswell in fare, as apparel, to the vttermoste poynte and highest prike. Many metynges wer had, & many thynges motied to come to a finall peace, and mutuall concord. But inconclusion, for many doubtes and greate ambiguities, whiche rose on bothe parties, a finall concord could not be agreed, but in hope to come to a peace, a certain truce aswell by sea as by land, was concluded by the cōmissioners, for xviii. monethes, whiche afterward, againe was prolonged, to the yere of our Lorde. M. iiii. C.xlix. if in the meane season it had not been violated & broken, as here after shalbe declared.

IN the treatyng of this truce, the Erle of Suffolke, extendyng his cōmission to the vttermoste, without assent of his associates, imagened in his phantasie, that the nexte waie to come to a perfite peace, was to moue some mariage, betwene the Frenche kyngs kynsewoman, and kyng Henry his souereigne: & because the Frenche kyng had no doughter of ripe age, to be coupled in matrimony with the kyng his Master, he desired to haue the Lady Margaret,

cosyn to the Frenche kyng, and doughter to Reyner duke of Aniow, callyng hymself kyng of Scicile, Naples, and Hierusalem, hauyng onely the name and stile of the same, without any peny profite, or fote of possessiō. This mariage was made straunge to therle a good space, in somuche that he repented hym of the first mociō, but yet like a bold man, entendyng not to take afoile in so greate a matter, desisted not still, daily to sollicite and aduaunce forward his cause. The wily Frenchemen, perceiuyng the ardent affeccion of the erle, toward the conclusion of mariage, declared to hym that this mariage, was not like to come to conclusion as he desired, because the kyng his Master, occupied a greate parte of the Duchie of Aniow, and the citee of Mauns, and the whole Countey of Mayne, apperteynyng (as they saied) to kyng Reyner, father to the damosell.

THE erle of Suffolke (I cannot saie) either corrupted with bribes, or to muche affectionate to this vnprofitable mariage, condiscended and agreed to their mocion, that the Duchie of Aniow, and the countie of Mayne, should be released and deliuered, to the kyng her father, demaundyng for her mariage, neither peny nor farthyng: (as who would saie) that this newe affinitie, excelled riches and surmounted gold and precious stone. And to thentent that of this truce might ensue a finall concorde, a daie of enteruieue or metyng was appoynted, betwene the two kynges, in a place cōuenient, betwene Charters and Roan. When these thynges wer concluded, the Erle of Suffolke with his company, thinkyng to haue brought ioyfull tidynges, to the whole realme of Englande, departed from Tournes, and so by long iornies, arriued at Douer, and came to the kyng to Westminster, and there openly before the kyng and his counsail, declared how he had taken an honorable truce, for the sauegard of Normandy, & the wealth of ŷ realme, out of whiche truce, he thought, yea, and doubted not, but a perpetual peace, and a finall concorde, should shortely proceade and growe out. And muche the soner, for that honorable mariage, that inuincible alliaunce, that Godly affinitie, whiche he had concluded: omitting nothyng, whiche might extoll & setforth, the personage of the Ladie, nor forgetting any thyng, of the nobilitie of her kinne, nor of her fathers high stile: as who would saie, that she was of suche an excellent beautie, and of so high a parentage, that almoste no king or Emperor, was worthy to be her make. Although this mariage pleased well the kyng, and diuerse of his counsaill, and especially suche as were adherentes, and fautors to the erle of Suffolke, yet Humfrey duke of Gloucester, Protector of the realme, repugned and resisted as muche as in him laie, this new alliaunce and contrined matrimonie: alledgyng that it was neither cousonaunt to the lawe of GOD nor man, nor honorable to a prince, to infringe and breake a promise or contracte, by hym made and concluded, for the vtilitie and profite of his realme and people, declaryng, that the kyng, by his Ambassadors, sufficiently instructed and authorised, had cōcluded and cōtracted, a mariage betwene his highnes, & the doughter of therle of Arminacke, vpon condicions, bothe to hym and his realme, asmuche profitable as honorable. Whiche offers and cōdicions, the said erle sith his commyng out of his captiuitie and thraldome, is redy to yelde and performe, saiyng: that it was more conueniente for a Prince, to marie a wife with riches and frendes, then to take a make with nothyng, and disherite himself and his realme of olde rightes and auncient seigniories. The duke was not heard, but the Erles doynges, were condiscended vnto, and allowed. Whiche facte engendered suche a flame, that it neuer wente oute, till bothe the parties with many other were consumed and slain, to the great vnquietnes of the kyng and his realme. And for the performaunce of these conclusions, the Frenche kyng sent the Erle of Vandosme, greate Master of his house, & the Archebishop of Reyns, first pere of Fraunce, and diuerse other into England, whiche wer ioyously receiued, and frendly entertayned. Which Ambassadors, after instrumentes on bothe parties, sealed and deliuered, (not vnrewarded) returned into their countrey. When these thynges were thus doen, the kyng, bothe for the honor of his realme, and to assure to hymself, more speciall frendes, he created Lorde Ihon Holand Erle of Huntyngdon, Duke of Excester, as his father was, and Humfrey Erle of Stafford, was made Duke of Buckyngham, and Henry Erle of Warwicke, was erected to the title of Duke of Warwicke, and the Erle of Suffolke, made Marques of Suffolke,

Suffolke, whiche Marques with his wife, & many honorable parsonages of men and women, richely adorned, bothe with apparell and Ieuels, hauyng with them many costly chariottes, & gorgious horselitters, sailed into Fraunce, for the conueyaunce of the nominated Quene, into the realme of England. For kyng Reyner her father, for al his long stile, had to short a purse, to sende his doughter honorably, to the kyng her spouse.

¶ THE. XXIII. YERE.

THIS noble company, came to the citee of Toures in Tourayne, where they were honorably receiued, bothe of the Frēch kyng, and of the kyng of Scicile. Wher the Marques of Suffolke, as procurator to Kyng Henry, espoused thesaid Ladie, in the churche of sainct Martyns. At whiche mariage were present, the father and mother of the bride, the Frenche kyng hymself, whiche was vncle to the husbande, and the Frenche quene also, whiche was awnte to the wife. There wer also, the dukes of Orleaunce, of Calaber, of Alaunson, and of Britayn. vii. Erles, xii. Barons. xx. Bishoppes, beside knightes and gentelmen. There wer triumphaunt Iustes, costly feastes, and delicate banquettes, but all pleasure hath an ende, and euery ioye is not continuall. So that after these high solempnities finished, and these honorable ceremonies ended, the Marques had the Ladie Margaret to hym deliuered, whiche in greate estate, he cōueyed through Normandy to Deape, and so transported her into Englande, where she landed at Portesmouthe, in the monethe of Aprill. This woman excelled all other, aswell in beautie and fauor, as in wit and pollicie, and was of stomack and corage, more like to a man, then a woman. Sone after her arriuall, she was conueyed to the toune of Southwike in Hamshire, where she, with all nupciall Ceremonies, was coupled in matrimony, to kyng Henry the. vi. of that name. After whiche mariage, she was with greate triumphe, conueyed to London, and so to Westminster, where vpō the. xxx. daie of May, she, with all solempnitie thervnto apperteinyng, was Crouned Quene of this noble realme of Englande. Who so would knowe, the costly receipt, the pleasaunt companie, the gorgeous apparell, the diuersitie of Instrumentes, the strange pagiauntes, the behauiour of the Lordes, the beautie of the Ladies, the sumptuous feast, the delicate viander, the marcial iustes, the fierce turnais, the Iustie daunces, & the minio sōges, which wer shewed, setforth and practised at her coronacion, let hym loke in the Chronicles of London, & of Robert Fabian, and there he shal finde thē set forth at the full. The. xxiii. yere.

THIS mariage semed to many, bothe infortunate, and vnprofitable to the realme of England, and that for many causes. First the kyng with her had not one peny, and for the fetchyng of her, the Marques of Suffolke, demaunded a whole fiftene, in open parliament: also for her mariage, the Duchie of Aniow, the citee of Maims, and the whole coūtie of Mayne, were deliuered and released to Kyng Reyner her father, whiche countreis were the very stayes, and backestandes to the Duchy of Normandy. Furthermore for this mariage, the Erle of Armiacke, toke suche great displeasure, that he became vtter enemy to the realme of Englande and was the chief cause, that the Englishmen, wer expulsed out of the whole duchie of Aquitayne, and lost bothe the countreis of Gascoyn and Guyen. But moste of all it should seme, that God with this matrimony was not conteint. For after this spousage the kynges frendes fell from hym, bothe in Englande and in Fraunce, the Lordes of his realme, fell in diuision emongest themselfes, the commons rebelled against their soueregne Lorde, and naturall Prince, feldes wer foughten, many thousandes slain, and finally, the kyng deposed, and his sonne slain, and this Quene sent home again, with asmuche misery and sorowe, as she was receiued with pompe and triumphe, suche is worldly vnstablenes, and so wauerynge is false flattering fortune.

DVRYNG the tyme of this truce, Richard Duke of Yorke, and diuerse other capitaines, repaired into England, bothe to visite their wifes, children, and frendes, and also to consulte, what should be doen, if the truce ended.

¶ THE.

¶ THE. XXIIII. YERE.

The. xxiiii. yere. FOR the whiche cause, the kyng called his high court of Parliament, in the whiche aboue all thynges, it was concluded, diligently to forsee, that Normandy should be well furnished and strongly defended, before the terme of the truce should be expired: for it was openly knowen, that the French kyng, was ready in all thynges, to make open warre, if no peace or abstinence of warre, wer agreed or concluded. For whiche consideracion, money was graunted, men wer appoynted and a great army gathered together and the duke of Somerset, was appoynted Regent of Normandy, and the Duke of Yorke thereof discharged. In whiche Parliament, to please the people with all, it was enacted, ỳ whē whete was solde for. vi. s. viii. d. ỳ quarter and Rye for. iiii. s. and Barley for. iii. s. it should be lawfull to euery mā to cary theseid kyndes of corne, into the parties beyond the sea, without licence, so it wer not to the kynges enemies or rebelles: whiche act, kyng Edward the. iiii. for the vtilitie of his people, approued and confirmed.

THE Marques of Suffolke, beyng in high fauor with the kyng, and in no lesse grace with quene Margaret, for cōcluding the mariage betwene theim twoo, somewhat infected with the sede of vainglory, and thinkyng that his procedynges and doynges in Fraunce, (daryng the tyme of his legacion) had aswell pleased all men, as they pleased hym self, the second daie of Iune, in the first session of this parliament, before all the lordes spirituall & temporall, in the higher hous assembled, opēly, eloquently and boldely, declared his pain, trauaile and diligēce, whiche he had taken and susteined of late tyme, in the Realme of Fraunce, aswel for the takyng and concludyng a truce or abstinence of warre betwene the Realmes of Englande and of Fraunce, as in the makyng of the mariage betwene the kyng his souereigne lorde and theirs, and the noble Princes lady Margarete, daughter to the kyng of Sicile and Hierusalem: Openyng also to them, that theseid truce should expire the first daie of April next commyng, except a finall peace or a farther truce wer concluded in the meane season: aduisyng them to prouide and forsee all thynges necessarie, for the warre (as though no concorde should succede, nor agrement could take place) least the Frenchemen perceiuyng theim vnprouided, would take their aduauntage, and agree neither to reason nor amitie: saiyng vnto theim, that sithe he had admonished the kyng, and them, accordyng to his duetie and allegeaunce, if any thyng quailed, or if daunger ensued, he was thereof innocent and giltеles, and had acquited hymself like a louyng subiecte, and a faithful counsailor, praiyng the lordes to haue it in their remembraunce. Likewise the morowe after, he with certain lordes, discended into the cōmon house, where he declared again all the saied matters, to the knightes, Citezens and Burgesses, omittyng nothyng, that might sounde to his glory, nor openyng any thyng, whiche might redound to his dispraise: praiyng the cōmons for his discharge, that aswell all his doynges and procedynges in the kynges affaires beyond the sea, as also his aduertisement & counsaill, opened to the lordes and commons now together assembled, might be by the Kyng and theim, enacted and inrolled in the Recordes of the Parliament: wherupon the morowe after William Burley, speaker for the commons and all the company of the nether house, repaired to the kinges presence, sitting in his trone, emongest his lordes in the parliament chamber, where theseied William Burley, by the counsaill of the commons, (whether they did it more for feare then for loue, or wer thervnto entised by the Marques frendes, as some men doubted) moste hūblie commended to the kynges highnes, the foresaid Marques of Suffolke, and all his actes and notable woorkes, whiche he had done to the pleasure of almightie God, the honor of the kyng, and the vtilitie of the Realme: as in takyng the truce, concludyng the mariage,, and the good admonicion, geuen by hym in open Parliament, for prouision of warre to be made, durying the time of truce, least to muche trustyng of peace, might encorage the Frenchemen, the soner to begyn warre and inuasiō: besechyng the kynges highnes, in the name of the commons, to

imprint in his harte and remẽbraunce, thesaid Marques, and all his labors and actes, to his honor and renoume, which should be an exãple to all other, whiche the kyng should call to like seruice, to employ themselfes in like endeuor faithfully and honorably to serue their kyng and souereigne lorde: praiyng also the lordes spirituall and temporall, that they for the considerations before rehersed, would vouchesaue to make like peticiõ to the kynges maiestie, and that all the actes and demeanor of thesaied Marques, might by auctboritie of parliamẽt, be, to his honor, & perpetuall fame, in the rolles of thesame Parliament, recorded and substancially regestered. At whiche humble intercession, the lordes, aswel spirituall as temporal, rose from their seates, and on their knees, made to the kyng like request and peticion, as they of the commons before wer desired: wherupon, the kyng by the mouthe of the Archebishop of Canterbury, his Chancellor, made answer, that their requestes wer so reasonable and so honorable, that he in no wise could, but louyngly accept and gently alowe thesame, saiyng also: that their desires, wer to him a singuler pleasure, and an especiall comforte, and that he would from thencefurthe accepte and take thesaied Marques to his benigne grace, and especiall fauoure, as a persone, whiche had dooen bothe true, faithefull, and notable seruice to hym and to his Realme, to the intent, that all men put in like trust, should enforce theim selfes, to doo like or better seruice to their souereigne Lorde or Master: agreyng also (accordyng to their requestes and peticions) that the labors, demeanors, diligences, and declaracions of the saied Marques of Suffolke, and thesaied commendacions, and desires, not only of the lordes, but also of the commons, aswel for the honor of hym and his posteritie, as for his acquital and discharge, should be enacted, and enrolled in the Recordes of the same parliament, which was so done. This Marques thus gotten vp, into fortunes trone, not content with his degree, by the meanes of the Quene, was shortely erected to the estate and degree of a Duke, and ruled the Kyng at his pleasure, in so muche he obteined the wardshippes, bothe of body and landes of the Coũtesse of Warwicke, and of the lady Margarete, sole heire to Ihon Duke of Somerset (whiche lady was after, mother to Kyng Henry the seuenth) and beside that, caused the Kyng to create Ihon de Foys, sonne to Gaston de Foys, erle of Longuile, and Capdaw of Bueffez, erle of Kendale: whiche Ihõ had maried his niece, and by his procurement, the kyng elected into the order of the Garter, thesaid Gaston, and Ihon his sonne, geuyng to the sonne, towardes the maintenaunce of his degree and estate, landes and Castles, in the Duchie of Guyen, amountyng to the soune of one thousand poundes by the yere, whiche landes, name, and stile, the issue and line of thesaied erle of Kendall at this daie haue and enioye.

HERE a man maie beholde, what securitie is in worldly glory, and what constancie is in fortunes smilyng: for this Duke of Suffolke in open Parliament of the Lordes praised, of the commons thanked, and into the kynges fauor, entirely receiued, within foure yeres after, was in thesame place, by the commons of the Realme, accused of many treasons, mispricions and offences, done and committed against the Kyng, and the common wealthe of his Realme, and in conclusion, beyng exiled the realme, he was taken vpon the sea, and made shorter by the hedde, whiche chaunce had not happened to him, if he had remembred the counsail of the popyngay, saiyng: when thou thynkest thy self in courte moste surest, then is it high tyme to get thee home to rest.

THESE thynges beyng in doyng, the Frenche kyng seyng that the the toune of Mauns, and diuerse fortresses in Mayne, were not to hym deliuered, accordyng to the appoyntment made, gathered together a great numbre of people, for to recouer thesame: wherof the kyng of England beyng aduertised, (least the breache of truce should begynne by hym) caused the toune to be deliuered without any force.

THIS yere, an Armerars seruaunt of London, appeled his master of treason, whiche offered to bee tried by battaill. At the daie assigned, the frendes of the master, brought hym Malmesey and *Aqua vite*, to comforte hym with all, but it was the cause of his and their discomforte: for he poured in so much that when he came into the place in Smithfelde, where he should fight, bothe his witte and strength failed hym: and so he beyng a tall and a hardye

hardye personage, ouerlāded with hote drynkes, was vanqueshed of his seruāunte, beyng but a cowarde and a wretche, whose body was drawen to Tiborne, & there hanged and behedded. In whiche yere was a greate insurreccion in Norwiche, against the Prior of the place, in so muche that the citezens kepte the gates, against the Duke of Norffolke, whiche came thither to appease the matter: but in conclusion, they opened the gates, and submitted theim selfes. The chief offenders, wer (accordyng to their desertes) straightly punished, and executed, and the Maire was discharged of his office, and sir Ihon Clifton was made gouernoure there, till the kyng had restored the citezens to their auncient liberties, and francheses. This commocion, was for certain newe exaccions, whiche the Prior claimed and toke of the citezens, contrary to their auncient fredomes and vsages: but this was not the dewe meane to come to their right and purpose, and therefore because they erred and went out of the pathe, they were by punishemente brought again to a very straight trade and the right waie.

¶ THE. XXV. YERE.

The. xxv. yere.

DVring the tyme of this truce or abstinence of warre, while there was nothyng to vexe or trouble the myndes of men, within the realme, a sodain mischief, and a long discorde, sprang out sodainly, by the meanes of a woman: for kyng Henry, whiche reigned at this tyme was a man of a meke spirite, and of a simple witte, preferryng peace before warre, reste before businesse, honestie before profite, and quietnesse before laboure. And to the intent that all men might perceiue, that there could be none, more chaste, more meke, more holy, nor a better creature: In hym reigned shamefastnesse, modestie, integritie, and pacience to bee marueiled at, takyng and sufferyng all losses, chaunces, displeasures, and suche worldely tormentes, in good parte, and with a pacient maner, as though they had chaunced by his awne fault or negligent ouersight: yet he was gouerned of them whom he should haue ruled, and brideled of suche, whom he sharpely should haue spurred: He gaped not for honor, nor thirsted for riches, but studied onely for the health of his soule: the sauyng wherof, he estemed to bee the greatest wisedome, and the losse thereof, the extremest folie that could bee. But on the other parte, the Quene his wife, was a woman of a greate witte, and yet of no greater witte, then of haute stomacke, desirous of glory, and couetous of honor, and of reason, pollicye counsaill, and other giftes and talentes of nature, belongyng to a man, full and flowyng: of witte and wilinesse she lacked nothyng, nor of diligence, studie, and businesse, she was not vnexperte: but yet she had one poynt of a very woman: for often tyme, when she was vehemēt and fully bente in a matter, she was sodainly like a wethercocke, mutable, and turnyng. This woman perceiuyng that her husbande did not frankely rule as he would, but did all thyng by thaduise and counsaill of Hūfrey duke of Gloucester, and that he passed not muche on the auctboritie and gouernaunce of the realme, determined with her self, to take vpon her the rule and regiment, bothe of the kyng and his kyngdome, & to deprīue & euict out of al rule and auctboritie, thesaid duke, then called the lord protector of the realme: least men should saie & report, ỳ she had neither wit nor stomacke, whiche would permit & suffre her husband, beyng of perfect age & mās estate, like a yong scholer or innocent pupille to be gouerned by the disposicion of another man. This manly woman, this coragious quene, ceased not to prosecute furthwith, her inuented imaginacion and prepēsed purpose, but practised daily the furtheraunce of thesame. And although this inuēcīō came first of her awne high mind, and ambicious corage, yet it was furthered and set forward by suche, as of long tyme had borne malice to the duke, for declaryng their vntruth as you before haue heard. Whiche venemous serpentes, and malicious Tygers, perswaded, incensed and exhorted the quene, to loke well vpon the expenses and reuenues of the realme, and thereof to call an accompt: affirmyng plainly that she should euidently perceiue, that the Duke of Gloucester, had not so muche aduaunced & preferred the commō

wealth and publique vtilitie, as his awne priuate thinges & peculier estate. Be side this, Reyner kyng of Scicile, wrote to his doughter, that she & her husband, should take vpon them, the rule & gouernaunce of the realme, and not to be kept vnder, like yong wardes and desolate orphanes. The quene perswaded and encoraged by these meanes, toke vpō her and her husbande, ỹ high power and auctboritie ouer the people and subiectes. And although she ioyned her husbande with hir in name, for a countenaunce, yet she did all, she saied all, and she bare the whole swynge, as the strong oxe doth whē he is yoked in the the plough with a pore silly asse: and firste of all she excluded the duke of Gloucester, from all rule and gouernaunce, not prohibityng suche as she knewe to be his mortal enemies, to inuent and imagyne, causes and griefes, against hym and his: so that by her permissiō, and fauor, diuerse noblemen conspired against hym, of the whiche, diuerse writers affirme, the Marques of Suffolke, and the duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe, not vnprocured by the Cardinall of Winchester, and the Archebishop of Yorke. Diuerse articles, bothe heynous and odious, were laied to his charge in open counsaill, and in especiall one, that he had caused men adiudged to dye, to be put to other execucion, then the law of the land had ordered or assigned: for surely the duke being very well learned in the lawe ciuill, detestyng malefactors, and punishyng their offences, gat great malice and hatred of such as feared to haue condigne reward for their vngracious actes and mischeuous doynges. Although the duke (not without great laude and praise) sufficiently answered to all thynges to hym obiected, yet because his death was determined, his wisedome litle helped, nor his truth smally auailed: but of this vnquietnes of mynde, he deliuered hymself, because he thought neither of death, nor of condempnacion to dye: suche affiaunce had he in his strong truthe, and suche confidence had he in indifferent iustice. But his capitall enemies and mortal foes, fearyng that some tumulte or commocion might arise, if a prince so well beloued of the people, should bee openly executed, and put to death, determined to trappe & vndoo hym, or he thereof should haue knowledge or warnyng. So for the furtherance of their purpose, a parliament was somoned to be kept at Bery, whether resorted all the peres of the realme, and emongest them, the duke of Gloucester, whiche on the second daie of the session, was by the lorde Beaumond, then high Constable of Englande, accompanied by the duke of Buckynghā, and other, arrested, apprehended, and put in warde, and all his seruauntes sequestered from hym, and xxxii. of the chief of his retinue, were sent to diuerse prisons, to the greate admiracion of the common people. The duke the night after his emprisonement, was found dedde in his bed, and his body shewed to the lordes and commons, as though he had died of a palsey or empostome: but all indifferent persons well knewe, that he died of no natural death but of some violēt force: some iudged hym to be strangled: some affirme, that a hote spitte was put in at his foundement: other write, that he was stiffeled or smoldered betwene twoo fetherbeddes. After whose deathe, none of his seruauntes (although they were arraigned and attainted) wer put to death: for the Marques of Suffolk, when they should haue been executed, shewed openly their pardon, but this doyng appeased not the grudge of the people, whiche saied that the pardone of the seruauntes, was no amendes for murderyng of their master. The dedde corse of the duke, was caried to sainct Albons, and there honorably buried. Thus was this noble prince, sonne, brother, and vncle to kynges, whiche had valeauntly and politiquely by the space of xxv. yeres gouerned this Realme, and for his demerites, called the good duke of Gloucester, by a bone cast by his enemies, choked and brought to his fatall fine, and laste ende. So all men maie openly se that to men in auctboritie, no place no not the courte the cheif refuge of all, nor the dwellyng house, nor yet a mannes priuate Castle, or his bed ordeined for his quietnes, is out of daungier of deathes dart. It semeth to many men, that the name and title of Gloucester, hath been vnfortunate and vnluckie to diuerse, whiche for their honor, haue been erected by creacion of princes, to that stile and diguitie, as Hugh Spencer, Thomas of Woodstocke, sonne to kyng Edward the third, and this duke Humfrey, whiche thre persones, by miserable death finished their daies, and after them kyng Richard the. iii. also, duke of Gloucester, in ciuill

warre was slain and confounded: so ỳ this name of Gloucester, is takē for an vnhappie and vnfortunate stile, as the prouerbe speaketh of Seianes horse, whose rider was euer vnhorsed, and whose possessor was euer brought to miserie. When the rumor of the dukes death, was blowen through the realme, many mē wer sodainly appalled and amased for feare: many abhorred and detested ỳ faict, but all men reputed it an abhominable cruelti̇e, and a shameful tiranny. But the publique wealth of the realme of Englande, by the vnworthy death of this pollitique prince, susteined greate losse, & ran into ruyne, for surely the whole waight and burden of the realme, rested and depēded vpō him, as the experience afterward did declare. For after his death, good & sage men fearing thē selfes, fled out of ỳ flatteryng court, into whose places entered suche, as desiryng their awne promocion, set open the gates to new faccions, whiche could neuer be extinct till all the seignories beyōd the sea (except Caleice & the marches) were lost, & kyng Hēry in conclusion spoyled of hys Realme & lyfe. There is an olde sayd saw, that a man entēdyng to auoide the smoke, falleth into the fyre: So here the Quene mynding to preserue her husbād in honor, & her selfe in auctoritie, procured & consentid to the death of this noble man, whose onely death brought to passe that thynge, which she woulde most fayne haue eschewed, and toke from her that iewel, whiche she moste desired: for if this Duke had lyued, the Duke of Yorke durst not haue made title to the crowne: if this Duke had liuyd, the nobles had not conspired against the king, nor yet the cōmōs had not rebelled: if this Duke had lyued, the house of Lācastre had not been defaced and destroyed, which thynges hapned all contrary by the destrucciō of this good man. This is the worldly iudgemēt, but God knoweth, what he had predestinate & what he had ordained before, against whose ordenaunce preuayleth no counsaill, and against whose will auayleth no stryuinge.

¶ THE. XXVI. YERE.

The. xxvi. yere. IN this. xxvi. yere of the reigne of this kynge, But in the first yere of the rule of the Quene, I fynde no thyng done worthye to be rehersed, within the Realme of Englande, but that the marques of Suffolke by greate fauor of the kynge, and more desire of the Quene, was erected to the title, and name of the duke of Suffolke, whiche dignitie he shorte tyme enioyed & which degre, he but a briefe seasō possessed. For after the deposicion or rather the destruccion of the good duke of Gloucester, and the exaltacion and aduauncement of this glorious man: Rychard duke of Yorke, beyng greatly alied by his wyfe, to the chief peres and potentates of the Realme, ouer and besyde his awne progenye and greate consanguinitie, perceiuyng the Kyng to be a ruler not Ruling, & the whole burden of the Realme, to depend in the ordinaūces of the Quene & the duke of Suffolke, began secretly to allure to his frendes of the nobilitie, and priuatly declared to thē, his title and right to the Crowne, and lykewyse dyd he to a certain wyse and saige Gouernors and rulers of dyuers cities and townes: whiche priuie attēpt was so politiquely handeled and so secretly kept, that his prouisiō was ready, before his purpose was openly published, and hys frendes opened theim selfes or the contrary parte coulde them espye: but in conclusion tyme reueled truth and olde hyd hatred openly sprange out, as you shall hereafter bothe lament and heare.

DVRING these doynges, Henry Beaufford, bishop of Winchester, and called the ryche Cardinall, departed out of this world, and was buried at Wynchester. This man was sonne to Ihon of Gaunte duke of Lancaster, discēded of an honorable lignage, but borne in Baste, more noble of blodd, then notable in learning, haut in stomacke, and hygh in cōtenaunce, ryche aboue measure of all men, & to fewe liberal, disdaynfull to his kynne and dreadfull to his louers, preferryng money before frendshippe, many thinges beginning, and nothing perfourmyng. His couetous insaciable, and hope of long lyfe, made hym bothe to forget God, hys Prynce and hym selfe, in his latter daies: for doctor Ihon Baker his pryuie counsailer, and his chappelleyn, wrote, that he lyeng on his death bed, said these wordes. "Why should I dye hauig so muche ryches, if the whole Realme would saue my lyfe, I am able either by pollicie to get it, or by ryches to bye it. Fye, will not death be hyered, nor will money do nothyng?

nothyng? when my nephew of Bedford died, I thought my selfe halfe vp the whele, but when I sawe myne other nephew of Gloucester diseased, then I thought my self able to be equale with kinges, and so thought to encrease my treasure in hoope to haue worne a tryple Croune. But I se now the worlde faileth me, and so I am deceyued: praiyng you all to pray for me." Of the gettyng of this mannes goodes both by power, legantye or spirituall bryberie I wil not speake: but the kepinge of them for his ambycious purpose, aspiryng to ascend to the papisticall sea, was bothe great losse to his naturall Prince, and natyue countrey: for his hiddē ryches might haue wel holpen the king, and his secrete treasure might haue relened the cōmonaltie, whē money was scante and importunate charges, were daily imminent. After the death of this prelate, which was a great stay to the Kyng & the realme, the affayres in Fraunce, were neither well loked to, nor the gouernors of the countrey were well aduised. For an Englishe capitayn, called syr Franceys Surrien the Arragonoys, a man for his witt and actinitie admitted to the order of the Gartier, toke by scalyng sodaynly in the night, a Towne on the frontiers of Normandie, belonging to the duke of Britayn, called Fongiers, spoyling the same, and kyllinge the inhabitantes to the great destruccion of the people, and more displeasure to the duke of Britayn, their souereigne lorde. The duke beynge thereof aduertysed, sent woorde to the Frenche kynge, declaringe to him that in the time of truce (in the which, he as his allye and vassal was cōprehendyd) he was spoyled and bereuyd of his towne of Fongiers: besechyng the Frenche kynge, in that cause to se a recompense and amendemente: whereupon he sent Ihon Hauart his caruar, and Ihon Cosynet one of the masters of his requestes to the kyng of England: & to the duke of Somerset, he dispatched Peter de Fountaynes Esquier, & one of the cheife of his stable, to whome by both the Princes, it was aunswered, that the facte and enterprise was both done contrary to there mynde, will and knowledge. And for the truce to be kept, and not onely restitucion, but also amendes to be made to the Duke of Britayn, a daye of dyet and assemble was appointed to be kept at the town of Louiers. At the time appointed both the parties assembled: the Frenche parte demaunded amendes, with no litle recompense: The Englishe orators aunswered, that without offēce, no thing by iustice, ought to be satisfied: affirming the doynge of syr Franceys Surrien, to be his onely acte, withoute the consent or counsail, either of the kynge of England, or the duke of Somerset his lieuctenāt and regent. During this daily communicaciō & longe delaye, certain Frenchemen, frendes to the duke of Britayn, desyring to be reuenged of the iniurie done to him at Fongiers, and also imagening, how to do some new displeasure to the Englishmē, were aduertised by a wagoner of Louiers, ỳ the town of Poūtelarche, was but meanly manned and slenderly furnished, and the watche was but negligently loked to: with whiche saiynges the Frenchemen beynge somwhat encouraged, deuised a waye, howe by pollicie to take the towne: So the wagoner laded his wagon, and passed forward, hauing in his company. ii. stronge varlettes clad lyke carpenters with great axes in their neckes. And for the furtherāce of their purpose, the lord of Bressy, with a chosen company of men of armes lodged himself in a busshement nere to the gate of sainct Andrewe. And capitayn Floquet, accompanied with syr Iames of Clermoūt, and another great company, priuilie lurked vnder a wood toward Louiers. When al thinges were appoynted, early in the morning in the beginning of the moneth of October, the wagoner came to the gate, & called the porter by name, praiyng him to open the gate, that he mighte passe to Roen, and returne agayne the same night. The porter (whiche wel knew the voice of his customer) toke litle hede to the other. ii. cōpagnions, & so opened the one gate, and sent another felow of his, to opē the foremost gate. Whē ỳ Charlotte was on the draw bridge, betwene both ỳ gates, the Charlottemaster gaue the porter money, and for the nones, let one pece fal to the grounde, & whyle the porter stoped to take it vp, the wagoner with his dagger stroke him in at his throte, so that he cried foē no healpe, and the. ii. great lubbers slewe the other porters, and with their axes cutte the axeletre of the wagone, so that the drawe bridge could not be shortlye drawen vp. Which thinges done, they made a signe to capitayne Floquet, whiche, without delay or tract of time, entered the town, and

slew and toke the Englishmen, which neither heard nor thought of any suche enterprise: emongest whom, the lord Fauconbridge, capitaine of the saide towne, was apprehended as a prisoner. By this pratye cautele and slyghe imposture, was the towne of Pountelarche take and surprised, which towne was the kay and passage ouer the ryuer of Soame, frō Fraūce to Normandy, beyng distant frō Roen, only. iiij. leagues. Thus wrong was added to wrong, & iniurie heped to iniurie, whereby ỹ terme of truce was violated, & mortal warre was reuiued. But because ỹ taking of this fortresse, had a certain colour of brekig of truce. The duke of Somerset by ambassadors, & not by force of armes, deuised to recouer this pratye town, & sēt for ỹ restituciō of thesame, diuerse ambassadors to ỹ Frēch kyng & his cōusail, which made aūswere agayn, ỹ if the Englishmen restored to the duke of Brytain, the town of Fōgiers with cōdigne amēdes, for the damages done & cōmitted within the same, the town of Pountarche should agayne be rendered and deliuered: for the Frenche kynge and his counsaill began now to perceyue and smel, that the affayres of Englande, by the death of the duke of Gloucester, were sore minished and decayed, and that good counsaill began to waxe faynte and decay, and sedicion freshely began to sprynge and ryse: By reason whereof, they thoughte that Normandye might sone be conquered and recoured, and that the Englishe nacion out of that region might easely be expulsed and driuē out: wherfore they determined to take the good occasion to them openly offered, & to lose no tyme in so good a bargayne. Wherupō kyng Charles diuided his armyē in to. iii. partes, not doubting of victory, by reason that the fame of the cōquest of Pountelarche, was blowen and spread abrode ouer al ỹ coūtrey. So after diuers assautes (not without losse of diuers of his men) he had rendered to hym by cōposicion, the townes of Louiers and Gerborie, whereof Williā Harper was capitayn. Thus prosperous victory dayly succedinge to the Frenche kynges armyē, he augmenting his hooste, determined to get the town of Vernoyle in perche, & gyrd it round about with a strōg seage. The inhabitaūtes wherof, although with the sodayne chaunce they were somewhat abashed, yet hauinge some succours, and hopinge of more relefe, toke to them good courage, and manfully defended the towne. But when their ayde taried lenger, then they either thought or desired, they were compelled to compound and pact with their enemyes, vpon this condicion: that if the seage were not reysed within. xx. dayes, that then they shoulde departe with bagge and baggage, whiche condiciō was accepted: and because no rescous came, the town, Castel and the great Towre, were deliuered. The Frenche historians affirme, the towne to be taken by assaute, and the Castell by composicion, but all writers agree, that the Frenchemen obteyned it. Thus was warre reuiued before the full terme of the truce expyred, which was the moste detestable and vnprofitable chaunce that either could, or might haue happened or come, to the realme of England. For by this sodayn damage & losse, without thought arrising, the Englishe capitaynes were so busyed & vnquieted, what with appeasyng dayly rumors within townes, and what with studye how to recouer Castels lost and taken, that they scace wyste, what waye to take: for while they studied, how to kepe and defēde one citie. iij. or. v. other, folowing fortunes chaunce, turned to the Frenche parte, and became their enemies. The chefe cause of which reuolting and turnīg was this: It was blowen throughout all Fraunce, that the realme of Englande, after the death of the duke of Gloucester, by the seueral faccios of Princes, was diuided in two partes, and that William de la Pole, late created duke of Suffolke, and diuers other were the occasion of the death of the said duke of Gloucester, which was the very Father of the countrye, and the shield and defence of the poore cōmonaltie, and that the forenamed duke of Suffolke, only for lucre of money, vexed, oppressed and molested the poore people, so that mens myndes were not intentiue, nor geuen to outward affayres, and foren coquestes, but all theire studie was, how to driue backe and defend domesticall iniuries, and dayly wronges done at home: by reason whereof men of warre were vnpayed, and no armye for resistēce was either gathered or assēbled together: which mischiefes (while the Kyng, as thinges of the worlde, and of no great moment, did neglect and omit, as he which preferred & extolled godly thinges, aboue all worldly affaires and mortal cures, and thought thē most

to

to be phãtasied and labored: And while quene Margarete his wyfe, in whom the whole rule of the realme consisted, beyng a woman & to muche credẽce geuyng, to euil & flattering cõsallors them lile regarded) dayly so much encreased, that by no meanes after they could be either ouercome or resisted: so that by this meanes the Frenche nacion knew in what case the state of the realme of Englandẽ stode in, whiche elated & encouraged their hartes & dauted & appalled the courages of the Normans and Gascoyns, so muche that for lacke of ayde and relefe, they turned to the Frenche parte, and forsoke their very souereigne lord the king of Englande in shorte space, as you shall here after heare.

THE. XXVII. YERE.

IT was not enough, the realme of Englãd this season thus to be vexed and vnquieted with the busines of Normãdy, but also a new rebellion began in Irelande, to the great displeasure of the Kynge and his counsaill: for repressinge whereof, Richard duke of Yorke, with a conuenient nũber of men was sent thither, as lieuetenant to the Kyng, which not onely appeased the fury of the wylde, and sauage people there, but also gat him suche loue and fauour of the countrey and the inhabitaũtes, that their syncere loue and fredly affeccion coulde neuer be seperated frõ him and his lygnage, as in the sequele of this story, you shall more plainly perceyue. The Frenchemen hauyng perfyte vnderstãding of the infirmitie and vnreadinesse of the realme of Englande, displaied their banners, and set furthe their armyes, and in shorte space gat by yeildynge, Constance, Gisors, Castell, Gayllard, Pontean du mere, sainct Lo, Fescampe, Newchastell, Alansõn, Tõcque, Manleõ argẽton, Lisiaux argenton, and diuers other townes in Normãdy: Lykewise in Guyen was the town of Maulissone rẽdered to ỹ Erle of Foys. These townes were not yelded voluntarilye by the Englishe souldiors, but they were thereunto compelled by the cytizens and the inhabitauntes of the townes, whiche apparantly perceyuing, that the great flame of the Englishe force was extinct and consumed, rose against the Capitaines, and either opened the gates to their enemies, or constrained them to render vpon a composicion. By which enforcement was the rych citie of Roan deliuered: for surely the Duke of Somerset & the lorde Talbot Erle of Sarowesburye, had well kept & defended this citie, if they had bene no more vexed with the citizens, then they were with their enemyes. For after the Frenche king had once by his Herault somoned the citie, the inhabitaũtes not only sought ways and inuented fraudes, how to betray the same, but also put on harnes and rebelled against their capitaynes, menacinge to the death & destruccion al the English people. The capitaines perceiuyng their vntrought, & trayterous demeanour retrayted them selfes into the Castell or Palaice, where they a certaine space with arrowes and handgonnes, sore molested and vexed the vntrew citizens. But when they cõsidered the great puyssaũce of the Frẽch kyng, and that they were in dispayre of all ayde or relefe, and that their victayle and artillarye began sore to minishe, they thoughte it better to compounde and agree with their enemies, rather then wilfully to be destroyed or dye for famyn: and so vpon condicion that all they should safely departe to Caẽn with all their goods and armure, and that certain townes should be delinered by a daye, they were permitted to departe: leauyng behynd them for hostages, till the sayd townes (whiche were agreed to be rendered) should be deliuered, the Erle of Shreuesbury and the lorde Butler, sonne to the Erle of Ormonde, which were sent to the Castell of Eureux, because they sore feared the malice of the citizens of Roen. The Frenchemen folowyng still the steps of victorie, & elated with the brute and fame of getting of Roen, determined either by force or offer, to get the towne of Harfflew, and shortely assauted thesame, wherof was capitayn syr Thomas Conoson, a man of great witt and of no lesse force: which hauing knowledge of the heauy tidinges, brought from Roen, was therewith nothinge abashed, but coragiously set vpon his enemies, and them to their great hurt, manfully repulsed and draue from the walles. The Frenchemen learning wit by this great perill, left their scalynge, and

The xxvii. yere.

deuised dayly, howe to batter and breake the walles & fortificaciõs. This seage long continued to the great losse of both parties. When syr Thomas sawe small lykelihod of ayde or gayne, but muche apparaunce of losse and ieopardy, he toke a conuencion with his enemies, and so departed with all his goodes.

¶ THE. XXVIII. YERE.

The. xxviii. yere. AFTER whiche towne rendered, the fortresse of Hunflew, vpon the same composicion was yeilded. Thus you may perceyue, that fortune is euer without measure, for either she to muche fauoreth or to muche hateth: for beside these townes surrendered in Normandy, the duke of Britayne recouered agayne Fongiers, sent Ihon de Bueme and diuers other townes. In the meane season, the king of England sent into Normandy with a crew of. M. and. cccc. men, a valiaunt capitayn, called syr Thomas Kyriel: a man of great stomacke, if he had hadde a great armye but his power was to small, either to recouer that whiche was lost, either to saue that, whiche yet remayned vngotten: but surely in him lacked neither good will nor courage, for with his small numbre, he recouered agayn the townes of Lyseaux and Valongnes. After which feate, he ioyned hymself with sir Hery Norbery, sir Robert Veere, Matthew Gough, and other capitaines, so that they were aboue fiue thousande men, of valiaunt hartes and haute courages. After long consultacion, they determined to fight with the Frenchmen, whiche wer gooyng to the siege of Caen, but in their iourney, they were encountered at a place called Formigny, betwene Carentyne and Bayeux, by the erle of Cleremont, lieuctenaunt for the Frenche kyng, the Stewarde of Poytou, and the lorde of Rays Admirall of Fraunce, with sixe hundred men of armes, and sixe thousand other, whiche skirmished with the Englishmen a greate season. Duryng whiche skirmishe, there arriued Arthur erle of Richemond, high Constable of Fraunce, Iames of Luxenborough, erle of Lauall, with a greate numbre of horsemen and freshe fotemen. After his commyng, he and all the Frenchmen set on thenglishmen, beyng faint and wery with the long skirmishe. This battaill was sore fought, but in conclusiõ, the Englishmen wer discomfited, and put to flight, and of theim slain aboue iiii. M. and. viii. C. taken prisoners, where of, sir Thomas Kiriell, sir Henry Norbery, & sir Thomas Dreue wer the chief, sir Robert Vere and Matthewe Gough saued themselfes. This was the first foughten feld, that the Frenchmen gatte on the Englishmen in many yeres, wherfore, I blame theim not, though they of a litle, make muche, and set furthe all, and hide nothyng that maie sounde to their glory. They declare what nũbre thei slew, but thei write not how many of them wer slain nor destroyed.

AFTER this victory obteined, the Frenche kyng hearyng that the Duke of Somerset was in the toune of Caen, thought that he had nothyng doen, if he permitted the duke, still to tary in Normandy, whiche by new aide and freshe succors, might turne the whele of Fortune, into a contrary parte, and peraduenture recouer all that hath been loste, or put the realme of Fraunce in ieoperdy: wherefore, like a wise prince, entendyng to preuent thynges, imminent & at hande, assembled an armie royall, & in his awne persone, hauyng in his campe Reyner, called kyng of Scicile, father to the Quene of Englande, the dukes of Calaber and Alaunson, the erles of Cleremont, Richemond, Mayne, Dumoys, Sent Polle, and Dampemartyne, beside many noble Barons and valiaunte knightes, when all thynges were ready, as opportunitie of tyme serued: He caused the Toune to bee enuironed on euery side, assignyng to his capitaines seuerall places of the toune to bee assauted, and there to proue their manhod. The erle of Dumoys, with more losse then gain entered into a bulwerke and was beaten backe. Thenglishemen within the toune kept silence, as though they knewe not of their enemies approchyng, but euery man kept his loupe, and euery capitain well ouerloked his ward. The Frenchemen with quarelles, morispikes, slynges, and other engynes, began to assaut the walles: but of the

the Englishemen within, some shot fiercely withlong bowes, other cast dartes, and rolled doune greate stones and barres of Iron: other cast doune lauelyns, firebrādes, hote leade, and blockes with pitche and brymstone, like burnyng fire flamyng: some cast doune and ouerthrewe the scalyng ladders and slewe suche as clymed vp the walles: neither courage lacked in the assault, nor manhode, nor policie in the defence: for on the embatelmētes of the walles were set greate rolles of tymbre, so mouyng and vnstedfaste, that neither scalyng ladder could catche any holde, nor no persone that should clyme vp, could set any sure fotyng. The French kyng, perceiuyng that this assaye litle or nought prevailed hym, sent for all his greate ordinaunce to Paris, determinyng neuer to departe, till he had conquered the toune, either with swerde or famyn. When the ordinaūce was brought, he daily shot at the walles, and did some hurte: but to the Castle, whiche stode on a rocke, and in it a dongeon vnhable to be beaten doune, he did no harme at all. In this toune was the duke of Somerset, his wife and children, but he was not capitain, for the Duke of Yorke owner of the toune, by the kynges gifte, had appoynted there his capitain generall, sir Dauy Halle, and of the castle, sir Robert Veer, and of the dongeon, sir Henry Radford. Daily the shot was greate, but more terrible then hurtfull. Sauyng one daie, a stone shot into the toune, fel betwene the duches of Somerset, and her children, whiche, beyng amased with this chaunce, praied on her knees her husbande, to haue mercy and compassion of his small enfantes, and that they might be deliuered out of ỹ toune in sauegard. The duke more piteous then hardy, moued with the dolor of his wife, and loue of his children, assembled the capitaines and magistrates of the toune, declaryng, to theim, the power and puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng, and their debilitie and weakenes, perswadyng theim rather to yeld and reudre vpon honest condicions, then obstinatly to resist, and foolishly to perishe. Sir Dauy Halle, capitain of the toune, aunswered to hym, saiyng: my lorde, although you bee the kynges lieuetenaunt generall, within this countrey and dominion, and maie by force of your auctoritie, deliuer, sell or geue, any of the kynges tounes, to suche persones, either frendes or enemies, as shall please you: yet I am sure that you cut your lether to large, to intreate or speake of the renderyng of this toune, apperteinyng to my lord & master, Richard duke of Yorke, whiche thereof hath geuen me bothe the charge and custody, with other of my trusty frendes and felowes, and whiche with the helpe of almightie God, I shall well defende, bothe against the Frenche kyng and all his puyssaunce, till the duke my master come to succor me: for of men, money and municions, I trust I haue sufficient. Why saied the duke, am not I here the kynges deputie, representyng his persone, & maie commaunde all thynges accordyng to my discrecion: Yea, said the capitain, so that you geue away no manes right, but his, whose auctoritie you haue for thesame: as for this toune, I assure you, without my lordes assent, you shall neither render nor yelde, by my consent or agrement. The duke was sore moued with this saiyng, and so departed, and after sent for the rulers of the toune, and the poorest people of thesame, declaryng to them, that their lifes and goodes, wer in the Frenche kynges handes, and if they looked not shortely to their sauegard, of death they were sure, and of mercie farre vncertain: exhortyng theim to folowe his louyng monicion, rather then the hardened harte, of their to hardie capitain. The people of the toune thus perswaded (whose hartes wer rather Frenche then Englishe) began to rise against sir Dauy, boldely affirmyng, that if he tooke no composicion, within three daies, thei would open the gates, and let in the Frenche kyng: and of this opinion, wer all the common souldiors. What should the poore Hare saie, when she is enuironed with a hundred houndes, or the silly Larke crye, when she is in the middell of a hundred Hawkes, but take pacience, and seke awaie to escape: so this capitain perceiuyng, that neither his woordes serued, nor his truthe toward his master preuailed, bad the duke of Somerset do what he list, for he would in no wise be named in ỹ composiciō. Then the duke partely to please the tounes men, but more desirous to please the duches his wife, made an agrement with the Frenche kyng, that he would rendre the toune, so that he and all his, might depart in sauegard with all their goodes

goodes and substaunce: whiche offre, the Frenche Kyng gladly accepted and allowed, knowyng that by force, he might lenger haue longed for the strong toune, then to haue possessed thesame so sone. After this conclusion taken, sir Danie Halle, with diuerse other of his trustie frēdes, departed to Chierburge, and from thence sailed into Irelande, to the duke of Yorke, makyng relacion to hym of all these dooynges: whiche thyng kyndeled so so greate a rancore in his harte & stomacke that he neuer lefte persecutyng of the Duke of Somersette, till he had brought hym to his fatall poynt, and extreme confusion.

AFTER the obteinyng of this strong toune of Caen, therle of Cleremont besieged the citie of Lyseux, whereof was capitain Matthewe Gough, with thre hundred Englishmen. The capitain perceiuyng that when Caen was not rescewed, that poore Liseux, was in dispaire of all succor, agreed to abandon and deliuer the citee, so that he and his people, might departe to Chierburge, hauyng no yron weapon nor armure, but onely their goodes, and white staues in their handes. After the deliueraunce of this toune, the Frenchmen stil like good begeles, folowyng their preye, besieged the toune of Fallayse, apperteinyng to the lord Talbot, erle of Shrewesbury: whereof wer capitaines for thesaied erle, Andrewe Trollop, and Thomas Cotton esquires, whiche beyng desperate of succors, and considerying the puissaunce of their enemies, agreed to deliuer the toune vpon twoo condicions. The one was, that the Erle their master, whiche remained in pledge for certain condicions, agreed to bee perfourmed at the deliueraunce of Roen, (as you haue heard before) should be dismissed & set at libertie. The other, that if they wer not rescued within twelfe daies, that then, they and theirs, to depart with armure, and all their godes moueable, whether it pleased them. After this agrement at the daie prefixed, no rescues came, and so the toune was rēdered, and incontinent after, the fortresse of Dampforde was deliuered vpon like agrement. For the Frenchmen bragged, that they regarded neither golde nor siluer, but desired rule, glory, and fame: With whiche lightnesse, the other tounes of Normandy beyng perswaded, voluntarily rendered themselfes, vassalles and subiectes to the Frenche nacion.

NOW rested English, onely the toune of Chierburge, wherof was capitain, Thomas Gonuile, which surely, valiauntly defended the toune as long as vitail and municion serued: but when those two handes wer spent and consumed, he destitute of all comforte and aide, vpon a reasonable composicio, yelded the toune and went to Caleis, where the duke of Somerset, and many Englishemen then soiorned: lamentyng their losse, and desperate of all recouery. Thus was the riche duchie of Normandy lost, ỹ whiche had continued in thenglishmennes possession xxx. yeres, by the cōquest of Kyng Henry the fifth. In the whiche duchie wer a hundred strong tounes and fortresses, hable to be kept and holden, beside theim whiche wer destroyed by the warres, and in thesame was one Archebishopricke, and sixe bishoprickes. Some saie, that the Englishemen wer not of puyssaunce, either to man the tounes as they should bee or to inhabite the countrey, whiche was the cause, that they could could not, kepe it: accordyng to the Frenchemennes Adage, whiche saieth: A man cannot long hold that, whiche he cannot gripe. Other say, that the duke of Somerset, for his awne peculier profite, kept not halfe his nombre of souldiors, and put their wages in his purse. These be mennes imaginacions and coniectures, but surely the losse of it, was the domesticall diuision within the realme, euery greate man desiryng, rather to be reuenged on his foo at home, then on his outward enemie, as you now shall manifestly se and perceiue.

¶ THE. XXVIII. YERE.

The. xxviii. yere. FOR while these conquestes wer obteined in the partes beyond the sea, with sworde, speare, and target, by the aduersaries of the Englishmen, thre mischeuous capitaines, set the people of the Realme (aswell of the nobilitie, as of the meane sorte) in a ciuill warre and

and intestine diuision: For emong the high Princes and peeres, reigned inward grudge: emong the Cleargie, adulacion, & emong the commonaltie, disdain of lasciuious soue-reigntie whiche the Quene with her minions, and vnprofitable counsailers daily toke and vsurped vpō them. Wherfore they (not myndyng to be more charged, then their backes would beare, and perceiuyng that by the negligent prouision, and improuident pollicie of the wit wantyng gouernors within the realme, the affaires and businesse in the partes beyonde the sea, daily decaied and more wer like to do, if other pollitique rulers were put in auc-thoritie, and the negligent officers, sequestered and deposed,) began to make exclamacion against the Duke of Suffolke, affirming him, to be the onely cause of the deliuery of An-geow & Mayne, the chief procurer of the death of the good duke of Gloucester, the verie occasion of the losse of Normandy, the moste swallower vp and consumer of the kynges treasure, (by reason whereof, the warres in Fraunce wer not mainteined,) the expeller frō the kyng, of all good and verteous counsailors, and the bringer in and auaunter of vicious persones, common enemies and apparaunt aduersarics to the publique wealthe: So that the duke was called in euery mannes mouth, a traitor, a murderer, a robber of the kynges treasure, and worthy to bee put to moste cruell punishement. By reason of this exclama-ciō, the Quene somewhat fearyng the destruccion of the Duke, but more the confusion of her self, caused the Parliament, before begon at the blacke Friers in London, to be ad-iorned to Leicester, thinking there, by force and rigor of ỹ law, to subdue and represse all the malice and euill will, conceiued againste the Duke and her: at whiche place fewe of the nobilitie would appere, wherefore it was again adiorned to Westminster, where was a whole company and a full apparaunce. In the whiche session, the commons of the neither house, put vp to the Kyng, and the Lordes, many articles of treason, misprision and misdemeanoure, against the duke of Suffolke: theffect wherof with his aunswers, here-after ensueth.

FIRST they alleged, that he had traiterously excited, provoked, and counsailed, Ihon 1
erle of Dumoys Bastard of Orleaūce, Bertraine, Lorde Presigny, Willyam Cosynet, enemies to the kyng, and frendes and Ambassadors to Charles, callyng hymself Frenche kyng, to entre into this Realme, and to leuy warre against the kyng and his realme, to the intent to destroye the kyng and his frendes, and to make Ihon his sonne, kyng of this realme, mariyng hym to Margaret, sole heire to Ihō duke of Somerset, pretendyng and declaryng her, to be next heire inheritable to the Croune, for lacke of issue of the Kynges body lawefully begotten.

ITEM that thesaied duke, beyng of the kynges priuie and nere cōusaill, allured by greate 2
rewardes, and faire promises, made by the foresaied Erle of Dumoys, caused the kyng to deliuer and sette at libertie, Charles duke of Orleaunce, enemy to the kyng, and the kynges noble father, whiche deliueraunce, was prohibited by expresse woordes, in the last will of the kynges moste victorious father.

ITEM, that before the departure of the saied duke of Orleaunce, the forenamed Duke 3
of Suffolke, traytorously faste cleauyng to Charles called the French kyng, counsailed, prouoked, and entised thesaid duke of Orleaunce, to moue thesame kyng, to make warre against England, bothe in Fraunce and Normandy: accordyng to whiche procurement and counsaill, thesaied Frenche kyng, hath recouered the whole realme of Fraunce, and all the Duchie of Normandy, and taken prisoners, the Erle of Shrewesbury, the Lorde Fau-conbridge, and many other valeaunt capitaines.

These three articles, he denied either for fact or thought.

FARTHER it was alledged, that he beyng Ambassador for the Kyng of Englande, to 4
Charles callyng hymself the Frenche Kyng, promised to Reyner kyng of Scicile, and to Charles Dangiers his brother, enemies to the kyng, the relese of Angeow, with the delive-raunce of the Countie of Mayne, and the citie of Maunt or Mauns, without the know-ledge of the other Ambassadors, whiche him accompanied: whiche promise, after his re-

turne, he caused to be performed, to the kynges disinheritance, and losse irrecuperable, and to the strength of his enemies and feblishement of the Duchy of Normandie.

TO this article he answered, that his commission was to conclude, and doo all thynges accordyng to his discresion, for the obteinyng of a peace, and because without deliuery of those coūtreys, he perceiued that truce could not be obteined, he agreed, to the relese and deliueraunce of theim.

5 ALSO they surmised, that thesaied duke, beyng in Fraunce in the kynges seruice, and one of the priuiest of his counsaill there, traiterously, declared and opened to the capitaines and conduyters of warre, apperteinyng to the kynges enemies, the kynges counsaill, pur-ueiaunce of his armes, furniture of his tounes, and all other ordinaunces, wherby the kynges enemies, (enformed by his trayterous informacion) haue gotten tounes and fortresses, and the Kyng by that meane, depriued of his inheritaunce.

6 ITEM, thesaied duke declared to the Erle of Dumoys, to the Lorde Presigny, and Willyam Cosynet, Ambassadors for the Frēche kyng, lyng in London, the priuities of the kynges counsaill, bothe for the prouision of farther warre, and also for defence of the Duchy of Normandy: by the disclosyng wherof the Frenchmen knowyng the kinges secretes, preuented the tyme, and obteined their purpose.

7 ITEM that the sayde Duke, at suche time as the Kyng sent Ambassadours to the Frenche Kyng, for the entreatyng of peace, trayterously before there comyng to the Frenche courte, certified kyng Charles of their commission, auctboritie, and Instruccions, by reason wherof, neither peace nor amitie succeded, and the Kynges enheritaūce lost, and by hys enemyes possessed.

8 ITEM thesame Duke sayde openly in the starre chamber, before the lordes of the Counsail, that he had as highe a place in the coūsail house of the Frenche Kynge, as he had there, and was aswell trusted there as here, and coulde remoue from the Frenche kynge, the priuiest man of hys counsayl, if he would.

9 ITEM when armyes haue been prepared, & souldiors redy waged, to passe ouer the sea to resist the Kynges enemyes: Thesayd Duke corrupted by rewardes of the Frenche Kynge, hath restrayned and stayed the sayde armyes to passe any farther.

10 ITEM the sayde Duke beynge Ambassadour for the kyng, comprised not in the leage, as the kynges Alies, neither the kyng of Arragon, neither the duke of Brytayne, but suffered them to be comprised on the contrary partye, by reason wherof, the olde amitie of the kyng of Arragon, is estraunged from this realme, and the duke of Britayne become enemy to the same: and Giles his brother the Kynges suer frende, cast in strong prison, and their lyke to ende and finishe his dayes.

AL these objections he vtterly denyed, or fayntely auoyded, but not fully excused. Diuers other crymes were layde to his charge, as, enrychyng hymselfe with the Kynges goodes and landes, gatheryng together, and makyng a money polde of offices, fees, wardes, and fermes, by reason wherof the Kynges estate was greatly mynished and decayed, and he and his kyn highly exalted, and enriched, with many other pointes, whiche by cause they be not notable, nor of no great force or stregth I omitte and ouerpasse. The Quene, whiche entierly loued the Duke, fearyng that some cōmocion and trouble myght ryse, if he were let goo vnpunished, caused hym to be committed to the Towre, where he was kepte with as muche pleasure, as he that was at large, and oute of all captiuitie. But after that a moneth was expired, she ymagenynge the people to be pacified with this open emprysonement, caused him bothe to be deliuered, and also to be restored to the kinges fauor and grace, as muche as euer he was before that tyme. But this doynge incensed the furye of the mutable cōmons, muche more then before: openly demouncyng, and saiyng, that it was a shame to all the Realme, to se such a persone, infected with so many misdedes, either to rule about a prince or be had in honor. Of these wordes sprang dedes, and of this talkyng, rose displeasure, whiche had growen to greate mischiefe, if pollitique prouision had not, with all celeritie resisted the fyrst fury: for the commons in sundry places of the realme assembled

together, gathered great companyes, and elected a Capitayn, whome they called, blew herd: but or they had attempted any enterpryse, their headdes were apprehended and so the membres sodainly were dispersed, without any hurte cõmitted, or perpetrated.

AFTER this litle rage was asswaged, the Parliament was adiornied to Leycester, whither came the Kyng and the Quene in great estate and with them the Duke of Suffolke, as chefe counsailor. The cõmõs of the lower house, not forgettyng their olde grudge: beseched the kyng, that such persons, as assented to the relese of Angeow, and deliueraunce of Mayne, might be extremely punished, and tormented: and to be priuye to this facte, they accused, as principal, the duke of Suffolke, with Ihon bishop of Salisbury, and syr Iames Fynies, lord Say, & diuers other. When kyng Henry perceiued, that the cõmons wer thus stomacked and bent, against the Quenes dearlynge William Duke of Suffolke, he playnly sawe, that neither glosyng wolde serue, nor dissimulacion coulde appeace, the continual clamor of the importunate cõmons: Wherfore to begyn a shorte pacificacion in so long a broyle. Firste he sequestred the lorde Say, beyng threasorer of Englande, and other the Dukes adherentes, from there offices, and authoritie, and after banished and put in exile the duke of Suffolke, as the abhorred tode, and cõmon noysaunce of the Realme of Englande, for the terme of. v. yeres: meanyng by this exile, to appease the furious rage of ỹ outragious people, and that pacified, to reuocate him into his olde estate, as the Quenes chefe frẽde & counsailer. But fortune wold not, that this flagitious person, shoulde so escape: for when he shipped in Suffolke, entendynge to be transported into Fraũce, he was encõtered with a shippe of warre apperteynyng to the duke of Excester, the Constable of the Towre of London, called the Nicholas of the Towre. The capitayne of thesame barke with small fight entered into the dukes shyppe, and perceyuyng his person present, brought hym to Douere Rode, & there on the one syde of a cocke bote caused his head to be stryken of, and left his body with the head vpon the sandes of Douer, which corse was there founde by a chapelayne of his, and conueyed to Wyngfelde college in Suffolke, and there buried. This ende had Willia de la pole, first duke of Suffolke, as men iudge by Gods punyshmẽt: for aboue all thinges he was noted to be the very organ, engine, and diuiser of the destruccion of Hũfrey the good duke of Gloucester, and so the bloudde of the Innocente mã was with his dolorous death, recompensed and punished. But the death of this froward person, and vngracious patron, brought not the Realme quyete, nor deliuered it from all inward grudge, and intestine diuision, which to all Realmes is more pestiferous and noysome, then outward warre, dayly famyne, or extreme pestilẽce. For allthough Rychard duke of Yorke, was in pryson, (as the kynges deputie) in ỹ Realm of Irelande, continually resyaunt there, yet his breath puffed, and his wynde blew dayly, in many partes of the Realme. For many of the nobilitie, and more of the meane estate, wisely ponderynge the estate and condicion of the Realme, perceyuynge more losse then encrease, more ruyne then auaũncement, daily to ensue: Remembryng also that Fraũce was conquered, and Normandy was gayned, by the Frenche people in shorte space, thought with them selfes and imagened, that the faulte of all these miserable chaunces, happened, either because the Kynge was not the true enheritor to the crowne, or that he or his counsaill were not able of wit, pollicie, and circumspeccion, to rule and gouerne so noble a Realme, or so famous a region. Vpon this coniecture the frendes, kinsmen and alyes of the duke of Yorke, which wer of no small nũber, began to practise the gouernaũce of his title: Infusyng and puttyng into mens heades secretely his right to ỹ crown, his pollitique gouernaũce, his gentle behauior, to all the Iryshe nacion, affirmyng, that he whiche had brought that rude and sauage nacion, to ciuile fashion, and Englishe vrbanitie, wolde, (if he once ruled in the Realme of England) depose euil counsaillers, correct euil iudges, & reforme all matters amisse, and vnamẽded. And to set opẽ the fludde gates of these deuises, it was thought necessary, to cause some great commocio and rysyng of people to be made against the King: so that if they preuayled, then had the duke of Yorke and his complices, there appetite and desire. And because the kentishmen be impacient in wronges disdayning of to much oppression, and euer desirous of new chaung, and new fangelnes.

William de la Poole, duke of Suffolke beheded.

The, ouerture of this matter was put fyrste furthe in Kent, and to thentent that it should not beknowen, that the duke of Yorke or his frēdes were the cause of the sodayne rising: A certayn yongmā of a goodely stature, and pregnaunt wit, was entised to take vpon him the name of Ihon Mortymer, all though his name were Ihon Cade, and not for a small policie, thinking that by that surname, the lyne and lynage of the assistente house of the erle of Marche, which were no small number, should be to hym both adherent, and fauorable. This capitayn not onely suborned by techers, but also enforced by pryuye scholemasters, assembled together a great company of talle personages: assuring them, that their attēpt was both honorable to God and the king, and also profitable to the common wealth, promisyng them, that if either by force or pollicie, they might once take the kyng, the Quene, & other their counsaillers, into their handes and gouernaūce, that they wouldе honorablie entreate the kyng, and so sharply handle his counsaillers, that neither fiftenes should hereafter be demaūded, nor once any imposicions, or tax should be spoken of. These perswasions, with many other fayre promises of libertie, (whiche the common people more affect & desire, rather then reasonable obedience, and due conformitie) so animated the Kentishe people, that they with their capitayne aboue named, in good order of battell (not in great number) came to the playne of Blackehethe, betwene Eldham and Grenewyche. And to the entent that the cause of this glorious capitaines comyng thither, might be shadowed from the kyng and his counsaill, he sent to him an humble supplicacion, with louyng woordes, but with malicious entent, affirmyng his cōmyng, not to be against him, but against diuers of his counsail, louers of them selfes, and oppressers of the pore comonaltie, flatterers to the kyng and enemyes to his honor, suckers of his purse, and robbers of his subiectes, perciall to their frendes, and extreme to their enemies, for rewardes corrupted, and for indifferencie, nothyng doyng. This proude byll, was both of the kyng, and his counsaill, disdainfully taken, and thereupon great consultacion had, and after long debatyng, it was concluded, that suche proude rebelles, should rather be suppressed and tamed, with violence and force then with fayre woordes or amycable answwer: Wherupon the kyng assembled a great army, and marched toward thē, whiche had lyen on Blackeheath, by the space of vii. dayes. The subtill capitayn named Iack Cade, entendyng to bryng the kyng farther, within the compasse of his net, brake vp his Campe, and retyred backwarde to the towne of Seuenocke in Kent, and there exspectynge his pray, encamped him selfe, and made his abode. The Quene, which bare the rule, beyng of his retrayte well aduertised, sent syr Humfrey Stafford knyght, and William his brother with many other gentelmen, to folow the chace of the Kentishmen, thinkynge that they had fledde, but verely, they were deceyued: for at the fyrst skyrmish, both the Staffordes were slayne, and all their companye shamfully discomfited. The kynges armye, beyng at this tyme come to Blackheath, bearynge of this discomfiture, began to grudge and murmure emongest them selfe: some wishing the duke of Yorke at home, to ayde the capitayne his cosyne: some desiryng the ouerthrow of the kyng and his counsaill: other openly cryeng out on the Quene, and her complices. This rumor opēly spoken, & cōmoly published, caused the kyng, & certayn of his counsaill, not ledde by fauor, nor corrupted by rewardes (to the entent to appeace the furious rage of the inconstant multitude) to commit the lord Say, Threasorer of England, to the Towre of London: and if other, against whome, lyke displeasure was borne had been presente, they had likewise ben serued. But it was necessary that one should suffer, rather then all the nobilitie then should perish. When the Kentish capitayn, or ỻ couetous Cade, had thus obteyned victory, and slayne the two valeaunt Staffordes, he appareled hym selfe in their rych armure, and so with pompe and glory returned agayn toward London: in whiche retrayte diuers idle and vacabonde persons, resorted to him from Sussex and Surrey, and from other partes to a great nūber. Thus this glorious Capitayn, compassed about, and enuironed with a multitude of euil rude and rusticall persones, came agayn to the playn of Blackeheath, and there strōgly encamped him selfe: to whome were sent by the kynge, the Archebishop of Canterbury, and Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, to cōmon with hym of his greues and requestes.

These

These lordes found him sober in communicacion, wyse in disputyng, arrogant in hart, and styfe in his opinion, and by no ways possible, to be perswaded to dissolue his armye, except the kynge in person wolde come to him, and assent to all thynges, which he should requyre. These lordes, perceyuyng the wilful pertinacy, and manifest contumacie of this rebellious Iaselyn, departed to the kyng, declaring to hym, his temerarious and rashe wordes, and presumptuous requestes. The kyng somwhat hearyng, and more markyng the saiynges of thys outragious losel, and hauyng dayly reporte of the concurse and accesse of people, which cōtinually resorted to him, doubtyng asmuch his familiar seruauntes, as his vnknowē subiectes (which spared not to speake, that the capitaynes cause, was profitable for the common wealth) departed in all haste to the castell of Kylyngworthe in Warwyckeshyre, leauyng only behynd him ỹ lord Scales, to kepe the Towre of London. The capitayn beynge aduertised of the kynges absence, came first into Southwarke, and there lodged at the white hart, prohibityng to all men, Murder, Rape, or Robbery: by whiche colour he allured to hym the hartes of the common people. But after that he entered into Londō, and cut the ropes of the draw bridge, strikyng his sworde on London stone, saiyng: now is Mortymer lorde of this citie, and rode in euery strete lyke a lordly Capitayn. And after a flatteryng declaracion made to the Mayre of the citie of his thither commyng, he departed agayn into Southwarke. And vpon the thyrde daye of Iulij, he caused syr Iames Fynes lord Say, and Threasorer of Englande, to be brought to the Gylde halle of London, and there to be arrayned: whiche beyng before the kynges iustices put to aunswere, desired to be tryed by his peeres, for the lenger delay of his life. The Capitayne perceiuyng his dilatorie ple, by force toke him from the officers, and brought him to the standard in Cheape, and there before his confession ended, caused his head to be cut of, and pitched it on a highe poole, which was opēly borne before hym through the stretes. And this cruell tyraunt not content with the murder of the lorde Say, wente to Myle end, and there apprehended syr Iames Cromer, then shreue of Kent, and sonne in law to the sayd lord Say, & hym without confession or excuse heard, caused there likewyse to be hedded, and his head to be fixed on a poole, and with these two heddes, this blody butcher entered into the citie agayn, and in despyte caused them in euery strete, kysse together, to the great detestacion of all the beholders. The lordes Say, threasorer of Englande, hedded at the standard in Cheape.

AFTER this shamefull murder, succeded open rapyn and manifest robbery in diuers houses within the citie, and in especiall in the house of Philip Malpas, Alderman of London, and diuers other: ouer & besyde raunsonyng, & fynyng of diuers notable marchauntes, for the tuyciō and securitie of their lyfes and goodes, as Robert Horne alderman, which payed. v.C. markes, and yet neither he, nor no other person was either of lyfe or substance in a suretie or sauegard. He also put to execution in Southwarke diuers persons, some for infryngyng his rules and preceptes, bycause he wolde be sene indifferent, other be tormēted of his olde acquayntance, lest they shoulde blase & declare his base byrthe, and lowsy lynage, disparagyng him from his vsurped surname of Mortymer, for the which, he thought and doubted not, both to haue frendes and fautors, both in Londō, Kent, and Essex. The wise Mayre, and sage magistrates of the citie of London, perceyuyng theselfes, neither to be sure of goodes nor of lyfe well warranted, determined with feare to repel and expulse this mischieuous head, and hys vngracious copany. And because the lord Scales was ordeyned keper of ỹ Towre of London, with Mathew Gough, the often named capitayne in Normandy, (as you haue harde before) they purposed to make them pryuye both of their entent and enterprise. The lord Scales promised thē hys ayde, with shotyng of ordinaunce, and Mathew Goughe was by hym appoynted, to assist the Mayre and the Londoners: bycause he was both of manhode, and experience greatly renowned and noysed. So ỹ Capitaynes of the citie appointed, toke vpon them in the night to kepe the bridge of London, prohibiting the Kentishmē, either to passe or approche. The rebelles, which neuer soundly slepte, for feare of sodain chaunces, h earyng the brydge to be kept and manned, ran with greate haste to open their passage, where betwene bothe partes was a ferce and cruell encounter. Mathew Gough, more expeirte in marcial feates, then the other cheuetaynes of the citie, perceiuyng the Kentishmen,

better.

better to stande to their taclyng, then his imaginacion expected, aduised his cõpany no further to procede, toward Southwarke, till the day appered: to the entent, that the citezens hearing where the place of the ieopardye rested, might occurre their enemies, and releue their frendes and companions. But this counsail came to small effect: for the multitude of ỹ rebelles draue the citezens from the stoulpes at the bridge foote, to the drawe bridge, and began to set fyre in diuers houses. Alas what sorow it was to beholde that miserable chaunce: for some desyrynge to eschew the fyre, lept on his enemies weapon, and so died: fearfull women with chyldren in their armes, amased and appalled, lept into the riuer: other doubtinge how to saue them self betwene fyre, water, and swourd, were in their houses suffocat and smoldered. Yet the Capitayns nothing regarding these chaunces, fought on the draw bridge all the nighte valeauntly, but in conclusion, the rebelles gate the draw bridge, and drowned many, and slew Ihon Sutton alderman, and Robert Heysande a hardy citizen, with many other, beside Mathew Gough, a man of great wit, much experience in feates of chiualrie, the which in continual warres, had valeauntly serued the kyng and his father, in the partes beyõd the sea (as before ye haue hearde). But it is often sene that he, whiche many tymes hath vanqueshed his enemies in straũg countreys, and returned agayn as a conqueror, hath of his awne nacion afterward been shamfully murdered, and brought to confusion. This hard and sore cõflict endured on the bridge, til. ix. of the clocke in the morninge, in doutfull chaunce, and fortunes balaunce: for some tyme the Lõdoners were bet back to the stulpes at sainct Magnes corner, and sodaynly agayne the rebelles were repulsed and driuen backe, to the stulpes in Southwarke, so that both partes, beyng faynte, wery and fatigate, agreed to desist from fight, and to leue battail til the next day, vpon condicion: that neither Londoners should passe into Southwarke, nor the Kentishmẽ in to London.

AFTER this abstinence of warre agreed, the lusty Kentishe Capitayne, hopyng on more frendes, brake vp the gayles of the Kinges benche and Marshalsea, and set at libertie, a swarme of galãtes, both mete for his seruice and apte for his enterprise. The archebishop of Canterbury, beyng then chauncelor of England, and for his suerty lyenge in the Towre of London, called to him the bishop of Winchester, whiche also for feare, lurked at Halywell. These two prelates seyng the fury of the Kentish people, by reason of their betyng backe, to be mitigate and minished, passed the ryuer of Thamyse from the Towre, into Southwarke, bringing with them vnder the kynges great seale, a general pardon vnto all the offendors: which they caused to be openly proclaimed & published. Lorde how glad the poore people were of this Pardone (ye more then of the great Iubile of Rome) and how thei accepted thesame, in so muche that the whole multitude, without biddyng farewel to their capitain, retired thesame night, euery man to his awne home, as men amased, and strikẽ with feare. But Ihon Cade desperate of succors, whiche by the frendes of the duke of Yorke wer to hym promised, and seyng his cõpany thus without his knowledge sodainly depart, mistrustyng the sequele of ỹ matter, departed secretly in habite disguysed, into Sussex: but all his metamorphosis or transfiguracion, litle preuailed. For after a Proclamacion made, that whosoeuer could apprehende thesaied Iac Cade, should haue for his pain, a. M. markes, many sought for hym, but few espied hym, til one Alexander Iden esquire of Kent found hym in a garden, and there in his defence, manfully slewe the caitife Cade, & brought his ded body to London, whose hed was set on Londõ bridge. This is the successe of all rebelles, and this fortune chaunceth euer to traytors. For where men striue against the streame, their bote neuer cometh to his pretensed porte.

The miserable ende of Iacke Cade.

AFTER this commocion, the kyng himself came into Kent, & there sat in iudgement vpõ the offendors, and if he had not mitigated his iustice, with mercie and compassion, more then fiue. C. by the rigor of his lawe, had been iustely put to execucion: but he cõsidered, bothe their fragilitie and innocencie, and how they with peruerse people, were seduced and deceiued: and so punished the stubburne heddes, and deliuered the ignorãt & miserable people, to the greate reioysyng of all his subiectes.

DVRYNG this commocion aboute London, Raufe bishop of Salisbury, was by his awne tenantes,

tenantes, & seruauntes, murdered at Edyngton, and so from thensefurth daily succeded, murder, slaughter, & discencion.

¶ THE. XXIX. YERE.

THese variable chaunces in Englande, were not vnknowen to the French kyng, wherfore, he makyng foundacion vpon the Englisch discord, determined to get into his possession, the duchie of Acquitayne, while the princes of Englande, wer in cōtrouersie, for their titles and superioritie: and therfore like a spedy puruior, whiche slacketh not tyme, he sent therles of Pouthieure, and Perigot, with many valiant capitaines, to ley siege to the toune of Bergerac set vpō the riuer of Dordoue, of whiche toune was capitain, Ihō Geddyng, whiche hearyng of the yeldyng of Roen, and conquest of Normandy, considerying the puyssaunce of the Frenche army, vpon reasonable condiciōs, rendered the toune: yet all this notwithstandyng, the lord Cameyse, sir George Seymour, sir Ihon Arundell, and other valiaunt capitaines, whiche had the gouernance of the countrey, manned tounes gathered people, and animated the cold stomackes of the fearefull Gascons: requiryng them to be constant in their fidelitie, true to their natural prince and vndoubted souereigne lorde, sendyng daily letters to the kyng of England and his counsaill, declaryng to him the weakenes of his subiectes, and the strength of his enemies, assertenying hym for a suertie, that without spedy aide, and redy succors, the whole countrey were like to be gotten frō his possessiō. Many letters were sent, and many faire aunswers wer brought, but relief neither appered, nor one man of war was thether shipped. By reason wherof, the Gascoyns perceiuyng their enemies at hand, intendyng aswell to destroy the countrey, as to subdue the people, begun euery man for hymself, to regard nothyng, but the sauyng of their tounes, goodes, and corne: neglectyng defence, and fearful of assaultes, least by small resistence, thei might receiue more detriment, then after thei could recouer again, either with great force, or muche labor. But thenglishmen, (whose natures are not to be faint harted, euen at the very ieopardy of death) with al their wittes studied, bothe how to repulse & conuince their enemies, & to turne awaie the euil chances whiche thei sawe likely, (if pollicie did not helpe) sodainly to fal, and shortly to insue. But al their pollices litle preuailed in cōclusion, because succors failed, and force wanted: For after the Frenchmen, had the toune of Bergerac to them rendered, the fortresses of Ionsac, of Bonefoy, and diuerse other places willyngly & frely, yelded themselfes to the French subieccion. Duryng whiche tyme, the lorde Doruall, third sonne to the lorde Delabreth, with a greate numbre of men, aswel on horsebacke as on foote, departed from Basas, to conquere and destroy the isle of Madoce: whereof hearyng the Maire of Burdeaux, with a conuenient crewe of men, issued out of the citie, and encountered with his enemies, betweene whom, was a hard fight and a dedly battaill: but the Frenchmen, more with multitude, then with force, vanquished thenglishemen, and killed and toke prisoners, aboue. vj. C. Englishmen and Gascoynes, but of the Frenchemen which wer in double numbre, aboue their aduersaries (as writers affirme) there wer slain. viii. C. persones. For whiche cause, the capitaines folowed no farther the chace, lest the English people would again returne. This slaughter of the Englishe parte, the Frenche writers set furthe with the moste, but of their awne losse, thei speke not one word. Suche indifferency, is in their Chronographiers. This discomfiture so amased the wittes, & appalled the hartes of the meane Gascons that thei offered many tounes to the French part, before the same wer of them demanded. The. xxix. yere.

AFTER this, the Bastard of Orleaunce, erle of Dumoys, and Lōguile, lieuetenant generall for the Frenche kyng, accompanied with his brother, Ihon erle of Angulesme, whiche, had been long prisoner in England, and many valiant capitaines, and expert men of warre, besieged the Castle of Montguyon, whiche to them was rendered. After this, the saied army besieged the fortresse of Blay, standyng on the riuer of Gyrond, whiche toune is the very

very keye of the porte of Burdeaux, and this toune was besieged bothe by water and by lande, and fiersly assaulted and manfully defended, and in conclusion by very force, for lacke of resistence, conquered and gayned. The bastard of Kendall capitain of the Castle, seyng the toune lost, vpon certain condicions, deliuered his fortresse, into the possession of the lord lieuetenant. After this toune gained the fortresses of Bourge and Liburne yelded, not without fiue Wekes besiegyng. The wittie capitaines perceiuyng fortunes fauor towardes them, thought it necessary to take the tyme, while their good planet reigned. Wherfore, to preuent the aide of the Englishmen, whom thei daily expected to come to the succour of their people: they appoynted foure armies, to make war in foure seueral partes. The lorde Charles Delebreth, accompanied with Ihon lorde of Tartas and Aymon, lorde of Doruall his sonnes, and therle of Foys, and the Viscount Lawtrec his brother, and many noble men of Guyen, laied siege to the toune of Acques, in the whiche be diuerse hote bathes. Therle of Arminack extreme enemy to the realme of Englande, for breakyng the mariage concluded betwene kyng Henry and his daughter (as before you haue heard) besiged with a greate puyssaunce, the strong towne of Ryon. Therle of Pōthyeure, with many noble barons, besieged the toune of Chastillon in Perigot, and the erle of Dumoys, enuironed with a great puyssance the toune of Fronsacke. Thenglishemen within this toune, perceiuyng the greate ordinaunce on the French part, and the small prouision on their side, couenanted with the said erle, that if the toune wer not succored, and the Frenchemen foughten with all, before the feast of the natiuitie, of. S. Ihō Baptist next ensuyng, that then the toune of Fronsacke should be yelded to them, whiche was the strōgest fortresse of all the countrey, and the very key of Guyen, and chief chamber of Burdeaux: and for performans hereof, pledges wer deliuered, and writynges autentique sealed. This agrement once blowen through the countrey, the citie of Burdeaux, and all other tounes, (except Bayon) made like agrement, and deliuered pledges. So did all the noble men and gētlemen, which wer subiectes and vassals to the croune of Englande. Alacke alacke, euery daie was lokyng for relief, and euery houre was gapyng for cōfort, but wissbyng serued not, nor hopyng nothyng helped: for the pestiferous diuision whiche reigned in Englande, so inueglid the braines of the noblemen there, that the honor of the realme was clerely forgotten, & nothing yearthly but their priuate phantasies looked on and remembred. Now to conclude, the daie appoynted came but succor loked for came not: so that all the tounes in Acquitayne (except Bayon) deliuered their keyes, and became vassals to the French nacion, yet the citezens of Burdeaux hopyng of rescous, offred themselfes to fight with the Frenchemen, and desired a daie of battaill to be appoynted, whiche request was to them graunted. But at the daie assigned, they beyng in dispaire of all refuge and succor, rendered themselfes and the toune, to their aduersaries, their liffes and goodes reserued, with licence and safeconduyte to all persons whiche would depart and saile into Englāde. When the cities and tounes of Gascoyne wer set in good ordre, the Erle of Dumoys and Foys, with greate preparacion of vitaill, munition and men, came before the citie of Bayon, where with mynes and battery, thei so dismaied the fearful inhabitantes, that neither the capitain nor the souldiors, could kepe them from yeldyng: so by force they deliuered the toune, and their capitain as a prisoner, offred a great some of money for the safegard of their lifes and goodes. Beside these agrementes taken with tounes, diuerse noble men made seuerall composicions, as Gaston de Foys, Capdaw of Buesz, whom kyng Henry the fifth, made erle of Longuile and knight of the garter, whose auncestors wer euer true to Englād, whiche agreed that he, and Ihon de Foys his sonne, whom kyng Henry the sixt, created erle of Kendale, and made also knight of ỹ garter, should enioy all their landes in Acquitayne, geuen to them by the kynges of England, or by the Dukes of Acquitayn. And because their intent was still to serue the Kyng of England, their souereigne Lorde, they agreed, to deliuer into the custody of therle of Foys, their cosyn, the sonne and heire of the saied erle of Kendale, being of the age of three yeres, to the intent, that if he at his full age, denied to become subiect and vassall to the Frenche kyng, or before that tyme disceased, that then, after the death of his father and graund-

graundfather, all thesaied landes should wholly remain, to the next heire of their bloud, either male or female, beyng vnder the obeysance of the Frenche kyng or his heires. Many noble men whose hartes were good Englishe, made like composicions, and some came into Englande, and other went to Caleis, and wer great officers there: as the Lord Duras whiche was Marshall there, and Monsire Vanclere, whiche was there deputie, vnder therle of Warwick, (as after shalbe shewed.) Now haue I declared to you, the losse, of Fraunce, Normandy, & Acquitayn: wherfore, hauyng no more cause yet to speake of theim, I will returne to the greate trouble, discencion and diuision, whiche long was cloked, & now openly set abrode, and burst out in the realme of Englande.

¶ THE. XXX. YERE.

YOU haue heard before, how the duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell Duke of Clarence, pretended priuily, a title to the Croune, and how his frendes commoned secretly, with diuerse persones of that matter, and excited theim to set forward, and auaunce that parte to the vttermost: and howe the saied duke was sent into Ireland, where he was daily aduertised by his assured frendes, of all thynges doen in Englande, and by the knewe in what estate he stode, bothe with the nobilitie, and cõmonaltie. Wherfore, he mindyng no lẽger to dreame in his waightie matter, nor to kepe secrete his right and title, returned out of Irelande, and came to Londõ in the Parliamẽt tyme, where he deliberately consulted, with his especial frendes: as lhon Duke of Norffolke, Richard Erle of Salisbury, and Lorde Richard his sonne, whiche after was Erle of Warwick, Thomas Courtney, erle of Deuonshire, and Edward Broke, lord Cobham a man of a greate witte and muche experience: requiryng them bothe of aduisẽ and counsaill, how he might without spot of treason, or colour of vsurpacion, set forth his title, and obtein his right. The. yere.

AFTER long consultacion, it was thought expedient, first to seke some occasion and picke some querell, to the duke of Somerset, whiche ruled the kyng, ordred the realme, and moste might do with the quene: Whom, the commons, for the losse of Normandy, worse than a Tode or Scorpion, hated, disdained and execrated, in so muche that diuerse euill ruled persones, brake his house, & spoyled his goodes, within the blacke Friers of the citie of Londõ: which malefactors, accordyng to their desertes, wer iustly executed & punished. For wel knew the duke of Yorke and his adherentes, that if the Duke of Somerset sawe or smelled, any poynt of their purposed enterprise, that he would with speare and sheld, with might and main, withstand and repel thesame, to thextreme point of death, and to their vtter confusion. Wherfore to abbridge his power, and to minishe his auctoritie, they determined to bryng hym, into the hatred of the people, and into the disdain of the nobilitie: And to be the stronger in the settyng forth of their feate, they, what with rewardes and faire promises, & what with declaracion of greate enormities, committed by the kinges counsailors, against the common wealth, allected & allured to them, lusty bachelars, & actiue persons, of a great numbre, protestyng and declaring, that thei neither meant euil, nor thought harme, either to the kinges person, or to his dignitie: but that their intent was, for the reuenging of great iniuries doen to the publique wealth, and to persecute and reforme diuerse rulers about the kyng, which daily cõtrary to right and equitie, vexed & pilled thenglish people, without reason or measure: so ỳ no man was in suretie, either of his awne goodes, or suer of his proper lãdes or possessiõs. These great enormities, they caused to be published, to thintent ỳ their chief purpose should not be espied, or perceiued.

WHEN the duke of Yorke had thus framed thentery into his lõg intended iorney, he with helpe of his frendes, assembled a great army in the Marches of Wales, publishyng openly, that the cause of his mociõ was for the publique wealth of the realme, and great profite of the cõmons: whiche faire told tale, allured to hym muche people, aswell of the chiualry as of the meane sort. The kyng muche astonnied with this sodain commocion, by

the aduise of his counsail, raised a greate hoste, and marched forward toward the duke: but he being of his approche, credibly aduertised, by his espials, diuerted from the kynges waies, and toke his iorney toward London: and hauyng knowledge, that he might not be suffered with his army, to passe through London, he crossed ouer the Thamese at Kyngston bridge, and so set forth toward Kent, where he knewe that he had bothe frendes and good wilters, and there, on brente Heath, a mile from Dertford, and. x. miles from Londō, he embattailed himself, and encamped his army very strongly, bothe with trenches and artilery. The king being therof aduertised, with greate diligēce, brought his army to blacke Heath, & there pight his tētes. While both tharmies lay thus embattailed, the kyng by thaduise of his counsaill, sent the bishoppes of Winchester and Elie to the duke, both to knowe, what was the cause of so greate a tumult and commocion, and also to make a concord, if the requestes of the duke and his company, semed to them consonant to reason, or profitable to the people. The duke hearyng ỹ message of the two bishops, either doubting the variable chaunce of mortal battaill, or lokyng for a better occasiō, or a more lucky daie, aunswered the prelates, that his commyng was neither to dampnifie the kyng, neither in honor, nor in persone, nor yet any good man, but his intent was to remoue frō hym, certain euil disposed persons of his counsaill, which wer the bludsuckers of the *nobilitie*, the pollers of the cleargie, and oppressors of the poore people: emongst whō he chiefly named, Edmond duke of *Somerset*, whom if the kyng would commit to warde, to aunswere to suche articles, as against hym should itt open parliament, be both proponed and proued, he promised not onely to dissolue his armie and dispatche his people, but also offered hymself, like an obedient subiecte, to come to the kynges presence, and to do him true and faithful seruice, accordyng to his truth & bonden duetie. When the messengers wer returned with this reasonable aunswere: The kyng perceiuyng, that without great bludshed, he could not bridle the duke of Yorke, nor without war he could not appeace the furious rage of the cōmon people, beyng onee set on fire, except he folowed their mindes, and graūted their requestes, caused the duke of *Somerset* to be committed to ward, as some saie: or to kepe hymself priuye in his awne house, as other write, till the fury of the people wer somewhat asswaged and pacified. Whiche thyng doen, the duke of Yorke the firste daie of Marche, dissolued his army, & brake vp his campe, and came to the kynges tent, where beside his expectaciō, and cōtrary to the promise made by the kyng, he found the duke of Somerset, set at large and at libertie, whom the duke of Yorke boldly accused, of treason, of bribery, oppression, and many other crimes. The duke of Somerset not onely made aunswere to the dukes obieccions, but also accused hym of high treasō, towarde the kyng his soureeigne lorde: affirming, that he with his fautors and complices, had consulted together how to obtein the croune and scepter of the realme. By meane of whiche wordes, the kyng remoued straight to Lōdon, and the duke of Yorke as a prisoner, rode before hym, & so was kept awhile. The kyng assembled together a great counsaill at Westminster, to here the accusaciōs of the. ij. dukes, the one obiectyng to the other, facinorous actes & detestable crimes. But the duke of Somerset, whiche now conceiued in his mynd the thyng that shortely folowed, incessantly exhorted the counsaill, that the Duke of Yorke, by compulsion, or otherwise, might *be compelled to* confesse his offence, and so beyng attainted of treason, to be put to execucion, and his children to be taken enemies and aduersaries to their natiue countrey: to the intent that by the losse of this onely Prince and his sequele, all ciuill warre, and inward diuision might cease and be repressed: beseechyng almightie God, that so greate an enemy to the kyng and his bloud, might neuer escape punishment, nor continewe long in life. The duke of Somerset set furth this matter the more vehemently, because he knew perfitely, that the duke of Yorke dayly studyed how to get the crowne, and obteyn the gouernance, and to depose and destroy both the kyng and hym. But the necessitie of destinie, can not by any mans deuise, be either letted or interrupted: for many thynges (to common iudgementes) declared the duke of Yorkes trought and innocēcye in this case. First his free and voluntary comyng to the kyng, when he with his power was able to encouter with the kynges puyssance, which

was

was an open token and manifest argument, that he neither meäte treason, nor yet fraude. Secondarily, his humble submission, his reasonable requestes, and profitable peticions, for the pore commons, wer iudged no pointes of a man, that desired souereignete, or rule aboue other which thinges he did onely for a cautele, (as afterward openly appeared). While the coūsail treated of sauing or losing of this dolorous duke of Yorke, A rumour sprange throughout London, that Edward erle of Marche, sonne and heyre apparaunt to the sayd duke, a yong prince of great wit and much stomacke, accompanied with a stronge armye of Marchemen, was comyng toward London, which tidinges sore appalled the Quene and the whole counsail. Beside this, thesame very daye came Ambassadours from the heades and Magistrates of the citie of Burdeaux, whereof the chefe were, the erle of Kendal, and the lord Lesparre, whiche signified to the counsaill, that if they wouldе send an armye into Gascoyne, the Gascoyns wolde reuerte & turne agayne to the English part: aduertising them, that there was in those partes no puissaunce or garrison of Frenchе men, to withstand them, & therefore there was no doubt of the regayning or recouest: requiring thē ẏ all diligēt celeritie, to take so fayre a prey so opēly to them offered, & to-mynd nothyng before the regayning of so fruictful a countrey. These. ij. thinges sore troubled the heades of the kinges counsaill, whiche, leste this discencion betwene two persones, might be the let of outward conquest, set the duke of Yorke at libertie, and permitted him to returne to his fayre Castel of Wigmore, in the Marches of Wales, where he studied, both how to displease his enemies, & to obteyn his purpose: And so by meanes of ẏ absēce of ẏ duke of Yorke, which was in maner banished ẏ court & ẏ kinges presēce, ẏ duke of Somerset rose vp in in high fauor ẅ ẏ king & ẏ quene, & his worde only ruled, & his voyce was only hearde.

¶ THE. XXXI. YERE.

THe counsaill of Englande, not forgettinge the offer of the Gascons, and that thei might now haue the citie of Burdeaux with the coūtrey round about, by offer and request, whiche with great charge & longe warre, they coulde scant agayn recouer or repossesse, appointed the veterane souldiour, and valiaunt Capitayn, Thon lord Talbot, and erle of Shrewsburye, to be chefetayn of the armye, which should in all haste be transported and conueyed into Acquitayn. The lordes of Gascoyn, both well pleased and glad of their aunswere, returned into their countrey, in as secret maner, as they from thense departed, declaringe to their nacion, the Capiteines, & thē powre, that was to thē coming: exhorting euery man to be firme and stable to the kyng of England and his heyrs, vnder whose libertie and fredom, thei had prospered & reioysed, aboue. iij. C. yeres, rather then now to fal into the French captiuitie: whose taxes were vnreasonable, and whose dayly exaccions were to them importable. When the valiant Talbot, the hardy erle of Shrewsbury was appointed to assemble an army of men, and them to cōuey into the duchie of Acquitayn, Lord, how busy he was in mustering howe diligēt in setting forward, and how ientelly he entertayned his men of warre, as though he went first to warre, and neuer had take payne, either to serue his price or to gayn honor. What should I speake, how that he thought euery houre, as thre, till his armie were ready, or write, what payne he toke to se them shipped and vitayled. But verely men iudge, that as this labor was the ende and extreme point of all his worldly busynes so he should shew him self; fearce, coragious, & feareful to his enemies in the extreme point of his death and naturall departing. Thys English Hector & marcial flower, elected to him, the most hardy & coragious persons, which he could espye, preparing also, horses, munitions vitayles, and all thinges necessarie to such an army, and to so great an enterprise. Whē all thinges were shipped, and wynd and wether serued he toke his chaunce, and sayled into Gascoyn, where without resistēce, he peaceably arriued in ẏ Isle of Madre, where he reposed his army, beyng scant. iiij. M. men, and destroyed all the countrey, betwene Burdeaux and Blay, and toke the strōg towne and castel of Fron- The. xxxi. yere.

sae, and diuers other townes and fortresses. The inhabitaũtes of Burdeaux, hearying of the erles Arriual, sent to him messengers in the darke night, thãking and congratulating him for his thither comming, and also requiryng him to accelerate, and spede his iorney towarde their citie, enformyng him, that now the time was propice for his purpose: and tyme not taken, was labor mispent. This aunciẽt Fox, and pollitique Capitayne lost not one houre, nor spared one mynet, till he came before the citie of Burdeaux. The citezens glad of his commynge, made not the French capitayns, which had the gouernaunce of the towne, either parties or priuies of their entent: yet some of them wolde, that the Frenchmen, in securitie both of liues and goodes, should departe out of ẏ town but their will was no will: for the multitude, abhorryng the French seruitude and embracing the English libertie, which they and their aũcestors of many yeres had tasted, opened one gate, and let in a great parte of the Englishmen army. The French Capitaynes entending to escape secretely, by a posterne, were slayne and taken by the lorde Lespar, and other of the English army. After the regaynyng of Burdeaux, arriued at Blay, the bastard of Somerset, sir Ihon Talbot, lord Lisle, by his wyfe sonne to the sayd erle of Shrewesbury, the lord Molyns, the lordes Haryngton and Cameus, syr Ihon Haward, sir Ihon Montgomerye, syr Ihon Vernon with. xxii. C. mẽ with vitailes and municiõs. Whẽ the erle of Shrewesbury was thus accordyng to his entent of all thinges furnished and adorned: firste he fortified Burdeaux with Englishmen & victayle: after that, he rode into the countrey abrode, where he obteined cities, and gat townes without stroke or dẽt of swourde: for the poore and nedy people beyng fatigate, and wery with the oppressiõ of their new landlordes rendered their townes before they were of them requyred, and beside this the townes & cities farre distauncte frõ Burdeaux sent messengers to the erle, promisyng to him both seruice & obeysaunce. And emonge other the towne and castell of Chastillon in Perigotte, was to him deliuered by the Frenchmen vpon cõposicion, that they might with their lifes sauely departe: which town, the erle strõgly fortified both with men and ordinaunce. The French kynge lyeng at Towers in Towrayne, beyng of the erles actes in Gascoyn credible enformed, was not a litle exasperate & quickned: wherefore he mynding to resist the first storme, and repulse the first surge, assembled a great army to the number of. xxii. M. men, and enteringe into Acquitayne came to Lusigneum, and from thence accompanyed with the erle of Ponthyure, the lordes of sainct Seuere and Boucat, marched toward Caleys in Gascoyn, and with fayre promises obteyned the town. And after that towne gayned, the Frenche kynge diuided his army into two parties, wherof the one was gouerned by the erle of Cleremont, sonne in law to kyng Charles, and heyre to the duke of Burbon, in the which were. xv. M. men, in whome consisted the wayght and peyse of the whole enterprise. This army he appointed to take the next way toward Burdeaux: the other army wherof he was Capitayn and leadar him self, accompaned with the peres and noble men of his realme, he kept and reteyned still beside Caleys, and sent the two Marshals of Fraũce with xviii. C. men of armes, beside archers, to besege the towne of Chastylon in Perigot, and in goyng thither, they gat a forteresse, whiche they manned, and so departed to Chastilone, which they enuyroned with a strong seage, & cast highe trenches, and made depe dytches on euery side: and in a place where their enemyes must come, they layde ordinaunce both great and small, wherof so great a number was neuer before sene in France. The erle of Shrewesbury hearing of these newes, and perceiuing that he must of necessitie encoũter, and fight with two armies, determined ẏ him selfe, first to assay the least power and weeker puyssaunce: wherfore without longer procrastinacion, he assembled togither. viii. C. horsemẽ, wherof the lord Lisle his sonne, the lord Molyns, the lord Cameus, sir Edward Hull, syr Ihon Haward, & sir Ihon Vernõ were chefe, and so marched forward toward Chastylon, approchyng. v. M. fote men vnder the conduyte of the erle of Kendalle, and the lord Lespar to folowe hym with all spede. In hys way he assauted ẏ Towre, which the Frẽchmen had taken, and by force entered, and slew all that he founde within and by the way he mett. v. C. Frenchmen, goyng a forregyng, of whom he slew the greatest parte, and chaced the other

other to the campe. The Frēchmen knowyng by these good rūers away of ỹ erles approchyng, with al diligēce left the seage, and retired in good order, into the place which they had trēched, dytched, and fortefied with ordenaunce. They within the towne seyng the seage remoued, sent out woorde to the Englishmen that the Frenchmen fledde. The coragious erle hearyng these newes & feryng, leste through long taryeng the byrdes might be flowen awaye, not tarieng till his fotemē were come, set forward, toward his enemies, which were in mynd surely to haue fledde, as they confessed afterward, if the feare of the French kynges rebuke, whiche was not farre of, had not caused them to tarye, and yet in this army were present the Marshal and great Master of France, the erle of Pōthyeure, the Senescal of Poythiew, the lord Bessire, and many valeant Barons and Knightes. When the Englishmen were come to the place where the Frenchmē were encamped, in the which (as Eneas Siluius testifieth) were. iii. C. peces of brasse, beside diuers other small peces, and subtill Engynes to the Englishmen vnknowen, and nothing suspected, they lyghted al on fote, the erle of Shrewesbury only except, which because of his age, rode on a litle hakeney, and fought fiercely with the Frēchmē, & gat thentre of their campe, and by fyne force entered into thesame. This cōflicte continued in doubtfull iudgement of victory. ii. longe houres: durynge which fight the lordes of Montamban and Humadayre, with a great companye of Frenchmen entered the battayle, and began a new felde, & sodaynly the Gonners perceiuynge the Englishmen to approche nere, discharged their ordinaunce, and slew. iii. C. persons, nere to the erle, who perceiuynge the imminent ieopardy, and subtile labiryuth, in the which he and hys people were enclosed and illaqueate, despicynge his awne sauegarde, and desirynge the life of his entierly and welbeloued sonne the lord Lisle, willed, aduertised, and counsailled hym to departe out of the felde, and to saue hym selfe. But whē the sonne had aūswered that it was neither honest nor natural for him, to leue his father in the extreme ieopardye of his life, and that he woulde taste of that draught, which his father and Parent should assay and begyn: The noble erle & comfortable capitayn sayd to him: Oh sonne sonne, I thy father, which onely hatb bene the terror and scourge of the Frēch people so many yeres, which hath subuerted so many townes, and profligate and discomfited so many of them in open battayle, and marcial conflict, neither cā here dye, for the honor of my countrey, without great laude and perpetuall fame, nor flye or departe without perpetuall shame and cōtinualle infamy. But because this is thy first iourney and enterprise, neither thy flyeng shall redounde to thy shame, nor thy death to thy glory: for as hardy a man wisely flieth, as a temerarious person folishely abidethe, therefore ỹ fleyng of me shalbe ỹ dishonor, not only of me & my progenie, but also a discomfiture of all my company: thy departure shall saue thy lyfe, and make the able another tyme, if I be slayn to reuenge my death and to do honor to thy Prince and profyt to his Realme. But nature so wrought in the sonne, that neither desire of lyfe, nor thought of securitie, could withdraw or pluck him frō his natural father: Who cōsiderynge the constancy of his chyld, and the great daunger that they stode in, comforted his souldiours, cheared his Capitayns, and valeaūtly set on his enemies, and slew of them more in number than he had in his cōpany. But his enemies hauyng a greater company of men, & more abūdaunce of ordinaunce then before had bene sene in a battayle, fyrst shot him through the thyghe with a hādgōne, and slew his horse, & cowardly killed him, lyenge on the ground, whome they neuer durste loke in the face, whyle he stode on his fete, and with him, there dyed manfully hys sonne the lord Lisle, his bastard sonne Henry Talbot, and syr Edward Hull, elect to the noble order of the Gartier, and. xxx. valeant personages of the English nacion, and the lord Molyns was there taken prysoner with. lx. other. The residew of the Englishe people fled to Burdeaux and other places, wherof in the flight, were slayne aboue a. M. persons. At this battayl of Chastillon, fought the. xiii. day of Iulij, in this yere, ended his lyfe Ihon lord Talbot, and of his progenie ỹ fyrst erle of Shrewesbury, after that he with muche fame, more glory, and moste victorie had for his prince and coūtrey, by the space of. xxiiij. yeres and more, valeantly made warre, and serued the kyng in the partes beyond the sea, whose corps was

left on the ground, & after was found by hys frendes, & cõueyed to Whitchurch in Shropshyre, where it is intumulate. This man was to the French people, a very scorge and a daily terror, in so much that as his person was fearfull, and terrible to his aduersaries present: so his name and fame was spitefull and dreadfull to the common people absent, in so much that women in Fraunce to feare their yong childrẽ, would crye, the Talbot commeth, the Talbot commeth. After this discomfiture, diuers lordes fled to Burdeaux, but the erle of Kendall, the lordes of Montferrant, of Rosayne, and of Dangladas, entered into the Castel of Chastillon, which they by the space of x. dayes manfully defended, but in conclusion beyng desperate of all succors rẽdered the fortresse, and came safe to Burdeaux. After this town was yelded the townes of sainct Millioa, Byburne & all other, which the erle of Shrewesbury had conquered, rendered thẽ selfes to the Freche obeysaunce, Burdeaux onely except. The which citie beyng the last refuge, and onely consolacion of the Englishe people in Gascoyne, the French kyng in person with all his puissaunce, strogly beseged & dayly assauted, in the which he more lost then gayned: beside this, the Englishmen issued out, and coragiously fought with their enemies: likewise did the citezens, which lokyng for no fauor at the French kynges hand, because of their late coniuracion againste him, manfully defended themselfes, and sore noyed and hurt their enemies. But in conclusion bothe garrisons and the inhabitãtes, oppressed with muche penurye & extreme famyne were coacted to render the citie vpon reasonable condicions, to them by the French kyng sent and oblated: the effect whereof was that no offence, before tyme committed or done by any of the citezẽs should herafter be imputed, or leyd to the charge of any of them. Also that all Englishmen and Gascons myght safely departe into Englande or to Caleys with all their substance, and that the lordes Lespar, Duras and. xxx. other, should neuer vpon payn of death be founde within any of the French kinges dominions, which lord Lesparre, after beyng taken disguysed in Gascoyn was made shorter by the hedde. When this composicion was agreed and sealed, the Englishmen had their shippes and al thinges necessarie for their iorney, to them deliuered, which, when wynd and whether were to them propice and conuenient, were shortly transported into Englãd, in the moneth of October this present yere. Thus was the duchye of Acquytayn, which had cõtynued in the English possession, from the yere of our Lord. M. lv. which is. iii. C. & od yeres, by ỹ mariage of Alienor, doughter and heyr to William duke of Acquitayn wyfe to kyng Henry the second, finally reduced, and brought agayne to the French obedience and seruitude. The kepyng of which duchye was neither costly nor troblesome to the realme of England, but *both* pleasant and profitable: for by the soureaingtie of that countrey, youge gentelmen learned the experiece of warre, and expert mẽ were promoted to many riche offices, & great liuinges within thesame. For within that onely Duchye, be, iiij. Archebishoppes, xxxiiij. Bishoppes. xv. erledõs. ii. C. and. ii. Baronies, and aboue a. M. Capitaynshippes and baylywyckes. All though this great losse chaunced this yere to the Englishe nacion, yet a greater detryment hapned in thesame season to the whole flocke of Christen people. For Machumet, called the great Turk besieged the citie of Constãtynople in Greece, with an innumerable nũber of Turkes, and fiftye dayes togither gaue to it a continuall assaut, and on the. iiii. day of June, toke it perforce, sleyng man, woman and chyldren, except the Emperour Palialogus, and diuers other of the blode Royal, whome he toke prisoners, and after caused them to be behedded. If I should write the detestable murder of men, the abhominable and cruel slaughter of children, the shameful raufshmẽt of women and virgyns, which were perpetrate and done by the vnmercifull pagans and cruel Turkes, I assure you that your eares would abhorre ỹ hearing and our eyes woulde not abyde the readynge, and therfore I passe thẽ ouer. In this trobleous season on ỹ. xiii. daye of October, was ỹ quene deliuered at Westmynster of a fayre sonne, which was Christened & named Edward, and after grew to a goodely & perfight man, as after you shall heare: whose mother susteyned not a litle slaunder and obloquye of the commõ people, saiyng that the kyng was not able to get a chyld, and that this was not his sonne, with many slaunderous woordes, to the quenes dishonor, whiche

A declaration of the dignities in the Duchye of Acquitayne.

The winning of Constantinople by the great Turke.

The byrth of prince Edwarde, soune to kyng Hẽry the vi.

here nede not to be rehersed. After the birthe of this child, the Kyng highly auaunced his twoo brethren on his mothers side. For Edmond he created erle of Richemõd, which was father to kyng Henry the. vij. and Iasper he created erle of Penbroke, whiche died without issue. The kynges two brethren created erles.

¶ THE. XXXII. YERE.

WHen foren warre and outward battailes, were brought to an end and finall conclusion: domesticall discord and ciuill discencion began again to renew and arise, within the realme of Englande. for when the care of outward hostilitie (whiche kept the myndes of the Princes in the realme occupied, and in exercise) was taken awaye and vanished, desire of souereigntie, and ambicion of preeminence, sodainly sprang out so farre, that the whole Realme was diuided into twoo seuerall faccions, and priuate partes. For kyng Henry, discended of the house of Lancastre, claymyng the croune from kyng Henry the. iiij. his graund father, first auctbor of this diuision: and Richard duke of Yorke, as heire to Lionell, the third sonne to kyng Edward the third: wresteled for the game, and stroue for the wager. By reason whereof, the nobles aswell as the common people, were into partes diuided, to the destruccion of many a man, and to the great ruyne and decaye of this region. For while the one part studied to vanquishe and suppresse the other, all commõ wealth was set aside, and iustice and equitie was clerely exiled. For the duke of Yorke whiche sore gaped and more thirsted for the superioritie and preeminence, studied, deuised, and practised al waies & meanes, by the whiche he might attain to his pretesed purpose, and long hoped desire. And emongest all imaginaciõs, one semed moste necessary for his purpose, whiche yet again was to stirre and prouoke the malice of all the people against the duke of Somerset, who onely ruled the Kyng, and ordered all thynges at his pleasure and will: Imaginyng, that he beyng made out of the waie, his purpose should shortly come to a good conclusion. Wherefore, to the nobles of the realme he complayned, lamented, and detested, the miserable state and daily ruyne of this noble countrey: notyng and affirmyng, the duke of Somerset, to be the very roote and cause of the same, whom he named and called, an vniust man, a mischeuous persone, a tyrannicall gouernor, and a couetous cõsailor: laiyng also great offences to kyng Henry, saiyng, that he was a man, neither of wit nor stomacke, neither mete to be a kyng, nor apt to gouerne a common wealth, and therefore it was the duetie of the noble men, and great Princes, not onely to thinke on this weightie matter, but spedely to prouide a remedy, and to set the Realme in another staye. By whiche complaintes and perswasions, the duke of Yorke, so altered the myndes of many persones of high estate, that they liked not the worlde, as it then wauered, nor approued thactes of the kyng or his cõsail. And because, that ambicion and auarice, was newly entered into their hartes, they studied sodainly to change al thynges, and to turne the world vpsetdoune. When the duke sawe mẽnes appetites, and felt well their mindes, he chiefly entertemed two Richardes, and bothe Neuelles, the one of Salisbury, the other of Warwicke beyng erle, the first the father, the second the sonne. This erle of Salisbury, was seconde sonne to Raufe Neuell, erle of Westmerlande, whose doughter the duke of Yorke had maried, & the said Richard was espoused to Lady Alice, the only child and sole heire of Thomas Montacute erle of Salisbury, slain at the siege of Orleaunce, (as before I haue declared) of whiche woman he engẽdered, Richard, Ihon, and George. Richarde the eldest sonne espoused Anne, the suster and heire of the entire bloud, to lorde Henry Beauchamp Erle, and after duke of Warwicke, in whose right and title he was created and named Erle of Warwicke, and not by his awne progeny or parentage. This Richard was not onely a man of marueilous qualities, and facundious facions, but also from his youth, by a certain practise or naturall inclinacion, so set them forward, with wittie and gentle demeanour, to all persones of high and of lowe degre, that emong all sortes of people, he obteined greate loue, muche fauor, and more credence: The. xxxii. yere.

whiche

whiche thynges daily more encreased, by his abundant liberalitie, and plentifull house kepynge, then by his riches, auctboritie, or high parentage: by reason of whiche doynges, he was in suche fauor and estimacion, emongest the common people, that thei iudged hym able to do all thynges, and that without hym, nothyng to be well done. For which causes his auctboritie, shortly so fast increased, that whiche waie he bowēd, that waie ranne the streame, and what part he auaunced, that side gat the superioritie.

¶ THE. XXXIII. YERE.

The. xxxiii. yere. WHē the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine, betwene these twoo strong and robustious pillers, he with his frendes, so seriously wrought, and so pollitiquely handled his busines, that the Duke of Somerset, was arrested in the Quenes greate chamber, and sent to the toure of London, where he without great solempnitie, kept a dolefull Christmas: against whom in open parliament, wer laied diuerse and heinous articles of high treasō, aswell for the losse of Normandy, as for the late mischance, whiche happened in Guyen. The kyng at this time was sicke at Clarendon, and so conueyed to London, by reason wherof, no finall determinacion proceded, in this greate and waightie cause, but it was put in suspence, til the next assemble of the high court of Parliament. During whiche tyme, the kyng either of his awne mynde, or by the Quenes procurement, caused the duke of Somerset, to be set at libertie: by whiche doyng, grew great enuy and displeasure, betwene the king and diuerse of his lordes, and in especiall between the duke of Yorke, and the kynges linage. And to aggrauate more the malice newe begon, the Quene, whiche then ruled the rost and bare the whole rule, caused the duke of Somerset, to bee preferred to the capitainship of Calice, where with, not onely the commons but also many of the nobilitie, wer greatly greued and offended, saiyng: that he had lost Normādy, & so would he do Calice. The duke of Yorke and his adherentes perceiuyng, that neither exhortacion serued, nor accusemēt preuailed against the duke of Somerset, determined to reuēge their querrell, and obtein their purpose, by open warre and marciall aduenture, and no lenger to slepe in so waightie a businesse. So he beyng in the Marches of Wales, associate with his especiall frendes, the erles of Salisbury and Warwicke, the lorde Cobhā, and other, assembled an army, and gathered a greate power, and like warlike persones, marched toward Londō. The Londoners, hearing of so great a multitude, commyng toward their citie, wer greatly astonnied and muche abashed: for euery persone considered his awne part, that either witholdyng with the one side, or beyng contrariant to the other, or medelyng with no part he should incurre indignacion or displeasure. The kyng beyng credebly informed, of the greate army commyng toward hym, assembled an host, intendyng to mete with the duke in the Northe parte, because he had to many frendes about the citie of London, and for that cause, with greate spede and small lucke, he beyng accompanied, with the Dukes of Somerset, and Buckyngham, therles of Stafford, Northumberlande, and Wiltshire, with the lorde Clifford, and diuerse other barōs, departed out of Westminster, the. xx. daie of May, toward the toune of S. Albons: of whose doynges, the duke of Yorke being aduertised, by his espials, with all his power costed the countreys, and came to the same toune, the third daie next ensuyng. The kyng hearyng of their approchyng, sent to hym messengers, straightly chargyng and commaundyng hym, as an obedient subiect, to kepe the peace, and not as an enemy to his naturall countrey, to murdre and slay his awne countremen and propre naciō. While kyng Henry more desirous of peace then of warre, was sendyng furthe his orators, at the one ende of the toune: the erle of Warwicke with the Marchemen, entered at the other gate of the toune, and fiersly set on the kynges foreward, and theim shortly discomfited. Then came the duke of Somerset, & all the other lordes with the kynges power, whiche fought a sore and a cruell battaill, in the whiche, many a tall man lost his life: but the duke of Yorke sent euer freshemen, to succor the wery, & put new men in the places of the hurt persons, by whiche onely

The first battail at saint Albons.

pollicie,

pollicie, the kynges armie was profligate and dispersed, & all the chieftaines of the field almoste slain and brought to confusion. For there died vnder the signe of the Castle, Edmond duke of Somerset, who long before was warned to eschew all Castles, and beside hym, lay Henry the second erle of Northumberland, Hufrey erle of Stafford, sonne to the duke of Buckingham, Ihon lorde Clifford, and. viij. M. men and more. Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, beyng wounded, & Iames Butler erle of Wiltshire & Ormond, seyng fortunes loweryng chaunce, left the kyng poste a lone & with a greate nombre fled away. This was thend of the first battaill at S. Albons, whiche was fought on the Thursday, before the feast of Pentecost, beyng the. xxiij. daie of Maie. In this. xxxiij. yere of the Kynges reigne, the bodies of the noble men, were buried in the Monastery, and the meane people in other places. This Edmond duke of Somerset, left behynde hym three sonnes, Henry, Edmond, and Ihon, whiche to the extremitie of death, toke part with the line of kyng Henry.

AFTER this victory obteined, by the duke of Yorke and his compaignions, he remembred, that often times he had declared and diuulged abrode, the onely cause of his warre to be, for thauauncement of the publique wealth, and to set the Realme in a more cõmodious estate, and a better cõdicion. Wherfore, he vsyng all lenitie, mercy, and bounteousnes, would not once touche or apprehend the body of kyng Henry, whõ he might bothe haue slain, & vterly destroyed, consideryng that he had hym in his ward and gouernaunce. But with great honor and due reuerence, conueyed hym to London, & so to Westminster, to whiche place was somoned and appoynted, a great assemble of thre estates, commonly called a Parliamẽt, whiche began the. ix. day of Iuly, in the whiche session, the Duke of Gloucester, was openly declared a true Prince, bothe to the kyng & the realme. Beside this, it was enacted, that no persone, should either iudge or report, any poynt of vntruth, of the duke of Yorke, the erles of Salisbury and Warwicke, for commyng in warlike maner, against the kyng at S. Albons, consideryng, that their attempt and enterprise was onely to se the kynges persone, in safegard and suer kepyng, and to put and aliene from hym, the publique oppressors of the common wealth: by whose misgouernaunce, his life might be in hasard, and his auctoritie hang in a very small thred. In whiche Parliament also, the duke of York was made protector of the Realme, and therle of Salisbury, was appoynted to be Chauncellor, and had the greate seale to hym deliuered: and the erle of Warwicke, was elected to the office of the capitain of Calice, and the territories of the same. As this deuise was pollitiquely inuented, so was the sequele therof to the firste auctors, bothe honorable and profitable, if fortunes ship had sailed all one way. For by this practise, the whole rule and regiment of the whole Realme, consisted onely in the heddes and orders, of the duke and the Chauncellor, and all the Warlike affaires and businesse, rested principally in the erle of Warwicke, and so emongest them, it was agreed, that king Henry should still reigne, in name and dignitie, but neither in deed nor in auctoritie: not myndyng either to depose or destroy thesaid kyng, least they might sodainly prouoke and stirre the fury and ire of the common people against theim: whiche for his holines of life, and abundant clemencie, was of the simple sort, muche fauored, and highly estemed. After whiche auctoritie geuen, these three persones ruled the realme, and did all thynges after their awne discrecions, (whiche without battail or manslaughter, might haue easily depriued thesaied Kyng, bothe of life and lande). And firste they amoued from the priuie counsaill, all suche persones as the kyng loued, or the quene fauored, puttyng in their places, men of their secte and confederacie, & changyng officers throughout the realme, at their will and disposicion: so that tholde spoken prouerbe, here toke place: New Lordes, new lawes: suche lippes, suche lettice. And yet in all their rule, I finde no mencion made, of differyng Iustice, or of their pollyng, or their bribery, as was openly proued by such as gouerned before their tyme: Sauyng that they tooke out of the sainctuary of Westminster, Ihon Holland duke of Excester, beyng repugnant to the order taken and concluded, in the last parliament and conueyed hym to Pomfret castle. Whiche takyng out was accompted an execrable and a dampnable offence, of diuerse of the spiritualtie, and especially of the

Abbot of Westminster and his Monkes, and this is the most spot that was (as I could rede) euer moste to be caste in the Dukes fame, duryng his protectorship, or of his counsaill.

¶ THE. XXXIIIJ. YERE.

The. xxxiiij. yere. BUT that venemous worme, that dreadfull dragon, called disdain of superioritie, whiche hath consumed the bloud of so many noble princes, and destroyed the linage of so many gouernors, in all Realmes and kyngdomes, aswell pagan as Christian, could not abstein frō iucensyng the hartes of lorde Henry Beauford, newly come to the Duchy of Somerset, by the death of duke Edmond his father, whiche at the battaill of sainct Albons, (as you haue heard before rehersed) lost his life, and of Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, (whose sonne and heire named Humfrey, erle of Stafford, tasted the same cuppe, at the forenamed coflict) and of other lordes and mē of auctoritie, fauoryng and folowyng the part of Kyng Henry, whiche not onely bewailed and had compassion of the vnsure condicion, and wauerying estate of his rule and lordeship, perceiuyng openly, wherunto the cloked gētlenes, and subornate fashiō of the duke of Yorke, tended and crept vp: but also thought it necessarie and conueniēt, to puruey for a remedy, or the mischief happened. Wherfore with open mouthes and fierce corages, thei came to Quene Margaret, informyng her, that it was not honorable, but a reproche and infamy to the Kyng, to haue one to bee a Protecter and gouernor of hym and his Realme, as who would say: that he was either a childe, whiche had need of norice, to fede hym with pappe, or an innocent creature, whiche must be ruled by a tutor, asserteinyng her farther, that the Duke of Yorkes only intent was, vnder the colour of this protectorship, sodainly to destroy & depose the kyng, when he least thought of it, and therfore willed her in so quicke a mischief, to prouide a hasty remedy, if she loued the safegard of her husbande, or the tuicion of her self. The Quene hauyng a wit, more then the common sort of women haue, and conideryng the estate of her husbande, the condicion of her self, and the perill of her onely sonne, thought it necessary, to plucke the sword of auctoritie, out of their handes, whiche vnder colour of rulyng vnder others, desired to be gouernors and superiors theimselfes. Wherefore, a greate counsaill was called at Grenewiche, where the duke of Yorke was discharged of his Protectorship, and the erle of Salisbury also, was dismissed of his office: whiche malicious mutacion emongest the nobilitie, caused sodain alteracions and sedicious commocions, to spryng and arise in the commonaltie, and in especiall, within the citee of London.

FOR a young Marchaunt, whiche before tyme had been in diuerse citees within the countrey of Italy, and there prohibited by the Magistrates and rulers, to vse or weare any weapon either inuasiue or defensiue, chalenged an Italian in Chepe side, for wearyng of a dagger, confutyng hym with the lawes of his awne countrey, whiche, like a Colericke knaue and presumpteous persone, so disdainfully and with suche tautes and checkes, aunswered the marchant, that he not willing to suffre so opē a reproche, in so publique a strete, and that of so proud a villain, toke by force from him his dagger, and with thesame, a little cut his croune and cracked his pate. This Italian in greate hast, complained to the Mayer of this offence, whiche at the nexte Courte, holden at the Guyldhaule, by the consent of the whole senate, sent for thoffendor, and declaryng to hym his crime, commaunded hym to ward, wherof diuerse other light marchantes within the citee, sore abhorryng the Italian nacion, for lickyng the fat from their beardes, and takyng from them their accustomed liuyng, by reason that thesaid estraūgers imported & transported, into and out of this realme, all suche marchandises, commodities, and necessaries, as thenglishmen onely wer accustomed to do, assembled together in greate plumpes, and by force compelled the Maire to deliuer the prisoner out of Newgate: and yet this multitude, with this doyng nothyng saciate nor appeased, like madde persons, and frantique fooles, ranne to the seuerall houses, of diuerse Venecians, Lucases, and Florentynes, and theim spoyled, robbed and riffled, without reason or measure.

The Maire perceiuyng this great enormitie, assẽbled a great numbre of substanciall and graue citezens, whiche, not without greate bloudshed,* and maymyng of sundery persones, finally appeased their rage, and caused the people to departe to their houses. The beginner of this temerarious commocion, and sodain vprore, either perswaded by his frendes or fearyng his chaunce, whiche for his firste facte might sodainly insue, departed to Westminster, and there Registered hymself as a sãctuary man. The Quene whiche ruled all thynges, hearyng of this greate riote and vnlawfull misdemeanour, sent the Dukes of Excester and Buckyngham, accompanied with many other noble men, to London, with a commission of oyer and determiner, for the punishement of this outragious offence & sedicious crime. When the Maire of the citee the two dukes, and the two chief iustices, wer set in the Guyldhaule for the performance of their commission, & began to call the empanelles, for thenquiry, as the vse and order is, diuerse light witted, and lesse brained persons of ỹ citie, priuely armed thẽ, & by the ringing of bow bel thought to assẽble together a great multitude of their mid & opiniõ, & so by force & might to take frõ the kepers, all such prisoners, as were before apprehended, for ỹ late cõmitted robbery & riot, as they were goynge to their trial or arreigmẽt. But this great tumult & sodain fury, was by discrete and sage citizens, a litle and litle appeased and finally quenched, but in the meane season, the dukes and other commissioners, being vntrewly aduertised ỹ they were in ieopardy of their lifes, sodaynly departed frõ the Guyldhaule, and left their inquyrie for ỹ day. The Mayre on ỹ next day perceiuyng how the grudge rose, called a common counsail wherof ỹ nũber was. i. C. iiij. score & od persons, & by auctoritie of thesame ordeyned, that all Wardeins of misteries, should assemble their felowship in their particular hawles, where they should exhort thẽ to ỹ obseruacion of the kynges peace, and kepyng of good order within the citie: & if they espied any man, either prone or redy to reyse a rumor or desirous of the delyueraunce of suche as were accused, & in captiue custodie, that their names should be secretly written, & couertly deliuered to the lorde Mayre: which pollitique doyng, finally ended the entragious doing of the insolent people, after which appeasyng ỹ commissioners returned to ỹ Guyldhaule, where many of the robbers were attainted, and after cõdignely put to execucion besyde diuers great fynes and rausomes payd, which were set vpon many merchauntes, for winking at these doynges or assentyng to thesame.

¶ THE. XXXV. YERE.

The. xxxv. yere.

THE French nacion, hearyng of this domesticall diuision and ciuile dissencion, within the Realme of Englãd, much desyring to be reuenged of olde displeasures and great damages, which they had so many yeares born and sustained by the English people, appoynted two Nauyes to inuade and depopulate the townes and portes, adioynyng to the ryuage of the sea. The capitain of ỹ one army, was Williã lord Pomiers, and of the other, syr Piers Bressy, a great ruler in Normandy. These two Capitains, when opportunitie of wether serued, sette vp their sayles at the mouthe of Sayme, and there seuered, them selfs, the one Westward, and the other Eastward, which was syr Peter de Bressy. This lusty Capitaī saylyng all the cost of Susseix and Kent, durst not once take land, til he arriued in the downes, and there hauyng by a certayn espial, perfit notice, that the towne of Sandwyche was neither peopled nor fortefied, because that a litle before, the chefe rulers of the towne, were from thẽce departed, for to auoyde the pestilenciall plage, which sore there infected and slew the people, entered the hauen, spoyled the towne, and after such pore stuffe as he ther founde, ryffyde and taken, be fearinge an assemble of the cõtrey, shortly returned. The lord Pomiers likewise toke his course Westward, and by night brẽt certayn houses in founay, & with a litle pillage retired into Britayn. These two aduentures and fortunate chaunces, which to them in cõparison of their great expẽses, in their iorneys were scant worthe one pore myte, or single farthyng: The French writers dylate, setfurth and paynt with pẽne, as though

they had gottē Cresus riches, and Alexanders kyngdomes: forgettyng how many hundred thousande poundes, they had lost in few yeres before precedynge, as to all meune, beyng indifferent readers of this Historie, plainly appereth. But verily some bread is better to the hungry person, then no bread, and a small gayn of him, which desireth recouerie, is a great pleasure, and therefore the French authors make of a litle much, & yet their much (all thynges considered) is in effect nothyng at all. The Scottes also not degenerating frō their olde mutabilitie, nor alteryng their aūcient condicions from their accustomed perfidie and vsuall vntreught entered into Northūberland, kyng Iames the second, then being there in person, and burned small houses, and litle cotages: but in the very middes of their greate enterprise, they hearinge of the duke of Yorke, marchyng toward thē, with a great army, with much payne, & no gayn, in all haste reuerted to their countrey. Let vs passe ouer for a tyme all outward inuasions, and returne to our awn domestical debate, & dayly discord. First not forgettyng, that while forē enemies inuaded the outwarde partes, and extreme confynes of this troubleous realme, a great conflict was attempted betwene the lord Egremond, and the sounes of the erles of Salisbury: in the which fray, many persons were slayn, and a great number hurt. The lord Egremōd, in this great tumult could not escape, but by force was taken and brought before the kynges coūsaill, and there the kyng and the quene to shew them selfs to all persons, indifferent, adiudged him to pay to ỹ erle of Salisbury a great summe of money, and for his heynous offence, done against the kynges lawes he was comitted to the gayle of Newgate, within the citie of London out of the which prison, by helpe of his fautors, he secretly escaped, and sodaynly departed, to the great vexacion of the shryfes of London, at ỹ time being. In which season, the craft of Printyng was first inuented in the citie of Mens in Germanie, to the great furtherance of all persons, desiryng knowledge or thyrsting for litterature. Quene Margarete, whose breath ruled, and whose worde was obeyed aboue the kyng and his counsail, wīhin this Realme of Englande, entendyng the destruccion of the duke of Yorke and his frendes, which deuise she thought not mete to be practised nere to the citie of London, because she well perceyued the duke of Yorke to be had in more estimacion emonge the citezens & cōmunaltie, then the kyng her husbād or her awn person: caused the kyng to make a progresse into Warwyckeshyre, for his health & recreacion, and so with Hawkyng and Huntynge came to the citie of Couētrey, where were diuers ways studied priuely, to bryng the quene to her hartes ease, and long expectate desire: which was the death & destruccio of the duke of Yorke, the erles of Salisbury and Warwycke. And for the furniture of this matter, al these. iii. noble mē were sent for to Couētre, by the kynges letters vnder his priuie seale, to which place the foresayd lordes, suspecting no treason, nor putting diffidence in any creature, obediently resorted: but the serpent lurked vnder the grasse, & vnder sugered speache, was hide pestiferous poyson, so that if these noblemen admonished by their frendes, had not sodaynly departed, their lyfes threde had bene broken, and their mortall fate had them ensued, but by secrete admonicion of their good willers (to whome no earthly treasure is comparable) they auoided this net and narrowly escaped the snare, wherupon for the securitie and tuycion of their lifes, the duke of Yorke departed to Wygnore, in the Marches of Wales, the erle of Salisbury resorted to his fayre Castell of Middelham in the Northcountrye, and the erle of Warwyke sayled to the town of Caleys. Although the bodies of these noble personages, were by this sedicious and fraudulēt meanes a sonder separated as ye haue heard: yet their hartes were knitte and coupled in one, neuer forgetting, but dayly studyeng, bothe how to be reuenged of the olde dispites and malicious attēptes, against them committed and imagened, and also how to compasse their purposes, and to get the superioritie and ouerhand aboue their euilwillers, & apparant enemies: for which causes, their letters neuer ceased, their messengers neuer slept, nor their pursses were at no tyme shut, what for entertayning of olde frendes, and obteyninge of new confederates, tyll kyng Henry and his alyes were proffigate, and expelled clerely out of the Realme, as after shall appere.

Whē & where the moste excellent science of Printinge was first inuented.

¶ THE.

¶ THE. XXXVI. YERE.

BEcause you haue been long troubled with readyng of diuers diuisions, sedicions operacions, & great disturbance within the Realme, emong the temporaltie, I will now a litle digress from my cōtinued purpose, to declare to you an ouerthwarte iudgement gyuen emong ẏ fathers of the spiritualtie, against Reynold Pecocke, then bishop of Chichester. This man, somwhat learned, but better stomacked, began to moue questions, not priuatly, but openly in the Vniuersities, cōcerning the annates, peterpens, and other iurisdicciōs and aucthorities, apperteyning to the sea of Rome, and not only put forth the questions, but declared his mynd and opinion in the same: wherfore he was for this cause abiured at Paules crosse, and all his bokes brent, and he him self kept in his awne house, duryng his naturall lyfe. Some say that hys opinion was, that spirituall persons, by Gods law, oughte to haue no temporall possessiōs. Other write that he saied, that personal tithes were not dew by Gods law: but whatsoeuer the cause was, in such sort as before I haue declared, he was vsed. Kyng Henry & his adherentes, perceyuing that the duke of Yorke lay still, and made no open apparance, of assemble or commociō, returned to London, and there called a great coūsaill, openly declaring, how the French kyng perceiuing the realme of England implicate, and troubled with ciuile dissencion, and mutual discord was not afeard to sende his admirals on the costes of Kēt, and Deuonshyre, and there to spoyle townes, burne houses, and murder the English people: which cause also animated ẏ Scottes to make Rodes and Incursions, into the confines and marches of the Realme, to the great losse and detriment of the kynges leage people: which two nacions wer set continually to greue and vex this his realme of England, tyll they perceiued a perfite concord, and an vnfayned amitie to be concluded and knitte together, betwene him and his cōsanguinitie, & the other sorte of the contrary parte and confederacie. And to the entent that he woulde be the chefe aucthor of peace, and principall styrrer of this vertuous concorde, he promised so gentelly to entertayne the duke of Yorke and his fautors, ẏ all olde grudges beyng not only inwardly forgotten, but also outwardly forgyuen, shoulde be the cause of perpetuall loue, betwene them and their frendes: of which concord should ensue, familiaritie emong the lordes, & cōcord emong the cōmons, whiche to all vtter enemies should be an inward grudge, and to this realme a great glorie and profite. This deuise was of all men present wel taken and adiudged, both honorable to the kyng, & profitable to his realme. Wherupō diuers graue and sad persones were sent to the duke of Yorke and all other the great estates of the realme, which sins the battayle of sainct Albons neuer met, came, nor cōmoned together, commaundynge them for reasonable causes, and great consideracions, to resorte to the kynges palayce, without procrastinaciō or delay. At this commaundement came to London, Richard duke of Yorke, and Richarde, erle of Salisbury, accōpanyed with a great number of meigniall seruaūtes & frendes, lest peraduenture they for lacke of ayde, might haue bene betrapped, or they had knowledge, or were warned. After thē came frō Caleys to London, the erle of Warwycke, whose seruituers were apparreled in rede cotes, embroudered with white ragged stafes. These. iii. lordes were lodged within the citie: the duke at Baynardes castel, the erle of Salisbury, at the Herber, and the erle of Warwyke at his place, beside the Graye friers. About thesame season, with no lesse cōpany of mē came to the citie, the yong duke of Somerset, the erle of Northumberland, & the lord Clyfford, whose fathers were slayn at sainct Albōs: and after them resorted the dukes of Excester, and Buckingham, the lorde Egremond, and allmoste all the nobilitie of this realme. The duke of Yorke and his mates, were lodged within the citie, and the duke of Somerset, and all his frendes, soiourned without Templebarre, Holborne and other places of the suburbes: as who sayd, that as the Iewes disdayned the company of the Samaritans, so the Lancastriās abhorred the familiaritie of Yorkysh lygnage. After the commynge of these lordes to the citie, the kyng, the Quene with all their familie, shortly folowed;

The. xxxvi. yere.

Reynold Pecocke, bishop of Chichester abiured at Paules crosse.

The deuise for the cōcord and vnitie of the Realme.

The mortal hatered betwene ye. ii. lignages of Lācaster & Yorke.

folowed, and were lodged in the Bishoppes palayce of London. These lordes had such great companies, attendyng on them (for one had. v. C. other. v. C. and diuers. iiij. C. persones in a band) that continuall watche was kept by the Mayre and senate of London, aswell by day as by nyghte, for the preseruaciō of the peace, and cōtinuaūce of good order. The lordes, which lodged within the citie, kept a daily counsail at the Blacke friers, within the citie. The other parte soiornyng without ȳ walles, assembled likewise in the chapter house of Westminster. Thus euery part both studied his awn profitte and aduaūcement, and also how to reuēg thynges done to them, by their foes and aduersaries. But the Archebisshop of Canterbury, and other vertuous prelates, so exhorted, applied, and perswaded both the parties (although a great while they were neither heard, nor regarded) that in cōclusion, they brought them to a communicacion, where after long altercacion, aswell of olde Iniuries, and of new displeasures, by the one faccion, against the other committed, ȳ feare of outward hostilitie, and foren inuasion, so mollified their indurate hartes, that they outwardly promising, to forget all olde rancors, & auncient displeasures, sealed and signed writinges, the one euer after to be frend to the other, and all togēther to be obedient to the Kynge, & fauorers to his frēdes & enemies to his enemies. This cōcord was so ioyfull to the superiors, and so embraced of the common people (who euer beare the burden, whē princes be at controuersie) that for the open apparaunce, and demonstracion of this godly concorde, publique processions were appointed, to be solēpnely celebrate, within the Cathedrall church of sainct Paule in the citie of London, on the day of the Concepcion of our Lady, in the moneth of March. At which solempne feast, the Kyng in habite royal, and his dyademe on his hedde, kept his estate in procession, before whom, went hand in hand, the duke of Somerset, the erle of Salisbury, the duke of Excester, and ȳ erle of Warwyke, and so on of the one faccion, and another of the other sect, and behynd the kyng the duke of Yorke ledde the Quene with great familiaritie to all mens sightes: but wo worth dissimulacion, and false flatteryng contenaunce: fye on doble entendement, and cloked adulacion, whiche hath bene the common seruituers in all palacies, both Imperiall and Regal, and by their only pestiferous venime, and secrete malyce, hath ben the destruccion of many a noble man, and the confusion of a great number of trew meanyng and faithfull persons. But the Wiseman, which saieth: wo be thou that hast a doble hart, meant, that dissimulaciō once espied, should be the arrow wherwith the dissembler should be wounded. As by this cloked pageant, and dissimuling procession, hereafter shall playnly be declared. For their bodies were ioyned by hand in hand, whose hartes were farre a sonder: their mouthes louingly smiled, whose corages were inflāmed with malice: their toungues spake lyke suger, and their thoughtes were all inuenemed: but all these dissimulinge persons, tasted the vessel of woo, as the Wyseman sayde: and few or none of this company were vnblotted, or vndestroied by this dolorous drink of dissimulaciō. But this cancard worme, and pestiferous coccatrice, not onely at thys tyme reigned in Englande, but also dyd muche harme in the courte of Fraūce: for Ihon duke of Alāson, which before had bene prisoner, & wel enterteyned in the realme of England, and after Capitayn Generall of the warres in Fraunce agaynst the Englishmen, highly fauoured, and of great estimacion in the Frenche kynges house, was by suche as he most trusted & vsed most familiaritie wal, & whom he had greatly promoted, and highly exalted, accused of highe treason, as enemye to his kyng, and traytor to his countrey, alledgyng that he lōge before ȳ tyme had conspired with the Englishmen, to cause them once agayn to recouer the duchye of Normandy: wherupō by the order of the law, he there suffered death very vniustly, as diuers auethors affirme, whereof one sayeth: that kynges sekyng treason, shall fynde lande, and the denyal of a princes desyre, was the inuented destruccion of the innocent Naboth. Well let vs now leue the cloked collusion, that remayned in Fraunce, & returne to the open dissimulacion, which now appeared in England.

A general procession at Paules, by ye kyng, and the peres of the Realme.

Ihon duke of Alanson executed i Fraūce.

¶ THE.

¶ THE. XXXVII. YERE.

The. xxxvii. yere.

AS fier beyng enclosed in a strayte place, wil by force vtter his flãme, and as the course of water astricted & letted will flow and brust out in continuance of tyme: so thys cãcard crocodryle and subtile serpẽt, could not lõg lurke in malicious hartes, nor venemous stomackes, but in cõclusion she must (according to her nature) appere & shewe her self. For after this apparant cõcord, and intrinsecall discord, accordyng to the very nature of dissimulacion, diuers noblemen of byrthe, but not stable of worde, putting from them honor, trought and honestie forgat their othe, and brake their promisse, & aduaunced forth the banner of displeasure, and the flagge of malice. So a man may se, that such persons, regard neither their awne peculiar profite, nor the publique wealth of their native countrey, nor yet passe of an othe, or promise brekyng, to whom discord is pleasant, and discencion is delectable. For not long after this dissimuled amitie, a certayn fray, either by chaunce, or of a thyng prepensed, was made vpon a yoman of the erles of Warwyke, by a seruiteur of the kynges, in which the Assaylant was sore hurte, but ỹ erles mã fled. The kynges meignial seruaũtes, seyng their felow hurt, and the offendor escaped, assembled in great number, and watched the erle, returnyng from the counsaill toward his barge, and sodaynly set on hym the yomen with swourdes, and the Blacke gard, with spittes and fyre forkes. After lõg fight, and many of the erles men maymed and woũded, by helpe of his frendes, he toke a wherry, and so escaped to London: whome the Quene incontinent commaunded to be apprehended, & as a captiue & prisoner, to be sent to the Towre of Lõdõ, where (if he had bene then taken) he had shortly ended his dayes, and made hys end. By this vnhappy fraye, and sodayn chaũche of malice, there arose such dayly and terrible warre, that euery man was in trouble, and no person was in quiet. For after this displeasure doen to the erle, and the quenes good mynd toward hym, by his secrete frendes priuely reueled, he with all diligẽce, toke his iorney to Warwicke, and after into Yorkesbire, where he found the duke of Yorke, and the erle of Salisbury, declaring to them, the assaute of the kynges seruauntes, and the pretensed purpose of the fraudulent Quene. After which complaint made, he fearing lest by long absence, he might be deposed or defrauded of his capitainship of Calice, with greate spede embarked hymself, & sayled thither, daily expectyng and lokyng, what way the duke of Yorke would take, for acheuyng his long intẽded purpose. After whose departure, the duke of Yorke and therle of Salisbury, somwhat exasperate and moued with this doble dealyng began to grudge and murmure: affirmyng that in the Quene rested nothyng, but fraude and feminine malice, whiche rulyng the kyng at her pleasure and wil, studied nothyng so muche, as the destruccion of the nobilitie, and peeres of the realme. After long consultacion had, it was agreed, that the erle with a warlike company, should marche toward the kyng, and complain to him, bothe of the manifest iniury doen to his sõne, and also of the vnkind breach, of the sworne amitie and late agremẽt, in whiche suite, if he did preuail, he then should not omit the occasion to hym geuen, in reuengyng the displeasures to hym doen, by the quene and her sinister counsailors, whiche euill & vngodly, ordered the subiectes of the whole Realme. After this denise made and concluded, therle of Salisbury remoued from Middleham castle, accõpanied with. iiii. or. v. M. men and toke his waie through Lancashire, and Shropshire, toward London. In the meane season the quene, whiche was assisted and ruled, by the dukes of Somerset and Buckynghã, hauyng the vigilant iye and circumspect brayne, of a pollitique gouernor: imagined that therle of Warwicke had kindeled this fire, and begon this tumult to thentent (accordyng to his pretensed purpose) to set the duke of Yorke in the siege royall, and high throne of the realme: For which causes, she beyng a woman of no smal wit, nor litle pollicie, conceiuyng in her opinion, that it was no bote to make any farther concord or league with her aduersaries, & hearyng of therle of Salisburies setyng forward, with acõpany of armed of men & archers: assẽbled together a greate counsaill, to puruey a remedy,

remedy, for that imminent mischief, and (as in a multitude oftentimes it happeth, so many heddes so many wittes) so diuerse wer in opinion, that neither people nor weapon should be stirred, till the erle approched: doubtyng, whether he came to demaunde warre or peace, or to aske Iustice, & to reforme wrong. Other, otherwise thought, and wer of a contrary opinion, makyng the foundaciō of their argument, that the raisyng of people, and assemble of souldiors by hym, could signifie no peace, nor treaty of concord: except a man should saie, that intreatyng for fauor with naked swerde in hande, were an humble submission and a meke request: whiche onely consideracion, moued them to saie, ỳ as force with force, ought to be repelled, so he with a great power, or he came into the middest of the realme, should of necessitie be encountered and (if fortune would serue) vtterly destroyed. This sentence toke place, & without delaie, sir Iames Twichet lorde Awdeley, because his seignorie and power lay in those partes, where the erle should passe, was appoynted to mete with hym, and to geue hym battaill, if he sawe cause or place conueniear and the quene folowed after. The lord Audeley, accordyng to his commission, assembled aboue. x. M. men, and knowyng by his espials whiche way therle kept, approched nere to hym on a faire plain called Blore Heath, within a mile of the toune of Drayton, in the countrey of Salope, commonly called Shropshire. The erle perceiuing by the liuery of the souldiors, that he was circumuented and likely to be trapped with the quenes power, determined rather there to abide the aduenture, with fame and honor, then farther to flie, with losse & reproche: & so encamped hymself all the night, on the side of a litle broke not very brode, but somewhat depe. In the morneyng earely, beyng the daie of. s. Tecle, he caused his souldiors to shote their flightes, towarde the Lorde Awdeleys company, whiche laie on the otherside of the saied water, and then he and all his company, made a signe of retraite. The lorde Awdeley, remembryng not onely the trust that he was put in, but also the Quenes terrible commaundement, (whiche was to bryng to her presence, therle of Salisbury, quicke or ded) blewe vp his trumpet, and did set furth his vowarde, & sodainly passed the water. Therle of Salisbury, whiche knewe the slaightes, stratagemes, and the pollecics of warlike affaires, sodainly returned, and shortly encountred with the Lorde Awdeley and his chief Capitaines, or the residewe of his armie could passe the water. The fight was sore and dreadfull. Therle desiryng the sauyng of his life, and his aduersaries couetyng his destruccion, fought sore for the obteinyng of their purpose, but in conclusion, the erles army as men desperate of aide and succor, so egerly fought, that thei slewe the lorde Awdeley, and all his capitaines, and discomfited all the remnaunt of his people. In this battail wer slain. xxiiij. C. persōs, but the greatest plague lighted on the Chesshire men, because one halfe of the shire, was one the one part, and the other on the other part, of whiche numbre wer sir Thomas Dutton, sir Ihon Dunne, & sir Hugh Venables. But therles twoo sonnes, the one called sir Ihon Neuell, and the other sir Thomas, wer sore woūded, whiche soberly iorniyng into the Northcountrey thinkyng there to repose them selfes, wer in their iorney apprehēded, by the quenes frendes, and conueyed to Chester: but their kepers deliuered them shortly, or els the Marchemen had destroyed the Gayles. Such fauor had the commons of Wales, to the duke of Yorkes hand and his affinitie, that thei could suffre no wrong to be doen, nor euil worde to be spoken of hym or his frendes.

¶ THE. XXXVIII. YERE.

The.xxxviii. yere.

AFter this battail, the duke of Yorke not onely perceiuyng that the destruccion of him & his frendes, was intended (as by this last conflict, was apparantly declared) but also remembryng, that all his counsailes & priuy intētes, wer now opened to the kyng and ỳ quene which studied to diuert and turn from thē, all michief or infortunitie, whiche might chaunce either to theim or their frendes, thought it mete neither lenger to dissimule, nor farther to kepe his bill vnder wyng: and therefore with a coragious harte, aswel for the obteinyng of the croune, as for the tuicio and safegard of hym and his frendes, he determined no lenger

to

to slepe in his den, but with all diligence, to set furthe his busines and auaunce his banner. And therfore sending for therle of Salisbury his felow and compere in all his doynges, counsailes, and fortunes (after long communicacion had, of the Quenes misgouernaunce, and how she without their assent, did all thynges at her will and pleasure) determined to raise a greate army, and by fine force, either to die or win their purpose. What should I saie, men were assembled, frendes wer sent for, and a puissaunt armie was gathered, bothe of Northren men and Welshemen, whiche in good ordre came into the Marches of Wales, adioynyng to Shropshire, where they determined either to abide their enemies, or to mete them if thei marched forward. The king was not ignorant of this assemble, nor yet vnaduertised of the dukes intēt: wherfore to resist the mischief at the beginnyng, he caused commissiōs to be made and sent into euery part of the realme, where he suspected either to haue assured frendes or indifferēt fauorers, for men and money. By reason of whiche commaundemēt, a great numbre was assembled. Many for the loue they bare to the king, but more for the feare ỳ thei had of the quene, whose countenaunce was so fearfull, and whose looke was so terrible, that to al men, against whom she toke a small displeasure, her frounyng was their vndoyng, & her indignacion, was their death. The king accōpanied with the dukes of Somerset & Excester, and other of the line of Lancaster determined clerely, to set on the duke of Yorke & his confederates, and them by force either vtterly to vanquish, or by pollecy to attrap and bring to confusion: wherupon in hope of good lucke, the kyng with his army by long marchyng, came nere to the duke of Yorke, which was strongly incamped, alitle from the toune of Ludlow, nere adioynyng to the confines of Wales, to whom not long before, was come his trustie frende Richard Erle of Warwike, with a greate numbre of expert men in marciall feates, whom he had brought with hym from Calice, wherof two were meune of approued pollecye, in the warres of Normandy and Guyen, the one called Andrew Trowlop, & the other Iho Blount. These armies thus liyng, the one in the conspect and vewe of the other studied all meanes and pollecies, how to take aduauntage eche of other and how with lesse ieoperdye, the one might set on the other. The Duke perceiuyng by reason of his expert Capitaines, a waye howe he might easely dampnifie and discomfite his enemies, thought no lenger to slepe his purpose, but manfully to geue the onset, & so with his secrete frendes and capitaines, determined the next morning early, with dreadfull blastes of the terrible trompet, to begin the battail, and set on the kyng and his army, or he wer redy or in aray. But of this deuise succeded nothing nor of this imaginacion proceded any effect. For Andrewe Trolop and other the Calicians, whiche wer men of great knowledge and muche experience, and had liued by the kynges wages, more then a few yeres, perceiuyng now, that they should fight against their souereigne lorde hymself (whose frend thei estemed before that tyme, therle of Warwike euer to haue been taken and reputed, and not his enemy or destroyer) in the dedde of the night, before the daie of battaill, secretly departed from the dukes campe, and submitted themselfes to the kyng admonishing him of all thynges prepared and deuised, for his losse & destruccion. If these auncient capitaines wer welcome to the kyng, or if he ioyously them receiued, I referre that to all men, whiche haue relief in their distresse, or haue a sodain good chaunce, when thei thinke least vpon it. When the duke of Yorke was aduertised of their departyng, no maruaill though his senses wer moued, and his wittes disturbed, as a man that sodainly riseth out of a traunse, woteth not what to do or saie: For he first considered the power and auctboritie of the Kyng, and sawe that Andrewe Troloppe, of his frend was sodainly transformed, into the image of his extreme enemy, whose force and pollecie, asmuche now discōforted hym, as by the truste whiche he put in hym, he was before incouraged: wherfore he euidently perceiuyng, that all his counsaill and purpose, was by the forenamed Andrew, reueled and disclosed, thought it better for hym and hys, to departe in suretie, then to abide the chaunce, of mutable Fortune, whiche turneth the whiele at her wil & pleasure: wherupon he with his yonger sonne Edmond erle of Rutland, secretly departed into Wales and so passed into Ireland, where he was with al ioy & honor gladly receiued. Therle of March, sonne & heire apparant to

the forsaid duke, accompanied with therles of Salisbury, and Warwike, and sir Ihon Wenlocke, stale away thesame night, & came into Deuonshire: wher by the meanes of Iboo Dinham Esquire (whiche after was high treasurer of England, in the time of kyng Henry the vij.) thei bought a ship, whiche cost C.x. markes, at Exmouth, & sailed to Gernsny, and after came to Calice, & were let in at the posterne, & ioyfully welcomed of their frendes.

THE next day in the mornyng, the kyng beyng aduertised of the departyng of the Duke of Yorke and his partakers, caused al his horssemen to folowe them by euery passage, but thei wer neither seen nor espied, as they that folowed, made reporte. The kyng perceiuyng that the lordes were escaped, pardoned all the poore souldiours, sauyng certain Ryng leaders, whereof some he punished and fined, and some he hanged and quartered. After this, he remoued to Ludlowe, and there dispatched his hoste, and spoyled the toune and the Castle, and sent the Duches of Yorke, with her two yonger sonnes, to be kept in ward, with the Duches of Buckyngham her suster, where she continued a certain space. After this, he proclaimed these lordes, traytors to hym, enemies to their countrey, and rebelles to the Croune: confiscatyng al their landes, goodes, and offices, committyng the gouernaunce of the Northe partes, to the Erle of Northumberlande, and the Lorde Clifford, as to his trustie and moste faithfull frendes: and of his toune of Calice, he made Capitain, Henry the newe Duke of Somerset: but the olde husbande man saieth, that as to hastie sowyng, often time deceiueth, so to late, neuer wel proueth. For in this businesse, protractyng of tyme onely, hurted and harmed the Kyng and his sequele. For if he at the beginnyng, had dispossessed his aduersaries of that refuge and hold, no doubt but he had either tamed or vanquished theim with litle labour and small daunger.

THE Duke of Somerset, reioysyng much in his new office, elected diuerse hardy and valiaunt souldiors, and with greate pompe sailed toward Calice: and when he thought surely to haue entered into the Hauen, the artillarie shot so fiersely, bothe out of the toune and Risebancke, that he sufferyng there a sore repulse, was fain to land at whitsandbay, and sent woorde to the capitaines of the toune, to receiue hym, as the kynges lieuetenaunt, and shewed to them his letters Patentes, but neither he nor his writyng, was once regarded or looked on: so of necessitie he resorted to the Castle of Guysnes, daily skirmishing with the garrison of Calice, more to his losse then gain. After his arriuall, as is aforesaied, diuerse of the mariners, owing more good will, to therle of Warwicke, then to this young duke, conueyed their shippes into the Hauen of Calice, and in theim diuerse of the Erle of Warwickes enemies, as Ianyn Fendill, Ihon Felowe, and diuerse other, and presented theim to thesaied Erle, whiche incontinent, caused their heddes to bee striken of. This daily conflict, still continuyng betwene the Lordes, whiche soiorned at Calice, and the duke of Somerset, liyng at Guysnes, no small numbre of the comonaltie, daily resorted to the Erle of Marche and his confederates: by reason wherof, all though they daily lost people, and had many slain, yet their numbre was restored, and the gappe euer filled, whiche was the continuall losse, and daily detriment to the duke of Somerset. Yet he like a valiaunt Prince, nothyng lesse myndyng, then for lacke of ayde to be expelled from the great office and renoumed auctboritie, whiche the kyng had to hym geuen, in the partes beyond the sea, sent letters to the kyng, and messengers to the Quene, desiryng of them aide and succor, in defence of the querell, and lawfull assistence. His postes wer not vnheard, nor his requestes vnprouided. For without delay Richard lorde Riuers, & sir Anthony Wooduile, his valiaunt sonne, whiche after was Lorde Scales, accompanied with foure hundred warlike persones, were appoynted to passe the seas, and to be coadiutors to the Duke of Somerset. These marciall capitaynes endeuouryng theim selfes to the poynt, for the which thei were assigned, came to the Porte of Sandwyche, and there abode the Wynd and the wether, whiche obeyeth neither Kyng, nor serueth Emperoure.

THE Erles of Marche and Warwicke, and other beyng at Calice, had knowledge of all these doynges, and secrete conuenticles: wherfore to anticipate and preuent the Dukes purpose, they sent Ihon Dinham the valiaunt esquire, with a small numbre of men but with a multitude

multitude of coragious hartes, to the toune of Sandwyche, which sodainly entered thesame, and toke the Lorde Riuers in his bedde, and his sonne also: robbyng houses, & spoylyng shippes of great riches and marchandise, and beside this, they tooke the principall shippes of the kynges nauie, then liyng at the Port, well furnished with ordinaunce and artillarie, but not without the fauour of the mariners, whiche fauoured more the one part then the other. But although Thon Dinham, Capitain on the Lordes parté, was sore hurte and maymed on his legge, by reason wherof, he euer after halted and somewhat limped: yet his courage and pollecy was so much, that he vanquished his enemies, and brought the shippes royall laded with preye and prisoners, to the toune of Calice, and theim presented to the Erle of Marche, not knowing then, that the Lorde Riuers doughter should bee the Erles wife, whiche then had an husbande leuyng, nor thynkyng that her father for her sake, should after be destroyed. But who can know the secretes of GOD, or without him, declare the chaunce that after shall insue.

AFTER this bootie gotten, and good lucke obteined, diuerse of the best shippes, taken in the Hauen of Sandwiche, wer well vitailed and manned, and with theim the Erle of Warwicke, transfreted and sayled into Irelande, to common with the Duke of Yorke, of his greate affayres and businesse. The wether was so faire, and the Wynd so fauorable to the Erles purpose, that within lesse then. xxx. daies, he passed and repassed from Calice to Deuelyne, and asserteined the Erles of Marche and of Salisbury, what was the Duke of Yorkes deuise and intent, bothe for his entre and theirs, into the Realme of Englande. The erle of Warwicke had come to short home, to tel these tidynges, if the duke of Excester, whiche, beyng Admirall of the sea, lay in the Weste countrey, to stoppe the Erles passage, might haue had his awne will: but the capitaines of his Nauy murmured against hym, and the mariners dispraised and disdayned him, glad to heare of the Erle of Warwickes good successe, by which occasion, he neither would, nor durst once medle or coupe with the Erles nauie.

DVRYNG this tyme, the Kyng called a Parliament, in the Citee of Couentre, in the whiche, the Duke of Yorke and all his confederates were attaynted of high treason, and their goodes and landes confiscat and forfeted: and to prohibite their landyng in all partes, hauen tounes were watched, and the sea costes were garnished with bekens. And sir Simon Mondford with a great crew, was appoynted to kepe the dounes, and the fiue Portes, and all menne passyng into Flaunders, were vpon payne of death, prohibited to passe by Calice, lest the lordes there, should borow of them any money, as they did prest of the marchantes of the staple. xviii.M.l. late before, whiche was a great displeasure to ỹ kyng, & a more corasey to the quene. The lordes lyēg at Caleys, wer not ignorant of all these doynges & prouisions, but daily were asserteyned what was done in the kynges priuie chamber: wherfore firste they sent a company to Sandwyche, which conquered the towne, and apprehended syr Symon Moūtford, and brought hym with all his mates to the hauen of Caleys, where incontinēt, he with. xij. of his chief felowes. lost their heddes on the sandes, before Ryschancke. After the kynges nauye gayned, and his capitayns on the arriual of the sea taken and destroied, the lordes lyenge at Caleys, hoping in their frendes within the realme determined to passe the sea, and to land in England. And after they had put the castel and towne of Caleys, in sure and safe custodye to their onely vse, they passed the sea, and landed at Sandwich. And so passyng through Kent, there came to them the lorde Cobham, Thon Guldefford, William Peche, Robert Horne, and many other gentelmen, which conueyed them to the citie of London. But the fame of their landyng once knowen, gentelmen repaired and yeomē resorted out of all the Southpartes of the Realme: vpon which rumor Thomas lord Scales, a man in great fauour, with the kyng and Quene, accompanied with the erle of Kendale, a Gascoyn, and the lord Louel, resorted to London, with a great company of armed men: declaryng to the Mayre of the citie, that their repayre onely was to defend, and kepe the citie from the spoyle & robbery of suche traytors, as the kyng was credibliie enformed, woulde thither make accesse: to whom the Mayre aunswered, that he wel

knew both his awne othe, and bounden duety toward his souereign lord and prince, and neded neither of prompter, nor yet of Coadiutor, either to defend or gouerne the citie, to him comitted in charge. With which aunswere, the lorde Scales and his associates not a litle displeased, entered into the Towre of London, dayly with new inuentions, doyng displeasures and domages to the citezens of the citie whome they sore suspected, rather to fauour then to hate, the erles of Marche, & Warwycke, & other of their band and affinitie. Which erles with a great army came shortly to London, and were of the Mayre and citezens ioyously receyued, to whome resorted the Archebishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Ely and Excester with many prelates and religious persons. These lordes nothyng slackyng the purpose, that they came for, dayly consulted and assembled together in the house of the friers Franciscane within the citie. And after long debatinge, and secret consultacion, hadde, it was agreed, that they with their whoole puyssaunce shoulde marche forwarde, towarde the kynge: determining either by force or fayre meanes, to bryng their purpose to a conclusion. Whē this counsaill was dissolued, the erles of March and Warwycke, Thomas lord Faucōbridge, Hēry lord Borchier, called erle of Eue, with a great number of men, which came out of Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex, to the number as some writers afferme of xxv.M. persons departed from London, toward the kyng, lyeng at Couentre, then called the Quenes secret arbor, leuyng behynd them, to kepe the Londoners in their fidelitie, from reuertyng from their part, the erle of Salisbury, the lord Cobham, and syr Ihon Wenlocke: which lord Cobhā, with certayn Aldermen of the citie, so kept the West side against the Towre, and syr Ihon Wenlocke, with other so vigilantly watched the East parte, towarde sainct Katherynes, that no person either could issue out, or entre in, to ỹ great displeasure of the lord Scales and his company, whiche dayly shote their ordenaunce out, and had likewise great ordinaunce shott at them, to the hurt, and no pleasure of both partes. The kyng not ignorāt of all these doynges, assembled a great army, and accompanied with the duke of Somerset, which was lately come from Guysnes, and the Duke of Buckyngham, and diuers other great lordes of his parte and faccīō came to the towne of Northampton, where the Quene encouraged her frendes, and promised great rewardes to her helpers: for the kyng studied nothing but of peace, quiet and solitarie life. When ỹ kinges host was assembled, and that the Quene perceyued that her power was able to matche with the force of her aduersaries, she caused her army to issue out of the towne, and to passe the ryuer of Nene, and there in the newe felde, betwene Harsyngton and Sandifford, the Capitaynes strongely emparked them selfes with high bankes and depe trenches. The erle of Marche beyng lusty, and in the floure of his coragious yought, lyenge betwene Towceter and Northampton, determined to set on the kynges army, without longer protractyng of tyme. And in the nighte season remoued his campe toward Northampton, and in marchyng forward set his men in good order of battayl, wherof the vawegard was cōducted by the erle of Warwycke, which, either by strenght or stealth, maugre ỹ lord Beamond, which kept a strayt, goyng toward the Kynges campe, entered freshly and began the battayle aboute. vij. of the clocke, the ix. daye of Iulij. After whome folowed the erle of Marche, with the bāner of his father. This fight contynued in doubtfull iudgemente, till the houre of nyne, at which tyme the kynges army was profligat, and discomfited, and of thesame slayn, and drouned in the ryuer, fewe lesse then x.M. talle Englishme, & ỹ kyng hym self left alone disconsolate, was taken and apprehended, as a man borne, and predestinate to troble misery and calamitie. At this battayl were slayn, Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, Ihon Talbot erle of Shrewesbury, a valeant person, and not degeneratyng frō his noble parent: Thomas lord Egremond, Ihon viscount Beaumond, and syr William Lucy, which made great hast to come to parte of the fight, and at his first approche was strikē in the hed w an axe. Diuers other gētilmē were slayn in this ciuile battail, whose names were not remembred nor published by any aucthor that I haue redde. Beside these dead persons, many were taken prisoners, because they left their horses, & discēded to fight on fote. The duke of Somerset and other, which narowly escaped, fled with the

Quene

Quene and prince Edward, into the bishoprycke of Durhame, in whiche place they determined to congregate, and gather a new armye and power, and if no hoope were of recouery, then they agreed to flye into Scotland: there to expect better lucke, and happier chaunce, by fortunes fauour. The erles beyng victorious in this blody battayle, conueyed the Kyng that night again to the towne of Northampton, and the next day with great solempnitie and small comfort, they setforward the king, & by easy iorneys brought him to London the xvi. day of Iulij, where he was fayntely receyued, & feebly welcomed, and was lodged in the Bishops palace. After whose commyng to the citie, the Towre of London was deliuered to the erle of Marche, vpon a certayn composicion. But the Lorde Scales, suspectyng the sequele of the deliuery of thesame, toke a wherry priuily, entendyng to haue fled to the Quene. But he was espied by diuers watermē belongyng to the erle of Warwycke, whiche wayted for hys forthcommyng on the Thamse, and sodainly takē and shortly slayne with many dartes and daggers, and his body left all blody and naked at the gate of the Clyncke, which after was buried in the church adioynyng. Then were diuers persons apprehended, and endited of treason, wherof some were pardoned, and some executed: but Thomas Thorpe, second Barō of thexchequer, great frend to the house of Lancaster, and extreme enemie to the familie of Yorke, was taken disguised in a monkes apparell, with a shauen croune, & so brought to the erle of Warwycke, which sent hym to the Towre of London, where he long remayned. Duryng this trouble, was a Parliament somoned to begyn at Westmynster, in ỹ moneth of October next folowyng. Before which tyme, Richarde duke of Yorke, beyng in Irelād, by swyft currers, and flieng postes, was aduertised of the great victorie, gained by his parte, at the feld of Northampton, and also knew that the kynge was now in case to be kepte, & ordered at his pleasure and wil: wherfore losyng no tyme, nor sloggyng one houre, he sayled from Deuelyne to Chester with no small company and by longe iourneys, came to the citie of London, which he entered the Friday next before the feast of sainct Edwarde the confessor, with a swoord borne naked before him, and toke his lodgynge in the kynges awne palayce, wherupon the cōmon people babbeled, that he should be Kyng, & that kyng Henry should no lōger reigne. During the tyme of this Parliamente, the duke of Yorke with a bolde contenaunce, entered into the chamber of the peres, and sat downe in the trone royall, vnder the clothe of estate (which is the kynges peculiar seate) & in the presence aswel of the nobilitie, as of ỹ spiritualtie (after a pause made) said these wordes in effect. "My singuler good lordes, and very indifferēt frēdes, in whose power and auctho-rithe consisteth the peyse and the stay of this noble Realme of England, the which aswell before the tyme, that Christe our sauiour and redemer, toke vpon hym our fraile fleshe, and humayn nature, as euer since, hath ben a Realme renouined, a kingdom famous, & a re-gion (aswel emongest Paganes as Christians) greatly bruted, beloued and feared. I no lesse requyre, then frendly exhort you now, beyng together as louers of God, and frendes to your countrey, neither yet do iudge, or once suspect, that I either enflāmed with ambyciō or desirous of high rule, or couetous of soueraignte, haue presumed to enter vnder this trone, or attempted to set in this princely chayer and seage Royalle, except you heare the cause, and digest wel the truthe. For without these two poyntes knowen, and vnderstanded your iudgementes may be voyde, and your cogitacions friuolous. Therfore I declare and publish to you, that here I sit, as in the place to me by very iustice lawfully belongyng, & here I rest, as he to whome this chayre of righte apperteineth, not as he, which requireth of you fauor, parcialitie, or bearyng, but egall right, frendly indifferencie, and trew administracion of iustice: for I beyng the partye greued, and complaynaūt, can not minister to my self the Medecine, that should helpe me (as experte leches and Chyrurgians may) except you be to me both faithful ayders, and also trew counsaylors. Nor yet this noble realme, and our naturall countrey shall neuer be vnbukeled from her quotidiā feuer, except I (as the principall Physician & you, as trew and trusty Appotecaries) consult together, in makyng of the pocion, and trye out the clene and pure stuffe, frō the old, corrupt, and putrified dregges. For vndoutedly, the rote & botome of this long festured cākar, is not

The duke of Yorkes oration made to all the lordes of the Parliament.

yet

yet extirpat, nor the feble foūdacion of this fallible building, is not yet espied, which hath bene, and is the daily destruccion of the nobilitie, and the quotidian confusion of ỹ pore comunaltie of this realme and kyngdom, For all you know (or should know that the high and mighty prince kynge Richard the. ii. was the trew and indubitate heyre, to the valeant Conquerour, and renoumed prince kynge Edwarde the iii. as sonne and heyre to the hardy knyght, and couragious capitayn, Edward prince of Wales, duke of Acquitayn and Cornewall, eldest sonne to the said kyng Edward the. iij. which kyng was not onely in dead, but also of all men, reputed and taken, as ỹ very trew and infallible heyre, to the wyse & pollitique prince, kyng Henry the. iij. as sonne & heere to kynge Edward the second, sonne and heyre to kyng Edward the first, the very heyre and firste begotten sonne of the sayd noble and vertuous prince, kyng Hēry the. iii. Which kyng Richard, of that name the second, was lawfully and iustly possessed of the croune, and diademe of this Realme and region, tyll Henry of Derby, duke of Lancaster and Herdford, sonne to Ihon duke of Lancaster, the fourth begotten sonne, to the sayd kyng Edward the. iij. and yonger brother, to my noble auncestor Lyonel duke of Clarence, the. iii. begotten sonne of the sayd kyng Edward, by force & violence, contrary both to the duetie of his allegiaūce, and also to his homage to him both done and sworne, rayscd warre and battayle, at the castel of Flynt, in Northwales, agaynst the sayd kyng Richard and hym apprehended & imprisoned within the Towre of Lōdō. Duryng whose life & captiuitie he wrongfully vsurped and entruded vpon the royall power and high estate of this Realme and region, takyng on hym ỹ name, stile, & auctboritie of kyng and gouernor of thesame. And not therewith satisfied and contented, compassed and accomplished, the death & destruccion of hys naturall prince, and moste worthy soueregne lord, not as a common homicyde, and bocherly murder, but as a regicide & destroyer of his kyng. After whose piteous death, and execrable murder (alas my harte panteth to remember the abhominable facte) the right & title of the croune, and superiorite of this realme, was lawfully reuerted and returned to Rogier Mortimer, erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to lady Philippe, the onely child of the aboue rehersed Lyonel, duke of Clarēce, to which Rogiers doughter called Anne, my most derest and welbeloued mother, I am the very trew and lineall heyre, whiche discent, all you can not iustely agaye say, nor yet truly deny. Then remember this, if the title be myne, why am I put from it: if I be trewe heyre to the croune (as I am in dede) why is my right withholden: if my clayme be good, why haue I not iustice: for surely lerned men of great science and litterature, saye & affirme, that lyncall discent, nor vsurped possession, can nothynge preuayle, if continuall clayme be lawfully made, or openly published. For auoyding of which scruple and ambiguitie: Edmond erle of Marche, my most welbeloued vncle, in the tyme of the firste vsurpar, in dede, but not by right, called kyng Hēry the. iiij. by his cosyns, the erle of Northhumberlād, and the lord Percy, he beyng then in captiuitie, with Owen Glendore, the rebell in Wales, made his title, and righteous clayme, to the destruccion of both the noble persons. Likewise my moste derest lorde & father, so farre setforth that ryght and title, that he loste his life, and worldly ioy, at the towne of Southampton, more by power, then indifferent iustice. Sythe whose death, I commyng to my full age, haue neuer desisted to pursew my title, and requyre my right, which by meanes of synister counsaill, and iniust detencion, I can neither obteyne or recouer. So that of fyne force, I am compelled to vse power in stede of prayer, & force, in stede of request (not as I sayde before) for my priuate emolumēt, and peculiar profite, but to restore peace, loue, and quietnes to this our naturall regiō: which euer sith the fyrste vngodly vsurpacion of the forenamed Henry vntruely called kyng Henry the. iiij. hath ben clerely banished, and out of thesame iniustly exiled. What murders and manslaughters hath bene perpetrated, and committed within thys countrey, sythe the beginnyng of that vngracious vsurpacion: what number of noble men haue ben slayne, destroyed and executed, sith that vnfortunate day: what manifest iniquitie hath ben openly borne, and maynteyned in euery countrey and citie, sith the dolefull death of kyng Richard: or what person darre sue for his right at this dai, cōtrary to ỹ will of the

counsailors, which now beare the swyng and rule of the roste. Wel, wel, although almighty God slackely & slowely do ỹ procede, to ỹ punishment of synners: yet the differyng of his scorge, is recompensed with ỹ greater payn, when his rod striketh, yea, and ofteuntymes he leaueth the very malefactors apparantly vnpunished, and scorgeth their bloud and punisheth thē in their heyres, by worldly aduersitie. Suche is his mercy when it pleaseth him to shew it, and so sharpe is his whyp when he lyst to strike. For although, Henry of Lancaster, erle of Derby toke vpon him the scepter, and the croune, and wrongfully bare the name and stile of a king, and was not much tickeled with myne Vncle, the erle of Marche, at ỹ time beyng within age: Yet was he neuer in suerty of him self, nor had any, or enioyed any perfyt quietnes, either in mynd or in body: for suerly a corrupt conscience feleth neuer reste. but loketh when the swourd of vengeaunce will discend and stryke. His sonne also called kyng Henry the. v. obteyned notable victories, and immortall prayses, for his noble actes, done in the realme of Fraunce: yet God for the offence of his vntrew parente, sodaynly touched him, vnbodiynge his soule, in the flower of his yought, and in the glory of his conquest. And although, he had a fayre sonne, and a yong apparāt heyre: yet was this Orphan such a one, as Preachers say, that God threatened to send, for a punishmēt, to his vnruely and vngracious people: saiyng by hys prophet Esay: I shall gyue you children to be your princes, and enfantes without wysedom, shall haue the gouernaunce of you. The Prophet lyed not, if you note all thinges in an order: For after this Henry ỹ v. (whose fame, no mā can iustly reproue or deface) succeded his sonne whome all we haue called our naturall prince, & obeyed, as his heyre: in whose tyme, and wrongfull reigne, I require you diligently to cōsider, with what great tormentes & affliccions God hath whypped & scorged this miserable Isle, yea, with such and so many scourges and plagues, as no nacion (the Egyptians onely except) were euer tormented, or afflicted withall. I will not speake of rebellious murders and oppressiōs, which of late hath ben done, and exercised here emong vs: but I will declare and manifest to you, how the croune and glorie of this realme, is by the negligence of this silly man, and his vnwise counsaill, minished, defaced, and dishonored. Is not Normandy, whiche his father gat, regayned, and conquered agayn, by the insolencie of him, and his coueteous counsail? Is not the whole duchye of Aquitayn by. ii.C. and od yeres, peaceable possessed by the kynges of this realme, in one yere and a little more, gotten out of our handes and seignorie? What should I speake of Angeow and Mayne or the losse, of the Isle of Fraūce, with the riche citie of Parys. Alas, my hart sobbeth, myne eyes water, and my toungue foltereth, either to speake or thinke of the losses and misfortunes, that this our natiue coūtrey, hath of late sustained. But as ỹ Preachers say: euill gotten goodes, do not long continue, nor vsurped power, hath no prosperous successe. I will not molest you, with the rehersyng of the calamitie, whiche fell emōgest the Israelites, when Athalia slew all the bloud Royall, except litle Ioas, and tyrānously vsurped the croune: nor trouble you with the cōtinual warre, which happened emōge the Romaines, when Iulius Cesar toke vpon hym, without lawe or auctboritie, the name and stile of Emperor: but I put you in remembrance of our awne nacion. what mischiefe, strife and misery succeded in this realme, by the iniurious vsurpacions, of Herraid sonne to Godwyn erle of Kent, and Stephē of Bloys, erle of Bulleyn, the one beyng the cause of the conquest of this realme, and the other the occasion of infinite troubles, and domesticall discension within thesame: yet all these vexacions and scorges, be but a shadowe or counterfeit light, in comparison of the great calamities and miseries, which all we here present, haue seen and experimented. Yet in the middes of this afflicciō, and to make an end of thesame, God of his ineffable goodnes, lookyng on this countrey, with his iyes of pitie, and aspect of mercie, hath sent me in the truth, to restore again this decayed kyngdō, to his auncient fame & olde renoume. Whiche here in open parliament, accordyng to my iust and true title, I haue and do take possession, of this royall throne, not puttyng diffidence, but firme hope in Gods grace, that by his diuine ayde, and the assistence of you, the peeres of this Realme, I shall decore and maintein thesame, to the glory of hym, honor of my bloud,

bloud, and to the publique wealth, aswell of you all here present, as of all the poore commons and subiectes, of this kyngdom and regiment." When the duke had thus ended his oracion, the lordes sat still like Images grauen in the wall, or dõme Gods, neither whisperyng nor spekyng, as though their mouthes had been sowed vp. The duke perceiuing none aunswer, to be made to his declared purpose, not well content with their sobre silence, and taciturnitie, aduised them well, to digest and pondre the effect of his oracion and saiyng, and so neither fully displeased, nor all pleased, departed to his lodgyng in the Kynges palace.

WHILE he was thus declaryng his title, in the chambre of the peres, there happened a straunge chaunce, in the very same tyme, emongest the cõmons in the nether house, then there assembled: for a Croune whiche did hang in the middell of thesame, to garnishe a branche, to set lightes vpon, without touche of any creature, or rigor of wynd, sodainly fell doune, and at thesame tyme also, fell doune the Croune, whiche stode on the top of the Castle of Doner: as a signe and prognosticacion, that the Croune of the Realme should bee diuided and changed, from one line to another. This was the iudgement of the cõmon people, whiche were neither of Gods priuitie, nor yet of his priuie counsaill, and yet they wil say their opinions, whosoeuer saie nay.

THE lordes of the realme, forgat not the dukes demãunde, nor long protracted the tyme, to se some good ende, in so waightie a cause: wherefore diuerse lordes, aswell spirituall as temporall, with many graue and sage persones of the commonaltie, daily assembled at the Blacke Friers and other places, to treate and common of this matter, beyng of no smal importaunce. Duryng whiche tyme, the Duke of Yorke, although he and the kyng, wer both lodged in the palace of Westminster, yet for no praier or intercession, he would ouee visite or se the kyng, till some perfit conclusion wer taken, in this greate and waightie purpose: saiyng and affirmyng, that he was subiect to no man, but onely to God, and he was his lord and superior, and none other. I will alitle space leue the lordes consultyng together, and speake of outward attemptes & foren doynges.

THIS ciuill discension within the realme of Englande, did muche animate and incorage Iames the secõd of that name, kyng of Scottes to make warre on the Englishe nacion, partly for the displeasure which he conceiued for the death of Edmond duke of Somerset, his mothers brother, and partly to shew hymself emõgest his people, to be bothe valiaunt and coragious. This kyng Iames from his firste rule, began to entre into suspicion with William Erle Douglas, a man both of great kynne and more power, euer mistrustyng, that he nothyng more desired, then to depriue hym from his auctboritie, and to vsurpe thesame. This caucard suspicion was so rooted in the kynges harte, that sodainly it branched out, in so muche that the kyng sendyng for the Erle, (whiche trustyng on his awne innocencie, humbly came to his presence) caused hym shamefully to be slain and murdered, with whiche iniury, his twoo brethren, Archibald Erle of Murrey, and Hugh Erle of Ormount, not a litle pricked and incoraged, with the Erles of Angus and Morthone, beeyng all of one line and surname, made open warre on thesaied kyng Iames: but inconclusiõ he preuailed, and suppressed the great power of the Douglasses. And then thynkyng hymself a kyng, without either peere or fere; assembled a greate army, and entered into the Marches of Northumberlande, and besieged the Castle of Roxborough, and there caused his newe Bombarde, lately cast in Flaunders, called the lion and diuerse other peces, to be shot against the Castle, wherof one beyng weake and slender, brake in peces, and with one of the fragmentes slewe the kyng, standyng emongest a greate company of his people, and wounded the erle of Angus. The Scottes not dismaied with the death of their kyng, seyng the Castle easy to be wonne, manfully assauted and with muche pain gat it, and thesame long defended, till Richard Duke of Gloucester it conquered and destroyed. This kyng Iames, of quene Mary his wife left three sonnes, Iames whiche succeded hym, Alexander duke of Albany, and Ihon. This young kyng Iames, was put vnder the tuicion of Iames Kenede, bishoppe of sainct Andrewes, whiche duryng his noneage, ruled the realme to the

Kyng Iames of Scotlande slayne with a pece of a gõne.

kynges

Kynges greate honor, but more to his awne profite and peculier gaine: For he made sumpteous houses, and buylded Colleges, whiche his young pupill kyng Iames, neither could nor was hable to do.

ABOVTE this very season, and during this vnnaturall cōtrouersy within the realme of Englande, Charles the Frenche kyng, whiche only by trouble and calamitie, gat to him a perpetual name, and emongest his nacion aboue the sterres exalted, ended the poynt of his fatall fine, whiche Prince in his youth, neuer regarded wanton pastyme, nor lasciuious dalliaūce, for his wittes were set, and his industrie onely applied, to recouer again his paternall patrimony, and Princely inheritaunce: So that more plainly then in a mirror, all menne maie perceiue that pain often profiteth, and labor commōly auaileth, but idlenesse sildome, and dalliaunce, neuer. To this Charles, succeded kyng Lewes, of that name the. xi. of whose dooynges you shall heare after: & shall both studie and marueill, for the straungenes of his demeanor, & the craftie pollecie of his secrete compasses. Now I will returne to the great counsaill of the lordes, celebrate about Lōdō, far the duke of Yorkes claime.

¶ THE. XXXIX. YERE.

The. xxxix. yere.

AFter long argumentes made, & deliberate cōsultaciō had emong the peeres, prelates, and commons of the realme: vpon the vigile of all sainctes, it was condescended and agreed, by the three estates, for so muche as kyng Henry had been taken as kyng, by the space of. xxxviii. yeres and more, that he should inioye the name and title of Kyng, and haue possession of the realme, duryng his life naturall: And if he either died or resigned, or forfeted thesame, for infringing any poynt of this concorde, then the saied Croune and auctoritie royal, should immediatly bee diuoluted to the Duke of Yorke, if he then liued, or els to the next heire of his line or linage, and that the duke from thensefurth, should be Protector and Regent of the lande. Prouided allwaie, that if the kyng did closely or apertly, studie or go aboute to breake or alter this agrement, or to compesse or imagine the death or destruccion, of the saiede Duke or his bloud, then he to forfet the croun, and the duke of Yorke to take it. These articles with many other, were not onely written, sealed, and sworne by the twoo parties: but also wer enacted, in the high court of Parliament. For ioye whereof, the kynge hauyng in his company the saied Duke, rode to the Cathedrall Churche of sainct Paule, within the citee of Lōdon, and there on the daie of all Sainctes, went solēpnely with the diademe on his hed, in procession, and was lodged a good space after, in the bishoppes Palace, nere to thesaied Churche. And vpon the Saturdaie next insuyng, Richard Duke of Yorke, was by the sounde of a trumpet, solemnely proclaimed heire apparāt to the Croune of Englande, and Protector of the realme.

Articles of agrement betwene kyng Henry the vi. and Richard duke of Yorke.

AFTER this, the Parliamēt kept at Couentre the last yere, was declared to be a deuilishe counsaill, and onely celebrate for the destruccio of the nobilitie, and no lawfull Parliament because thei whiche wer returned, wer neuer elected, accordyng to the dew ordre of the lawe, but secretly named by theim, whiche desired more the destruccion, then the auauncement of the publique wealthe, and common profite. When these agrementes wer doen and enacted, the kyng dissolued his Parliament, whiche was the laste Parliamente that euer he ended. Suche was the pleasure of almightie God, that king Henry beeyng a good and verteous manne, whiche had tasted innumerable aduersities and calamities of the worlde, should be depriued of his terrestrial Croune, to be recompensed with an heauenly garland, and a ioyfull place: For surely a perfite good man, all though he be plagued with a thousande displeasures cannot be but blessed, and haue a good soule toward God.

THE Duke of Yorke well knowyng, that the Quene would spurne and impugne the conclusions agreed and taken in this parliament, caused her and her sonne, to be sent for by the kyng: but she beyng a manly woman, vsyng to rule and not to be ruled, & therto counsailed by the dukes of Excester and Somerset, not onely denied to come, but also assembled

sembled together a great army, intending to take the kyng by fine force, out of the lordes handes, and to set theim to a new skoole. The Protector liyng in Londō, hauyng perfite knowledge of all these doynges: assigned the Duke of Norffolke and the Erle of Warwicke, his trustie frendes, to be about the kyng, and he with therles of Salisbury, and Rutlande: with a conuenient company, departed out of London, the second daie of Decembre Northward, and sent to the Erle of Marche his eldest sonne to folowye hym with all his power. The Duke by small iornels, came to his Castle of Sandall, beside Wakefelde, on Christmas eue, and there began to assemble his tenauntes and frendes. The queue beyng thereof asserteined, determined to couple with hym while his power was small and his ayde not come: And so hauyng in her company, the Prince her sonne, the Dukes of Excester and Somerset, the Erle of Deuonshire, the Lorde Clifford, the Lorde Rosse, and in effecte all the Lordes of the Northe parte, with eightene thousande men, or as some write, twentie and two thousande, marched from Yorke to Wakefelde, and bad base to the Duke, euen before his Castle he hauyng with hym not fully fiue thousande persones, determined incontinent to issue out, and to fight with his enemies, and all though, sir Dauy Halle, his old seruaunt and chief counsailer, auised hym to kepe his Castle, and to defende thesame with his smal numbre, till his sonne the Erle of Marche wer come with his power of Marchemen and Welshe souldiours, yet he would not be counsailed, but in a great fury saied, a Dauy, Dauy, hast thou loued me so long, and now wouldest haue me dishonored: Thou neuer sawest me kepe fortres when I was Regent in Normandy, when the Dolphyn hymself, with his puissaunce came to besiege me, but like a man, and not like a birde included in a cage, I issued and fought with myne enemies, to their losse euer (I thanke God) and to my honor: If I haue not kepte my self within walles, for feare of a great and strong prince, nor hid my face from any man liuyng, wouldest thou that I for dread of a scolding woman, whose weapon is onely her tounge, and her nayles, should incarcerate my self, and shut my gates then al men might of me woundre and all creatures maie of me report dishonor, that a woman hath made me a dastard, who no man euer to this daie could yet proue a coward: And surely my mind is, rather to die with honor, then to liue with shame for of honor commeth fame, and of dishonor riseth infamy. Their great numbre shall not appall my spirites, but incorage theim, for surely I thinke that I haue there, as many frendes as enemies, whiche at ioynyng, will either flie or take my part: therfore auaunce my banner, in the name of God and saīct George, for surely I will fight with thē, though I should fight a lone. Therle of Salisbury and other his frendes, seing his corage, resolued thēselfes to his opinion, & ordered their men, and set them furth in Warlike fashion, for their moste aduauntage. The Duke of Somerset and other of the quenes part, knowyng perfitly, that if the Duke gat the victory, their daies wer minished, and their liuynges left bare, like men quickened and exasperate, for the safegard of their lifes, and defence of their goodes, determined to abide the chaunce, and to espie their moste aduauntage, and so appointed the lorde Clifford, to lye in the one stale, and the Erle of Wilshire in the other, and thei theimselfes kept the mayne battaill. The duke of Yorke with his people, discended doune the hill in good ordre and array, & was suffered to passe foreward, toward the mayne battaill: but when he was in the plain ground betwene his Castle and the toune of Wakefelde, he was enuironed on euery side, like a fish in a net, or a deere in a buckestall: so that he manfully fightyng, was within halfe an houre slain and ded, and his whole army discomfited, & with hym died of his trusty frēdes, his two bastard vncles, sir Ihon, & sir Hugh Mortimers, sir Dauy Halle his chief cōsailor, sir Hugh Hastynges, sir Thomas Neuel, William and Thomas Aparre, bothe brethren, and twoo thousande and eight hundred other, wherof many wer young gentlemen, and heires of greate parentage in the Southe parte, whose iuages reuenged their deathes, within foure Monethes, next and immediatly insuyng. In this conflicte was wounded and taken prisoner, Richarde Erle of Salisbury, sir Richard Lymbrike, Raufe Stanley, Ihō Harow, Capitain Hauson, and diuerse other. While this battaill was in fightyng, a prieste

The battaill at Wakefeld.

The duke of Yorke slain.

prieste called sir Robert Aspall, chappelain and schole master to the yong erle of Rutland ii. sonne to the aboue named duke of Yorke, scace of ỹ age of xii. yeres, a faire gētlemā, and a maydenlike person, perceiuyng ỹ flight was more sauegard, then tariyng, bothe for him and his master, secretly conueyed therle out of ỹ felde, by the lord Cliffordes bande, toward the towne, but or he coulde enter into a house, he was by the sayd lord Clifford espied, folowed, and taken, and by reson of his apparell, demaunded what he was. The yōg gentelman dismaied, had not a word to speake, but kneled on his knees imploryng mercy, and desiryng grace, both with holding vp his hādes and making dolorous countinance, for his speache was gone for feare. Saue him sayde his Chappelein, for he is a princes sonne, and peraduenture may do you good hereafter. With that word, the lord Clifford marked him and sayde: by Gods blode, thy father slew myne, and so wil I do the and all thy kyn, and with that woord, stacke the erle to ỹ hart with his dagger, and bad his Chappeleyn bere the erles mother & brother worde what he had done, and sayde. In this acte the lord Clyfford was accompted a tyraunt, and no gentelman, for the propertie of the Lyon, which is a furious and an vnreasonable beaste, is to be cruell to them that withstande hym, and gentle to such as prostrate or humiliate them selfes before him. Yet this cruell Clifforde, & deadly bloudsupper not content with this homicyde, or chyldkillyng, came to ỹ place wher the dead corps of the duke of Yorke lay, and caused his head to be stryken of, and set on it a croune of paper, & so fixed it on a pole, & presented it to the Quene, not lyeng farre from the felde, in great despite, and much derision, saiyng: Madame, your warre is done, here is your kinges raunsome, at which present, was much ioy, and great reioysing, but many laughed then, that sore lāmeated after, as the Quene her self, and her sonne: And many were glad then of other mens deaths, not knowing that their awne were nere at hande, as the lord Clifford, and other. But surely, mans nature is so frayle, that thinges passed be sone forgotten, and mischiefes to come, be not forsene. After this victory by ỹ Quene and her parte obteyned, she caused the erle of Salisbury, with all the other prisoners, to bee sente to Pomfret, and there to bee beheded, and sent all their heddes, and the dukes head of Yorke, to be set vpon poles, ouer the gate of the citie of Yorke, in despite of them, and their lignage: whose chyldren shortly reuenged their fathers querell, both to the Quenes extreme perdicion, and the vtter vndoynge of her husband and sonne. This ende had the valeant lord, Rychard Plantagenet, duke of Yorke, & this fyne ensued of his to much hardines. The erle of Marche, so commonly called, but after the death of his father, in dede and in right very duke of Yorke, lyeng at Glocester, heryng of the death of his noble father, and louyng brother, and trusty frendes was wonderfully amased, but after cōfort giuē to him, by his faithful louers and assured alyes, he remoued to Shrewsbury, and other townes vpon the riuer of Seuerne, declaryng to them the murder of his father, the ieopardye of hym selfe, and the vnstable state and ruyne of Realme. The people on the Marches of Wales, which aboue measure fauored ỹ lynage of the lord Mortimer, more gladly offered him their ayd & assistence, then he it either instantly requyred, or hartely desired, soo that he had a puyssant army, to the number of xxiii. M. redy to go agaynst the quene, and the murderers of his father. But when he was setyng forward, newes were brought to him, that Iaspar erle of Penbroke, halfe brother to kyng Hēry, and Iames butler, erle of Ormond & Wylshyre had assembled together a great number, both of Welshe and Irysh people, sodainly to surprise and take him and his frendes, and as a captiue to conuey him to the quene. The duke of Yorke, called erle of Marche, somwhat spurred and quickened with these nouelties, retired backe, & mett with his enemies in a faire playne, nere to Mortimers crosse, not farre from Herford east, on Candelmas day in the mornyng, at whiche tyme the sunne (as some write) appered to the erle of March, like. iii. sunnes, and sodainly ioined all together in one, and that vpō the sight therof, he toke suche courage, ỹ he fiercely set on his enemies, & thē shortly discōfited: for which cause, men imagined, that he gaue the sunne in his full brightnes for his cognisaūce or badge. Of his enemies were lefte dead on the ground. iii. M. &. viii. C:

The erles of Penbroke and Wilshyre fled, and syr Owen Tewther, father to the sayd erle of Penbroke, which Owen had maried kyng Henries mother (as you haue heard before) with Dauid floyde, Morgan ap reuther, & diuers other were takē and behedded at the citie of Herford. During this season, ẏ quene was greatly encouraged with the victory, obteined late at Wakefeld, partly because the duke of Yorke, her vtter enemy was ryd out of the worlde, & partly, because she perceyued, the lordes of the North country to adhere and cleue to her parte and facciō: wherfore with a great multitude of Northrē people, she marched toward London, of whose approche the Londoners were nothing glad: for some affirmed, that she brought that rusty company, to spoile and robbe the citie: other saide, that she would be reuenged, of suche as fauored the duke of Yorke. So the pore citezēs hangyng betwene the water and the fyre, were much amased, but ẏ magistrates and gouernors caused great watches to be kept, and good order to be obserued. The Quene, still came forwarde with her Northrē people, entendyng to subuerte and defaict all conclusions and agremētes, enacted and assented to, in the last Parliamēt. And so after her long iorney, she came to the town of sainct Albons: wherof ẏ duke of Northfolke, ẏ erle of Warwycke, and other, whom ẏ duke of Yorke had lefte to gouerne the kyng in his absence, beyng aduertised, by the assent of ẏ kyng, gathered together a great hoste, and set forward towarde saincte Albons, hauyng the kyng in their company, as the head and chefetayn of the warre, and so not mynding to differre the time any farther, vpon shrouetuesday early in the morning, set vpon their enemies. Fortune ẏ day so fauored the Quene, that her parte preuayled, and the duke and the erle were discomfited, and fled: leauing the king accompanied with the lord Bonuile, and syr Thomas Kyriell of Kent, whiche vpon assuraunce of his promise, taried still and fled not, but their trust, them deceiued. For after the victorie obteyned, and the kynge broughte to the Quene, they two were deteyned as prisoners, and so continued till the kynges departyng from that towne. In this battayl were slayn. xxiii. C. men, and not aboue, of whome no noble man is remēbred, saue syr Ihon Gray, which thesame day was made knight, with. xii. other; at ẏ village of Colney. Happy was the quene in her two battayls, but vnfortunate was the kyng in all his enterprises, for where his person was presente, ther victory fled euer from him to the other parte, & he cōmōly was subdued & vanqueshed. Whē quene Margaret had thus wel sped, first she caused the kyng, to dubbe prince Edward his sonne, knyght, with. xxx. other persons, which in the morning fought on the quenes side, against his parte. After she sent to the Mayre of London, commaundinge him without delay, to sende certain Cartes, laded with lenten victayle, for ẏ refreashing of her and her army. The Mayre, incontinent made prouisiō, laded cartes, and sent them toward the quene. But the moueable cōmōs, which fauored not the quenes parte, stopped ẏ cartes at Crepulgate and boldely sayde, that their enemies, which came to spoyle and robbe ẏ citizens, should neither be releued, nor victayled by them. And notwithstanding gentell aduertisement to them gyuen, of the mischefes, whiche might ensue of their doynges: yet they remayned still in one obstinate mynd and wilfull will, not permittinge the cariages, to passe or go forward. During which cōtrouersie, diuers of the Northen horsemē, came and robbed in the suburbes of the citie, and would haue entered at Crepulgate, but thei by the commoners were repulsed, and beten backe, and iii. of them slayn: whervpon the Mayre sent the recorder to the kynges counsaill to Barne, to excuse the matter, and the duches of Bedford, & the lady Scales, with diuers sad fathers of the spiritualtie, went to the quene to mollifie her rancore, and asswage her melācolie, which she had conceiued against the citie. At this humble request, the quene and her counsail appointed certayn lordes and knightes, with. iiii. C. talle persons, to ryde to the citie, and ther to vewe, & se the demeanoure and disposicion of the people: & diuers Aldermen were appointed to mete them at Barnet, and to conuey them to London. But what soeuer man purposeth, God disposeth: for all these deuises were shortly trāsmuted into another forme, because trew report was brought, not onely to the citie but also to the quene, that the

the erle of Marche had vanqueshed the erles of Penbroke and Wilshyre, and that the erle of Warwycke, in whome rested the chefe trust of that faction, after the last conflict, had at saincte Albons, had mete with the sayd erle of Marche at Chippyng Norton, by Cottesold, and that they with both their powers were cominge toward London. These trew tales turned the quenes purpose, and altered all her long deuised ententes, in so muche that she litle trustinge Essex, and lesse Kent, but London least of all, with her husband and sonne, departed from sainct Albons, into tha Northcountrey, where the roote, & foundacion of her ayde and refuge, onely consisted. But at the daye of her departyng, she caused the heddes of the lord Bonuile, and syr Thomas Kyriel, to be cut of, in the presence of her sonne, cōtrary to ỹ mynd and promise of her husbād, but emōgest men of warre, faith or othe, syldome is perfourmed.

THE duches of Yorke, seyng her husband and sonne slayne, and not knowyng what should succede of her eldest sonnes chaunce, sent her. ii. yonger sonnes, George & Richard, ouer the sea, to the citie of Wtrechte in Almayn: where they were of Philippe duke of Bourgoyne, well receyued and fested, and so there thei remayned, till their brother Edwarde had obteyned the Realme, and gottē the regiment. Duringe which time diuers merchantes mistrusting the mutacion of the world, fled out of ỹ realme, emōgest whom one Philippe Malpas, a man of greate riches, sayling into Flaunders, was taken by Ihon Columme, a French man and payed. iiij. M. markes for his raunsone. The erles of Marche and Warwycke, hauyng perfite knowledge, that the kyng and quene with their adherentes, were departed from sainct Albons, determined first to ryde to London as the chefe key, and common spectacle to the whole Realme, thinking there to assure them selfs of the East and West parte of the kingdome, as kīg Henry and his faction nesteled and strēgthēd him and his allies in the North regions and boreal plage: meaninge to haue a buckelar against a sword, and a southerne byl to cōteruayle a Northren bassard. And so these two great lordes, resoluinge them selfs vpon this purpose, accompanied with a great number of men of warre, entered the citie of London in the first weke of Lēt. What should I declare how the Kentishmen resorted: how the people of Essex swarmed, & how the counties adioyning to Londō dayly repaired to se, ayd, & comfort, this lusty prince and flower of chiualry, as he in whome the hope, of their ioy, and the trust of their quietnes onely then consisted. Thys wise and prudent noble man, perceiuyng the most parte of the Realme, to be to him frendly and adherent, mynding to take time when time serued, called a great counsaill both of lordes spirituall and temporall & to them repeted the title, and right that he had to the Realme, & dignitie royall: rehersing the articles of the agrement, not onely concluded betwene kyng Henry & his noble father, Richard duke of Yorke, by theyr writinges signed and sealed: but also coroborated, & cōfirmed by auctoritie of the high court of Parliament: the breaches whereof, he neither forgat, nor omitted vndeclared. After the lordes had considered, & weyghed his title and declaracion, they determined by authoritie of the sayd counsaill, for as much as kyng Henry, contrary to his othe, honor and agrement, had violated and infringed, the order taken and enacted in the last Parliament, and also, because he was insufficient to rule the Realme, and inutile to the common wealth, and publique profite of the pore people, he was therfore by the aforesayd authoritie, depriued & deiected of all kyngly honor, and regall soureeigntie. And incontinent, Edward erle of Marche, sonne and heyre to Richard duke of Yorke, was by the lordes in the sayd counsaill assembled, named, elected, & admitted, for kyng and gouernour of the realme: on which day, the people of the erles parte, beyng in their muster in sainct Ihons felde, & a great number of the substanciall citezens there assembled, to behold their order: sodaynly the lord Faweōbridge, which toke the musters, wisely declared to the multitude, the offences and breaches of the late agremente done and perpetrated by kyng Hēry the. vi. and demaunded of the people, whether they *woulde* haue the sayd kyng Henry to rule and reigne any lenger ouer them: To whome they with a whole voyce, aunswered, nay, nay. Then he asked thē, if they would serue, loue, and obey the erle of March as their earthly prince and soueregn lord. To which questiō they aunswered, yea, yea, crieng, king Edward

ward, with many great showtes and clappyng of handes. The lordes were shortly aduertised of the louyng consent, which the commons franckely and frely of their fre will had giuen, wherupon incontinent, they all with a conueniēt number of the most substanciall commons, repaired to Baynardes castel, making iust and trew report to the erle of their eleccion and admission, and the louyng assent of the faithfull commons. The erle after long pausynge, first thanked God of his great grace and benefite, then to him declared and shewed, and the lordes and commons also, for their harty fauour, and assured fidelitie, and notwithstanding that, like a wise prince, he alledged his insufficiencie for so great a roome and weighty burden, as lacke of knowledge, want of experiēce & diuers other qualities, to a gouernour apperteyninge: yet in conclusion he beynge perswaded by the Archebishop of Cāterbury, the bishop of Excester and other lordes, the beyng present, graunted to their peticion, and toke vpō him the charge and vpon the next day, beyng the. iiij. day of Marche, he as kyng, rode to the church of sainct Paule, and there offered. And after *Te deum* song, with great solempnitie, he was conueyed to Westmynster, and there set in the hawle, with the sceptre royall in his hand, where, to all the people which there in a great number were assembled, his title and clayme to the croune of England, was declared by. ii. maner of wayes: the firste, as sonne and heyre to duke Richard his father, right enheritor to thesame: the second, by aucthoritie of Parliament and forfeiture committed by, kyng Henry. Wherupō it was agayne demaunded of the commons, if they would admitte, and take the sayd erle as their prince & soqereigne lord, which al with one voice cried yea, yea. Which agremēt cōcluded, He entered into Westmynster church vnder a canapy, with solēpne proccssion, and there as kyng offered, and after the homages taken of al the nobles there present, he returned by water to London, and was lodged in the bishops palace: Dayly makyng prouision, to go Northwarde against his aduerse faccion and open enemies, and on the morow he was proclaymed kyng, by the name of kyng Edward the. iiij. throughout ȳ citie. While these thinges were in doyng in the Southpart, king Hēry beyng in the Northcountrey, thinking because he had slayn the duke of Yorke, the chefe Capitayn of the contrary lynage, that he had brought all thyng to purpose and conclusion as he would, assembled a great army, trusting with litle payne and small losse, to destroy the residew of his enemies, whome he estemed to be of no force, or of a small validitie. But he was sore deceiued: for out of the dead stocke, sprang a stronge & mightie braunche, which by no meanes could either be broken, or made sere: which was this kyng Edward the. iiij. whiche was so beloued and fauoured of the people, that no man was spokē of, no person was remēbred, but only he: for he was so much estemed, bothe of the nobilitie and commonaltie, for his liberalitie, clemencie, integritie, and corage, that aboue all other, he was extolled and praysed to the very heauē. By reason whereof men of al ages & of all degrees to him dayly repaired, some offering theym selfes and their men to ieopard their lifes with him, and other plenteously gaue him money, to support his charges and mayntayne his warre. By reason wherof, he assembled together a puyssant army to thentent to gyue to his enemies a fierce and sharpe battayle, & so in one day to obteyn his purpose and make an ende of all his troble. When his army was redy, and all thinges prepared, he departed out of London the. xii. day of Marche, & by easy iourneys came to the castell of Ponifret, where he rested, appoyntyng the lorde Fitzwater, to kepe ȳ passage at Ferybridge, with a great number of talle personages. Let no man thinke or yet imagine, that ether the counsaill of kynge Henry, or his vigilant quene, either neglected or forgat to know or searche what their enemies did, but that they prepared to their power all ȳ men, that they either could perswade or allure to their purpose to take their part. And thus thinking them selfs furnished, committed the gouernaūce of the armye to the duke of Somerset, the erle of Northumberland, and ȳ lord Clifford, as men desiring to reuenge ȳ death of their parētes slayn at the first battayle of sainct Albons. These noble capitaynes, leauing kyng Henry, his wyfe, and sonne, for their most sauegard in the citie of Yorke, passed the ryuer of Wharfe, with all their power, entendinge to prohibite kyng Edward to passe ouer the ryuer of Ayree, and for the more expedicion and exployt of their purpose

Kyng Edward the. iiij. proclaimed king of Englande.

(after many comparisons made betwene the erle of Northumberland, and the lord Clifford, bothe beyng in lusty yought, & of francke corage) the lord Clifforde determined with his light horsemen, to make an assaye to suche as kepte the passage of Ferybridge, and so departed from the great army on the Saturday before Palmsondaye, and early or his enemies were ware, gat the bridge, and slew the kepers of thesame, and al such as woulde withstand him. The lord Fitzwater hearyng the noyse, sodainly rose out of his bed, and vnarmed, with a pollax in his hande, thinking ẏ it had byn a fray emõgest his mẽ, came doune to appease thesame, but or he either began his tale, or knew what the matter meãt, he was slayne, and with hym the Bastard of Salisbury, brother to the erle of Warwycke, a valeaunt yong gentelman, and of great audacitie. When the erle of Warwycke was enformed of this feate, he like a man desperate, mouted on his Hackeney, and came blowyng to kyng Edward saiyng: syr I praye God haue mercy of their soules, which in the beginnyng of your enterprise, hath lost their lifes, and because I se no succors of the world, I remit the vengeaunce and punishment to God our creator and redemer, and with that lighted doune, and slewe his horse with his swourde, saiyng: let him flie that wil, for surely I wil tary with him that wil tary with me, and kissed the crosse of his swourde.

THE lusty kyng Edward, perceiuyng the courage of his trusty frẽd the erle of Warwycke, made proclamacion that all men, whiche were afrayde to fighte, shoulde incontinent departe, and to all mẽ that tarried the battell, he promised great rewardes with this addicion, that if any souldiour, which volũtariely would abide, and in, or before the conflict flye, or turne his backe, that then he that could kill him should haue a great remuneraciõ and double wages. After thys proclamaciõ ended the lord Fawconbridge, syr Water Blont, Robert Horne with the forward, passed the ryuer at Castelford. iii. myles from Ferebridge, entending to haue enuironed and enclosed the lord Clyfford and his cõpany, but they beyng therof aduertised, departed in great haste toward kyng Henries army, but they mete with some that they loked not for, and were attrapped or they were ware. For the lord Clifforde, either for heat or payne, putting of his gorget, sodainly ẅ an arrowe (as some say) without an hedde, was striken into the throte, and incontinent rendered hys spirite, and the erle of Westmerlandes brother and all his company almost were there slayn, at a place called Dintingdale, not farr frõ Towton. This ende had he, which slew the yong erle of Rutland, kneling on his knees: whose yong sonne Thomas Clifford was brought vp ẅ a shepperd, in poore habite, & dissimuled behauior euer in feare, to publish his lignage or degre, till kyng Henry the. vii. obteyned the croune, and gat the diademe: by whome he was restored to his name and possessions. When this conflict was ended at Ferebridge, the lord Fawcõbridge, hauyng the foreward, because the duke of Northfolk was fallen sycke, valeauntly vpon Palmsunday in the twylight, set furth his army, and came to Saxton, where he might apparantly perceyue the hoste of his aduersaries, which were accompted. lx. M. men, and therof aduertised kyng Edward, whose whole army, they that knew it, and payed the wages, affirme to. xlviii. M. vi. C. &. lx. persons, which incõtinẽt with ẏ erle of Warwycke set forward leuyng the rereward vnder ẏ gouernãce of syr Ihon Wenlocke, and syr Ihon Dynham and other. And first of all he made proclamacion, that no prisoner should be take, nor one enemie saued. So thesame day about. ix. of the clocke, which was the. xxix. day of Marche, beyng Palmsundaye, both the hostes approched in a playn felde, betwene Towton and Saxtõ. When eche parte perceyued other, they made a great shoute, and at thesame instante time, their fell a small snyt or snow, which by violence of the wyn was driuen into the faces of them, which were of kyng Heries parte, so that their sight was somwhat blemished and minished. The lord Fawconbridge, which led the forward of kyng Edwardes battaill (as before is rehersed) being a man of great policie, and of much experience in marciall feates, caused euery archer vnder his standard, to shot one flyght (which before he caused them to prouide) and then made them to stãd still. The northrẽ mẽ, feling the shoot, but by reason of ẏ snow, not wel vewing ẏ distaũce betwene them and their enemies, like hardy men shot their schiefe arrowes as fast as they might, but al their shot was lost, & their labor vayn

The conflict at Ferebridge.

The conflict at Saxtõ vpõ Palmsunday.

for

for they came not nere the Southermē, by. xl. taylors yerdes. Whē their shot was almost spent, the lord Fawconbridge marched forwarde with his archers, which not onely shot their awne whole sheues, but also gathered the arrowes of their enemies, and let a great parte of them flye againste their awne masters, and another part thei let stand on ỹ groūd which sore noyed the legges of the owners, when the battayle ioyned. The erle of Northumberlād, and Andrew Trolope, whiche were chefetayns of kyng Hēries vawgard, seynge their shot not to preuayle, hasted forward to ioine *with their enemies:* you may besure the other part nothing retarded, but valeauntly fought with their enemies. This battayl was sore foughtē, for hope of life was set on side on euery parte and takynge of prisoners was proclaymed as a great offence, by reason wherof euery man determined, either to conquere or to dye in the felde. This deadly battayle and bloudy conflicte, continued. x. houres in doubtfull victorie. The one parte some time flowyng, and sometime ebbyng, but inconclusiō, kyng Edward so coragiously comforted his mē, refreshyng the wery, and helping the wounded, that the other part was discomfited and ouercome, and lyke mē amased, fledde toward Tadcaster bridge to saue thē selfes: but in the meane way there is a litle broke called Cocke, not very broade, but of a great deapnes, in the whiche, *what for hast of escapyng,* and what for feare of folowers, a great number were drent and drowned, in so much that the common people there affirme, that men alyue passed the ryuer vpon dead carcasis, and that the great ryuer of Wharfe, which is the great sewer of ỹ broke, & of all the water comyng from Towton, was colored with bloude. The chace continued all night, and the most parte of the next day, and euer ỹ Northren men, when they saw or perceiued any aduauntage, returned again and *fought* with their enemies, to the great losse of both partes. For in this. iii. dayes were slayn (as they knew it wrote) on both partes. xxxvi. M. vii. C. lx. and. xvi. persons, all Englishmen and of one naciō wherof the chefe were the erles of Northumberland, and Westmerland and the lord Dakers the lord Welles, syr Ihon Neuel, *Andrew* Trolop, Robert Horne, and many other Knyghtes and Esquiers, and the erle of Deuonshyre taken prisoner, but the dukes of Somerset and Excester fled from the felde and saued themselfes. This conflict was in maner vnnaturall, for in it the sonne fought against the father, the brother against the brother, the nephew against the vncle, and the tenaūt *against* his lord, which slaughter did not onely sore debilitate and muche wekē the puyssance of this realme, considering that these dedde men, whē thei were liuyng had force ynough to resist the greatest princes power of all Europe: But also gaue a courage to outward enemies and foren potētates, to inuade and make warre in this realme, which thinge was not vnlikely *to* haue ensued, if either Lewes the French kynge had bene at this time quiet in his realme, or Iames kynge of Scottes hadbene of age and master of him selfe, yet thanked be God, for although the gate of a conquest were opened, yet it was shut agayn, or it was espied.

A great slaughter of Englishmen.

After this great victorie, kyng Edward rode to Yorke, where he was with all solempnitie receyued: and first he caused the heddes of his father, the erle of Salisbury, and other his frendes to be taken from the gates, and to be buried with *their bodies.* And there he caused the erle of Deuonshyre *and. iii. other* to be behedded, and set their heddes in the same place. After that he sent out men on light horsses, to espye in what parte kyng Henry lurked, which hearinge of the irrecuperable losse of his frendes, departed incontinent with his wife and sonne, to the towne of Barwycke, and leaunge the duke of Somerset there, came to the kynges courte of Scotland, requiryng of *him and his counsaill, ayde succor,* relefe & cōfort. The *yong kyng* hauing compassiō on the miserable fate and great mischaunce of this sorowful man, not onely cōforted him with fayre woordes and frendly promises, but also assigned to him a competent pencion to liue on, during the time of his abode within the realme of Scotland. Kyng Henry considering the great humanitie, shewed to him by the Scottish kyng, in whome onely now consisted the whole hope and especiall trust of his ayde and succor, thought to bynd and oblige the sayd king, with some great benefite to his parte, and for that cause, deliuered to hym the towne of Barwycke vpon twede: which towne the Scottes many yeres had desired, but yet thei neither by force nor fayre promises, could obteyne their desire

Kinge Henry the. vi. deliuered the towne of Barwicke into the handes of Iames king of Scotlande.

or

or purpose, before ỹ time, Some writers affirme, that he not voluntarily, but coacted by necessitie, rendered the same towne, or els he could not be permitted once to enter, or haue any succor in the realme of Scotlande. But whatsoeuer the cause was: after kyng Iames had taken possession of the toune, he frendly entertęyned and faithfully supported the parte and faccion of kyng Henry, and concluded a mariage betwene his syster and the yong prince of Wales, which mariage, Philippe duke of Burgoyn, enemy to quene Margaretes father, labored muche to infringe and interrupte: but by the consent of both the frēdes, the matrimony was agreed, but it was neuer solempnised, as after you shall heare. When kynge Henry was somewhat setteled in the realme of Scotlande, he sent his wyfe and hys sonne into Fraunce, to kynge Rene her father, trusting by his ayde and succor, to assemble a greate army, and once agayne to possesse hys Realme and dignitie, and he in the meane season determined to make hys abode in Scotland, to se and espye, what way his frendes in Englande would studye or inuent for his restitucion and aduauncement. But whether it were his destinye or his folye, he so imprudētly demeaned hym selfe, that within shorte space, he came into the handes of hys mortall enemies. Quene Margaret thus beyng in Fraūce, did obteyn & impetrate of the yong Frenche kynge, that all fautors and louers of her husbande and the Lancastreall band, might safely and surely haue resorte into any parte of the realme of Fraūce, prohibiting all other of the contrary faccion, any accesse or repaire into that countrey.

THVS you haue hearde the variable chaunce and tragedicall hystory of kynge Henry the sixthe, whiche had reigned ouer this realme eight and thirtie yeres and odde monethes, whiche the tenthe yere after hys deposicion, was agayne erected to hys throne and estate royall, as after shalbe declared. Nowe leuynge kynge Henry with the princes of his faccion consultynge together in Scotlande, and Quene Margarete hys wyfe gatherynge men together in Fraunce, I wyll returne to the actes of kyng Edwarde.

FINIS.

¶ The ende of the trobelous season of kynge Henry the. vj.

THE PROSPEROUS REIGNE OF KYNG EDWARD THE FOURTH.

PRosperous fortune and glorious victory, happely succeding to this yōg Prince and couragious Capitain, in the mortall battail fought at Towton, (as you haue heard) he beyng incoraged and set vp, partly because he had obteined so great a conquest, and partely, because he perceiued, that aswell the nobles, as the commōs of the Realme, began to drawe to hym, and to take his part after the fashion and maner of a triumphaunt conqueror, and victorious champion, with great pompe returned to London. Where (according to the old custome of the realme) he called a great assemble of persons of all degrees: and the. xxix. daie of Iune, was at Westminster with all solempnitie crouned and anoynted kyng, and called Kyng Edwarde the. iiij. after Willyam the Conqueror, which was in the yere of Christes incarnacion. M. iiij. C. lxj. The firste yere.

IN the whiche yere, he called his high Court of Parliament, wherewith thestate of the Realme was wholly set in good ordre, and specially such thynges as apperteined to the cõmon wealth, which wer to muche neglected and decried. Duryng the tyme of the ciuil and intestine war, he caused all statutes and ordinaunces made by kyng Henry the sixte, (whiche either touched his title or his profite) to be adnihilate and frustrate. In the whiche Parliament, the Erle of Oxford farre striken in age and the Lord Awbrey Veer, his sonne and heire, whether it wer for malice of their enemies, or thei wer suspected, or had offended the Kyng, they bothe and diuerse of their counsailors, wer attainted and put to execucion, whiche caused Ihon erle of Oxford, euer after to rebell. And afterward he created his two younger brethren Dukes, that is to saie: Lorde George, Duke of Clarence, Lorde Richard, Duke of Gloucester, and lorde Ihon Neuell, brother to Richard Erle of Warwicke, he first made Lorde Mountacute, and afterwardes created hym Marques Mountacute. Beside this, Henry Burchier, brother to Thomas Archebishop of Cantorbury, was created Erle of Essex, and Willyam Lorde Fawconbrige, was made Erle of Kent. To this Lorde Henry Burchier beyng a noble man in marciall actes, highly approued and renoumed, Richard Duke of Yorke, long before this tyme, had geuen his suster Elizabeth in mariage: hauyng a firme hope, and a sure confidence, that he and his generacion should be a perpetuall aide to the Duke and his sequele, aswell in prosperitie as aduersitie, associate together in al chances of fortune, which trust he did not defraude, as afterward appered to Kyng Edward the fourth, sonne to thesaid duke Richard, which for his assured fidelitie made hym Erle of Essex: to thende that bothe he the father, and his sõne, should euer be to hym, bothe an aide and a bulwarke. This Erle Henry, begat of lady Elizabeth his wife, foure sonnes, William, Thomas, Ihon, and Henry, and one doughter named Isabell, whiche liued but a small season. In the whiche sonnes, in compassyng and bryngyng greate thynges to passe, there lacked no industrie, nor prouidence: in grauous and waightie affaires, there wanted neither labor nor diligence: in all ieoperdies, thei wer hardy, strong, and coragious: and finally, in forscyng of thinges, they neither lacked pollecie, nor wer destitute of counsaill. But in Lorde William, the eldest sonne of Henry, all these vertues wer surely planted and ingrauen: which William espoused lady Anne Woodwile, discended of an high parẽtage, whose mother Iaquet was doughter to Peter of Luxenborough, erle of sainct Paule, by whom he had Lorde Henry, afterward Erle of Essex, and Cicile, and Isabel, whiche died vnmaried: Cicile was maried, to Water lorde Eerreis of Chartely. But now to returne to the purpose.

¶ THE SECOND YERE.

The.ii. yere.

WHen al these chaũces thus luckely happened to kyng Edward, and all thynges in maner were framed, as he would haue theim: Henry duke of Somerset, sir Raufe Percie, and diuerse other, beyng in dispaire, and out of hope of all good chaunce, that might happen to kyng Henry the sixte, came humbly and submitted theimselfes, whom he gentely interteined, and louyngly receiued. Of whiche deede, the duke shortly repented him and so did some of the other.

ALL this season was kyng Henry the vj. in Scotlande, whiche to haue the more aide and comfort of the Scottishe king, he deliuered vnto hym the towne of Barwicke, (as you before haue heard) whiche had been continually, in the possession of Englishmen, from the tyme of Kyng Edward the firste, whiche, with hardy corage, manfull assautes, slaughter of many thousandes of Scottes, valiantly conquered thesame. This same season also, quene Margaret, beyng in Fraunce, by the meanes of her father and frendes, found suche frendship, at the Frenche kynges handes, that she obteined a crewe of fiue hundred Frenchemen, whiche was but a small numbre, for her purpose, and yet a greater number then her husbande or she, were able to intertein in wages, of their awne coffers. She thus beyng accompanied, with these bostyng Frenchmen, of whom sir Piers Bracy, a Bryton knyght was Capitain, a man more fierce in the house then in the feld, and yet more fierce in flyng from the

the feld to the house, then hardy to set forcward from the house to the feld, set vp her sailes, and with a prosperous wind, arriued in Scotland. If she and her company, wer welcome to her husband and sonne, I report me to suche as languish, and would haue succor, and to suche as lacke aide, and would be comforted. The Quene and her company, thought to doo some greate enterprise, (as the nature of the Frenchemen is, to be more busy then bold) sailed with her gallant band toward Newe Castle, and landed at Tynmouthe. But whether she wer a fraied of her awne shadow, or that the Frenchemen cast to many doubtes, the truth is, that the whole army returned to their shippes, and a tẽpest rose so sodainly, that if she had not taken a small Caruell, and that with good spede, arriued safe at Barwicke: she had neither vexed kyng Edward after, as she did with a newe inuasion, nor yet she had not liued all her old age, in misery wretchednes and callamitie, as she did, leasyng bothe her husbande, her sonne, her Realme, and her honor. And although fortune was so fauorable to her, yet her company were with stormy blastes, driuen on the shore before Baborough castle, where thei set their shippés on fire, and cowardly fled to an Island, called holy Island wher they wer so assailed by the bastard Ogle, and Esquire called Ihon Manners, with other of kyng Edwardes retinue, that many of them wer slain, and almoste iiij. C. taken prisoners, and put to raunsome. But the capitain Bracy more coward then coragious, happened by chaunce of a fisharman, & so came to Barwicke, to Quene Margarete his mastres: whether she gaue hym thankes or no I doubte, but sure I am he none deserued, yet she made hym capitain of Alnewike Castle, which he with his fresh men kepte till thei wer rescowed. This chaunce litle amased the Quene, nor in any thyng abated her haute corage. For incontinently she obteined a greate company of Scottes, and other of her frendes, and so bringyng her husband with her, and leauyng her sone called prince Edward, in the toune of Barwicke, entered Northumberlande, and toke the castle of Bamborough, and stuffed it with Scottes, and made therof capitain sir Raufe Gray, and came forward towarde the bishopricke of Durham. When the Duke of Somerset heard these newes, he without delaye refused kyng Edward, and rode in poste to his kynsman, kyng Henry the sixte: verefiyng the olde prouerbe: kynne will crepe, where it may no go: Refusyng the surety of his estate, whiche kyng Edwarde did promise hym, for the vncertain gain whiche he hoped to get, by supporting kyng Henry. With hym fled also sir Raufe Percy, and many other of the kynges frẽdes, but many mo folowed hym, for coueteousnes of spoyle and rapyne: in so muche that the puyssaunce of kyng Henry, was thought to bee of asmuche force, as the strength and army of his enemy kyng Edward. The which army was iudged to be ỹ greater, because he spoyled, & burned townes, and destroyed feldes, whersoeuer he came. Kyng Edward (as you could not blame hym) was with these dooynges nothyng content, wherefore like a wise prince, intendyng to stop the gut of kyng Henries power or it made any farther issue: Prepared al munitions, conuenient for the warre, rigged and apparẽled, a greate nauie of shippes, of whiche some were vitailed at Lyn, and some at Hull, and they were furnished with souldiors. When his army by the sea, was thus warlikely set forward: he sent the lorde Montacute, (whom bothe for his hardinesse and sage conduyte in marciall affaires, he muche trusted and beleued) into Northumberlande, there to raise the people, to withstande his enemies. And after this, he in his royall persone, accompanied with his brethren, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, not without a great and puyssaunt armie, marched toward his enemies, and came to the citie of Yorke, sendyng a great quantitie of his faithfull subiectes, to the ayde of the lorde Montacute, least paraduenture, he geuyng to muche confidence, to the men of the Bisshoprike and Northumberlande, might by theim be deceiued and surprised. The Lorde Montacute, forgat not the office of a good capitain, nor beyng well furnished with suche as he knewe would neither flie backeward, nor stande still lookyng, and not fightyng, thought no leger to tract the tyme, but with a valiant corage, marched forward toward his enemies, and in his iorney, he was incountered, with the lorde Hungerford, the Lorde Roos, sir Raufe Percy, and diuerse other, at a place called Hegely More. Where sodainly thesaied lordes, in maner, without stroke striking, fled,

Quene Margarete with her company arriueth at Tynmouth.

and onely sir Raufe Percy abode, and was there manfully slain, with diuerse other, saiyng, when he was dyng: I haue saued the birde in my bosome: meanyng that he had kept, both his promise and othe, to kyng Henry the. vj: Forgettyng that he in kyng Henries moste necessitie, abandonced him and submitted hym to kyng Edward, (as you before haue heard.) The lord Mōtacute seyng fortune thus prosperously leadyng his saile, was anaunced with hardy corage toward his enemies, & then in passyng forward, he had by his espialles perfite intelligence, that kyng Henry with all his power, was incamped in a faire plaine called Lyuels, on the water of Dowill in Exham shire. It was no neede to bid hym hast, as he that thought not to lese the occasion, to hym so manifestly geuen, & to leaue the good port of fortune, to hym opened and vnclosed: and therfore, in good ordre of battail, he manfully set on his enemies, in their awne cāpe, whiche like desperate persones, with no small corage receiued hym. There was a sore fought feld, and no partie by a long tract, could get any aduauntage of the other, till at the last, the lord Montacute, cryyng on his men to do valiauntly, entered by plaine force, the battaill of his enemies, and brake their array, whiche like men amased, fled hether and thether, desperate of all succor. In whiche flight and chase, wer taken, Henry duke of Somerset, whiche before was reconciled to Kyng Edwarde, the Lorde Roos, the Lorde Molyns, the Lord Hungerford, sir Thomas Wentworth, sir Thomas Huse, sir Ihon Fynderne, & many other. Kyng Henry was this day, the beste horseman of his company: for he fled so faste that no man could ouertake hym, and yet he was so nere pursued, that certain of his henxmen or folowers wer taken, their horses beyng trapped in blew velvet: wherof one of thē had on his hed, thesaid kyng Henries healmet. Some say his high cap of estate, called abococket, garnished with twoo riche crounes, whiche was presented to kyng Edward, at Yorke the fourth daie of Maie. The duke of Somerset, was incontinently, for his greate mutabilitie and lightnes, behedded at Exam, the other lordes and knightes, wer bad to New Castle, and there after alitle respite, wer likewise put in execucion. Beside these persones, diuerse other to the numbre of. xxv. wer executed at Yorke, and in other places: wherby other fautors of kyng Henries partie, should be out of all trust of all victory, consideryng that their capitaines, had hopped hedles. Frō this battaill escaped kyng Henry the. vj. sir Humfrey Neuell, Williā Taylboys, callyng hymself erle of Kent, sir Raufe Gray, and Richard Tunstall, and diuerse other, whiche beyng in feare of takyng, hid themselfes and lurked in dēnes and wholes secretly. Thei wer not so closly hid, but they were espied: for the erle of Kent was taken in a close place in Riddesdale, and brought to New Castle, and there with an axe lost his life, Sir Humfrey Neuell, after long lurking in a Caue, was taken in Holdernes, and at Yorke beheded. Thus euery man almoste that escaped, was after taken and scorged: so that it should seme that God had ordeined, all suche persones as rebelled against kyng Edward, to haue in cōclusion, death for their reward and guardone.

The battaile at Lyuels, on the Water of Dowill in Exham shire.

AFTER this battaill called Exham field, kyng Edward came to the citie of Duresme, to the intent to bee more nerer to his enemies, if they would make any farther attempte: and sent from thence into Northumberlande, the Erle of Warwicke, the lorde Montacute, the lordes, Fawconbrige and Scrope, and diuerse other, to recouer suche Castles and fortresses, as his enemies there held, and with force defēded. These lordes first besieged the castle of Alnewike, whiche sir Piers Bracy and the Frenchemen, by force and strong hande kepte, and in no wise would yeld, sendyng for ayde to the Scottes, wherupon sir George Douglas, erle of Angus, with. xiij. M. men well chosen, in the daie tyme rescowed the Frenchemen out of the castle, the Englishemen lookyng on, whiche thought it muche better to haue the castle without losse of their mē, then to lese bothe the castle and their men, consideryng the great power of the Scottes, and their smal numbre: and so thei entered the castle and manned it, and after thesaied lordes, besieged the castle of Dunstanborogh, and by force toke it, and Ihon Goys seruaunt to the duke of Somerset capitain of thesaid castle, was taken and brought to Yorke: where, with a hachet he receiued his reward. These Lordes also tooke by force the strong castle of Bamborough, and in it sir Raufe Gray, whiche was before sworne to kyng Edward, for the whiche periurie to bothe the princes, he was disgraded of

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the high ordre of knighthode at Dancastre, by cuttyng of his gylt sporres, rētyng his cote of armes, and breakyng his sword ouer his hed: and finally, there his body was shorted, by the lēgth of his hed and had no more harme, thus was he rewarded for his doble deceipt and manifest periurie. The disgra-dyng of a knight.

AFTER this victory, kyng Edward returned to Yorke, where, in despite of therle Northumberlande, whiche then lurked, in the realme of Scotlaud, he created sir Ihon Neuell, lorde Montacute, erle of Northumberland, & in reprofe of Iaspar erle of Penbroke, he created William lord Herbert, erle of the same place: but after when by mediacion of frendes, therle of Northumberland, was reconciled to his fauor, he restored hym fully to his possessiōs, name and dignitie: and not intending therby, to diminishe the honor of his frend, he preferred sir Ihon Neuell, to the stile of Marques Montacute, and so by that meanes, he was in estate and degre higher, then therle of Warwicke his elder brother, but in power, pollecie, and possessions, farre baser and lower.

¶ THE THIRD YERE.

ALthough that Kyng Edward might now thynke, all thynges to be in a good case; & hymself also to be of puyssance sufficient against al his enemies, (for ỹ he had obteined so great a victory): yet did he prouide with all diligence, that neither kyng Henry, nor quene Margaret his wife, should by any meanes remain in Englande: least the sight with the perswasions of theim, and especially with old frendes & alies, might alter and change the mindes, & also wyn the hartes of the mutable cōmonaltie. Wherfore he edified bulwarkes, and buylded fortresses on euery side & parte of his realme, where might be any place propice and mete, for an armie to arriue or take lande. Beside this, he wrote to all them in the South partes of his realme, that in no wise they should receiue thesaied quene, nor in any thyng should help or minister to her: and if any did presume or attempt, priuatly or openly to infringe his will and commaundement, the offendors should be take as his aduersaries, & punished as his vtter enemies. And on that parte that marcheth vpon Scotland, he laied watches and espialles, that no persone should go out of the realme, to kyng Henry and his company: whiche then lay soiornyng in Scotlande. But what so euer ieoperdy or perill might bee construed or demed, to haue insued by the meanes of kyng Henry: all suche doubtes, were now shortly resolued and determined, and all feare of his doynges, wer clerely put vnder and extinct. For he hymself, whether he wer past all feare, or was not well stablished in his perfite mynde, or could not long kepe hymself secrete, in a disguysed apparell, boldely entered into Englande. He was no soner entered, but he was knowen and taken of one Cantlowe, and brought towarde the kyng, whom the erle of Warwicke met on the waie, by the kynges commaundement, and brought hym through London, to the toure, and there he was laied in sure holde. Quene Margarete his wife, hearyng of the captiuitie of her husbande, mistrustyng the chaunce of her sonne, all desolate and comfortles, departed out of Scotlande, and sailed into Fraunce, where she remained with Duke Reyner her father, till she toke her infortunate iorney into Englande again: where she lost bothe husband and sōne, and also all her wealth, honor, and worldly felicitie. The newe Duke of Somerset and his brother Ihon, sailed into Flaunders, where they also liued in greate misery, till duke Charles, because he was of their kyn, and discended of the house of Lancastre by his mother, succored them with a small pencion, whiche to them was a greate comfort. Therle of Penbroke wet from countrey to countrey, not alwaies at his hartes ease, nor in securitie of life, or suretie of liuing. Such an vnstable and blind goddes is fortune: for whē he that sitteth highest on the whele falleth to the groūd, all that be vnderneth fall also, and can neither haue aide nor helpe of her, nor yet of theimselfes. The. iii. yere. Kyng Henry the. vi. taken and comitted to the Toure of London.

AFTER the takyng of kyng Hēry the. vi. and the departyng of his wife, this realme was in more quietnes & tranquilitie, because that men of the contrary part and faccion, durst

durst not once attẽpt nor yet moue, any new tumulte or conspiracie, consideryng that bothe the hed was fallen, and the chief membres fled and vanquished. Wherfore kyng Edward, beyng clerely out of doubt, of all hostilitie and danger, set all his mynd the whole foure yeres folowyng, for bothe amending thynges preiudiciall to the common wealthe, and also for stablishyng of thynges, mete and necessary, for the people of his Realme and dominion. And firste of all, folowyng the old auncient adage which saith, that the husbandman ought first to tast of the new growẽ frute: he distributed the possessions, of suche as toke parte with kyng Henry the. vi. to his souldiors and capitaines, whiche he thought had well deserued it. And beside, he lefte no poynt of liberalitie vnshewed, by the whiche he might allure to hym, the beneuolence and louyng hartes of his people: and in especial to his nobilitie, he gaue bothe large and precious giftes and rewardes. And because ỳ he would gladly haue the loue of all men, aswell noble as ignoble, aswell of riche as of poore, he shewed hymself more familiar, bothe with the nobilitie and the commonaltie, then (as some mẽ thought) was conuenient, either for his estate, or for his honor: whiche gentilnes and frendly familiaritie, he euer after vsed. The lawes of the realme, in part he reformed, and in part he newly augmented. The coyne bothe of golde and of siluer, whiche yet at this daie is curraunt, he newly deuised and diuided: for the gold he named royals and nobles, and the siluer he called grotes and halfe grotes. After this, he caused open Proclamacion to be diuulged, that all persones whiche were adherent to his aduersaries part, & would leaue their armure, & submit theselfes wholy to his grace and mercy, should bee clerely remitted, pardoned, and relessed: and they that obstinatly would so refuse, should haue such paines, as by the law, to suche transgressors, was assigned and appoynted. What profite this gentle interteinyng of his people brought hym to: What good will and fixed hartes of the people, he obteined by this kynd and frendly handelyng, all mẽ may with their iyes manifestly perceiue. For only by the fauor and ayde of the people, euer after in all his warres, he was a victor and a conqueror: so that all enterprises afterward against hym attempted, had either euill successe, or wer sone refelled, as afterward you shall perceiue. When he had brought his Realme into this estate, he surely thynkyng, and ynmoueable chaire, of the croune of his realme and kyngdom, was not only desirous of hymself, beyng a prince of haut corage, young, lusty, and sanguyne of complexion, to haue a wife, but was also daily sollicited, required, and mocioned of the peres and nobilitie of the Realme, to ioyne with suche a make, as should bee bothe to his honoure and contentacion, and also for the securitie & establishment, of the royall succession, and continuaunce of his progeny, in his newe possessed countrey, and late recouered kingdom. Wherupon, like a wise and a circumspecte Prince, very desirous of a Quene, but more thirstyng for suche a make, by the aide of whose parentes, alies and confederates: he beyng ioyned with theim in perfite affinitie, might liue or nothyng doubte the attemptes of his aduersarie kyng Henry, nor yet the malice of his secret frendes and priuy fautors. This matter (as it was of great waight and importance) hangyng long in consultacion: Emongest other it was moued, to send to Iames the. iii. kyng of *Scottes*, for the obteinyng of the faire lady Margaret his suster, to thintent, that on that side, kyng Henry his aduersary, should be destitute of all aide, refuge, succor, and comfort: but whether it wer for a priuie sickenes, or an open impediment, to hym and his counsaill declared, or by them spied, this mocion vanished and toke no farther effect. Then (as many men haue said, & few or none haue written) it was farther consulted, that the lady Elizabeth, suster & heire apparant, to Done Henry kyng of Castle, (whiche afterward was his heire in deede, and maried to Done Fernãdo, kyng of Arragon) was a mariage for hym moste conuenient, and not so conuenient, as profitable bothe to hym and his realme, and theim that should lineally succede hym, consideryng that if he might obtein the kyngdom of Castell, of the whiche his greate graund mother, was one of the indubitate heires, as doughter to Done Peter, late kyng of Castell, (by the va-

Kyng Edward the. iiii. deuised the names of the Coynes

liaunt

knaue knight, Edward prince of Wales, restored to his seigniory, realme & kingdom) then wer he in ease, not onely able to defend hymself, and his realme of Englande, against all foren enemies, and vtter inuasions, but also he should be of puyssaunce sufficient to inuade, and likely to recouer the duchy of Guyen, yea, and whole Acquitain, beyng his awne true and lawefull inheritaunce, with the ayde onely of the Castilians, puttyng the Englishemen to litle trauaill, & lesse charge. This mocion thus setforward semed highly to redounde, bothe to the honor of the kyng, and the high auauncement of thestate of the realme: Considering first, the high parētage of the woman, and secondly, the indubitate expectacion of thinheritance, of the realmes of Castell and Lion. And this mariage agred vpon, (whiche semeth more likely to be intreated of, then cōcluded as the tale tellers saie.) The erle of Warwicke was sent into Spain, well instructed, and no lesse accompanied, for the conclusiō of thesaid mariage. But who so will diligently consider, and in egall balaunce ponder, the youth and appetite of kyng Edward, and the tendre age and minoritie of this noble damosell: maie euidently perceiue, that it was neither decent nor conuenient, for hym nor his realme, to expect and tary the maturitie and ful age of this noble princes, nor that he beyng a prince, wel cherished, of lustie courage, and apte to generacion, would or could liue sole and vnmaried without a wife, till she were of age, mete & conueniēt for his bed. For it appereth on her goodly sepulture, in the cite of Granado (where she is buried) and also diuerse famous and notable Historiographers, bothe of Spain and other regions, write and affirme, that she changed this transitory life, in the yere of our Lorde. M. D. vi. beyng L. yeres of age, one moneth onely lackyng. By whiche report she shoulde be borne, in the yere of our lorde. M. iiii. C. lvi. And when therle of Warwicke was sent for the mariage of kyng Edwarde, in the beginnyng of the third yere of his reigne, the yere of our lord. M. cccc. lxiii, so that then she was sixe and not fully. vii. yeres, at whiche tyme kyng Edward bad fully accōplished. xxiiii. yeres and more. The treatie of whiche mariage although it be not vnpossible, yet for ȳ causes aforsaid, it semeth not alitle vnlikely. But admit that this mariage was moued, as it peraduēture might be, and that the erle of Warwicke sailed into Spain, (as he did not in deede) of likelihod his legacion was frustrate, & came to none effect: but sure it is that thesame yere, he came to kyng Lewes the. xi. then beyng Frenche kyng, liyng at Tours, and with greate honor was there receiued, and honorably interteined: of whō, for kyng Edward his master, he demaunded to haue in mariage the lady Bona, doughter to Lewes duke of Sauoy, and suster to the lady Carlot, then French Quene, beyng then in the Frenche court. This mariage semeth pollitiquely deuised, and of an high imaginacion to be inuented, if you will well consider, the state and condicion of kyng Edwardes affaires, which at this time, had kyng Henry the. vi. in safe custody, in the strong toure of London, and the moste parte of his adherentes, he had as he thought, either profligated or extinct, Quene Margaret onely except, and Prince Edward her sonne, whiche wer then soiornyng at Angiers, with old Duke Reiner of Aniow her father, writyng hymself kyng of Naples, Scicile, and Ierusalem, hauing as muche profites of the letters of his glorious stile, as rentes and reuenues out of thesaid large and riche realmes and dominions, (because the kyng of Arragon toke the profites of thesame, and would make no accōpt therof to duke Reiner.) Kyng Edward therfore thought it necessary, to haue affinitie in Fraunce, and especially by the Quenes suster: whiche Quene, although she ruled not the kyng her husband, (as many womē do) yet he of a certain especiall humilitie, was more content to haue her fauor & folowe her desire, (for wedded men oftē tymes doubt stormes) rather then to haue a lowryng countenaunce, and a ringing peale, whē he should go to his rest and quietnes: trusting that by this mariage, quene Margarete (whom thesame Quene Carlot litle or nothyng regarded, although her father was called a kyng and she a quene, & none of both hauing subiectes, profites, nor dominions) should haue no aide, succor nor any cōfort of ȳ Frēch kig, nor of none of his frēdes nor alies, wherfore quene Carlot much desirous to aduāce her blod & progenie, & especially to so greate a prince as kyng Edward was, obteyned both the

The treatye of a mariage for kyng Edward the. iiii.

good,

good will of the kyng her husband, & also of her syster, so that the matrimony on that
The mariage cõcluded for kig Edward the. iiii. syde was clerely assentēd to, & the erle of Dampmartine appoited with other, to sayle into Englād, for the clerely finishyng of thesame. After these thinges thus concluded, the erle of Warwycke was dismissed and highly rewarded, & for the great & noble corage that was in him, he obteyned such faior of the kynge, the quene and the nobles of Fraūce, that when he fled out of Englād, he was there honorably receiued, frendly maynteined, and louingly succored, as you shall perceyue hereafter.

BVT now consider the old prouerbe to be true ỹ saieth: that mariage is destinie. For during ỹ time that the erle of Warwycke was thus in Fraunce, concludyng a mariage for kyng Edward: The king being on huntyngin the forest of Wychwood besyde Stonystratforde, came for his recreacion to the mannor of Grafton, where the duches of Bedford soiorned, then wyfe to syr Richard Woduile, lord Ryuers, on whō then was attendyng a doughter of hers, called dame Elizabeth Greye, wydow of syr Ihon Grey knight, slayn at the last battell of saincte Albons, by the power of kyng Edward. This wydow hauyng a suit to ỹ kyng, either to be restored by hym to some thyng taken from her, or requyring hym of pitie, to haue some augmentacion to her liuyng, founde such grace in the kynges eyes,
Kyng Edward falleth in loue with the duches of Bedfordes doughter, & after marieth her. that he not onely fauored her suyte, but muche more phantasied her person, for she was a woma more of formal countenaunce, then of excellent beautie, but yet of such beautie & fauor, that with her sober demeanure, louely lokyng, and femynyne smylyng (neither to wanton nor to humble) besyde her toungue so eloquent, and her wit so pregnant, she was able to rauishe the mynde of a meane person, whē she allured and made subiect to her, ỹ hart of so great a king. After that kyng Edward had well considered all the linyamētes of her body, and the wise and womanly demeanure that he saw in her, he determined first to attēpt, if he might prouoke her to be his souereigne lady, promisyng her many gyftes and fayre rewardes, affirming farther, ỹ if she would therunto condiscend, she might so fortune of his peramour and concubyne, to be chaunged to his wyfe & lawfull bedfelow: whiche demaunde she so wisely, and with so couert speache aunswered and repugned, affirmynge that as she was for his honor farre vnable to be hys spouse and bedfelow: So for her awne poore honestie, she was to good to be either hys concubyne, or souereigne lady: that where he was a littell before heated with the darte of Cupido, he was nowe set all on a hote burnyng fyre, what for the confidence that he had in her perfyte constancy, and the trust that he had in her constant chastitie, & without any farther deliberacion, he determined with him selfe clerely to marye with her, after that askyng counsaill of them, whiche he knewe neither woulde nor once durst impugne his concluded purpose.

BVT the duches of Yorke hys mother letted it as much as in her lay alledgyng a precontract made by hym with the lady Lucye, and diuerse other lettes: all which doubtes were resolued, & all thinges made clere & all cauillacions auoyded. And so, priuilie in a mornyng he maried her at Grafton, where he first phantasied her visage.

¶ THE. IIII. YERE.

The. iiii. yere. ANd in the next yere after, she was with great solempnitie crouned quene at Westmynster. Her father also was created erle Ryuers, and made high Constable of Englande: her brother lorde Anthony, was maried to ỹ sole heyre of Thomas lord Scales, & by her he was lord Scales. Syr Thomas Grey, sonne to syr Ihon Grey, the quenes fyrst husband, was created Marques Dorset, and maried to Cicilie, heyre to the lord Bonuile. Albeit this mariage, at the first apparaunce was very pleasaunt to the king, but more ioyous to the quene & profitable to her bloud, which were so highly exalted, yea, & so sodainly promoted, that all the nobilitie more maruayled then allowed this sodayne risyng and swift eleuacion: Yet who so will marke the sequele of this story, shall manifestly perceyue, what murther, what miserie, & what trouble ensued by reason of this mariage: for it can not be

denied, but for this mariage kyng Edward was expulsed the Realm, & durst not abide, And for this mariage was therle of Warwycke & his brother miserable slain. By this mariage were kyng Edwardes. ii. sonnes declared bastardes, & in cōclusion priued of their lifes. And finally by this mariage, the quenes bloud was confounded, and vtterly in maner destroyed. So ẏ men did afterward diuyne, that either God, was not contented, nor yet pleased with this matrimony, or els that he punished kyng Edward in his posteritie, for the diepe dissimulynge and couert clokynge, with hys faithfull frende the erle of Warwycke. But such cōiectures for ẏ most part, be rather more of mens phātasies, then of diuine reuelacion. Whē this mariage was once blowen abrode, forren kynges and prynces maruayled and musyd at it: noble men detested and disdained it: the commō people grudged and murmured at it, and al with one voyce sayde, that hys vnaduised wowyng, hasty louyng, and to spedy mariage, were neither meete for him beyng a kyng, nor consonant to the honor of so high an estate. The French kyng and his quene were not a littell discontent (as I can not blame them) to haue their sister, first demaūded and then graunted, and in conclusion reiected, and apparantly mocked, without any cause reasonable. Wherfore shortly to appese her dolor, they maried her to Ihon Galēce, duke of Millayn, where she liued in great felicitie. But when the erle of Warwycke had perfit knowledge by the letters of his trusty frendes, that kyng Edward had gotten him a new wyfe, & that all that he had done with kyng Lewes in his ambassade for the cōioynyng of this new affinitie, was both frustrate & vayn, he was earnestly moued and sore chafed with the chaunce, and thought it necessarye that king Edward should be deposed from his croune and royal dignitie, as an inconstant prince, not worthy of such a kyngly office. All men for the moste parte agre, that this mariage was the only cause, why the erle of Warwycke bare grudge, and made warre on kynge Edwarde. Other affirme that ther wer other causes, which added to this, made ẏ fyre to flāme, which before was but a litell smoke. For after that kyng Edward had obteyned his kyngdome (as it was then thoughte) by the onely helpe and meane of the erle of Warwycke, he begā to suspect, yea, and to doubt him, fearing, lest he beyng in such aucthoritie and estimacion of the people, as he well might worke him pleasure or displeasure, when he therunto were mynded, wherfore he thought it cōueniēt a litle and a litle to plucke awaye and minyshe the power and aucthoritie, which he and his predecessors had gyuen to the erle, to thentent that he then myght do at his pleasure, bothe at home and in outward parties, without feare or dread, without checke or taunt, whatsoeuer to his awn mynde semed most conuenient. By this a man may se that often it chaūceth, that frendes for one good turne will not render another, nor yet remember a great gratuite and benefite in time of necessitie, to thē shewed and exhibited: But for kyndnes they shew vnkindnes, & for great benefites receyued, with great displeasure they do recompense. Of this the erle of Warwycke was nothyng ignorāt, which although he loked for better thankes & more ample benefites at kyng Edwardes handes: yet he thought it best to dissimule the matter, tyll such a time were come, as he might fynd the king without strēgth, and then to imbrayd him with the pleasure that he had done for him. And farther it erreth not from ẏ treuth that kynge Edward did attempt a thyng once in the erles house which was much against the erles honestie (whether he woulde haue deflowred his doughter or his nece, ẏ certayntie was not for both their honors openly knowen) for surely such a thyng was attempted by king Edward, which loued well both to loke and to fele fayre dammosels. But whether the iniury that the erle thought he had taken at king Edwardes handes, or the disdayne of aucthoritie that the erle had vnder the king, was the cause of dissolucion of their amitie and league, trueth it is that the priuie intencions in their hartes brake into so many smal peces, that England, Fraunce, and Flaunders, could neuer ioyne them agayn, duryng their naturall lyfes.

Incommodities yt sprang of kyng Edwardes mariage.

The displeasure betwene kig Edward the. iiii. & the erle of Warwycke.

THE erle of Warwycke beyng thus moued, inflāmed, & set against the kyng, lest in his fury, his purpose might be espied and broughte to nought, determined him self, couertly dissimulyng, so longe to suffer all such wronges & iniuries, as were to hym done, til he

 might

might spye a tyme conuenięt, & a world after his awn appetite, for the setting furth of his enterprise, and accomplishing of his purpose: whervpon he sayled into England, and with reuerence saluted the kyng as he was wont to do, & declared his Ambassade and thexployt of thesame, without any spot of grudge to be perceyued, as though he were ignorant of the new matrimony. And when he had taryed in the courte a certayn space, more for to shewe that he was thesame person, and of thesame good mynde towarde the kynge, as he was before the tyme of his legacion, then for any great affeccion that he bare, either to the kyng or the quene, he obteyned licence of the kyng, to depart to hys Castel of Warwycke, both for hys health and recreacion, whither with great honour he was accopanied with diuers of the kynges familier seruitors, as though none inward grudge or couert dissimulacion had ben hydden betwene them, where he remayned tyll all his priuie imaginacions were made open, and all hys enterprises were ready to be set forwarde. Durynge whiche time, the quene was delyuered of a yonge and fayre lady, named Elyzabeth, whiche afterward was wyfe to the noble prince kynge Henry the vii. and mother to kyng Henry the. viii.

¶ THE. V. YERE.

The v. yere. WHen kyng Edward had reigned thys, full the terme of. v. yeares, not all in pleasure, nor yet so in displeasure, but either by policie or frędshippe, he euer was superior, & had the vpper hande of hys enemies: He dayly studied and intentyuely applied his whole mynd with all labor and diligence to obtayne the loue, fauor and amitie of outward princes & foren potentates. First to haue a Rowlad for an Oliuer, for the Frēch king whome he knew not to be hys frendes, by reason of the refusall of hys quenes syster, he procured an amitie with Henry, kynge of Castell, and Ihon kyng of Arragon. At the concludyng of whiche amitie he graunted lycence and liberte for certayn cottesolde shepe to be transported in to the countie of Spayne (as people report) which haue so there multiplied and encreased, that it hath turned ỹ comoditie of England, moche to the Spanysh profit, & to no small hynderance of the lucre and gayne whiche was beforetymes in England, raysed of wolle and felle. Beside thys to haue an amitie with hys nexte neyghbor, the kyng of Scottes he wynkynge at the towne of Barwyke, was contet to take a truce for xv. yeres.

Kynge Edward hyred a certayne nomber of shepe to be transported into Spayne.

BVT Lord what happy chaunce and good lucke had kyng Edward for besyde these new frendes and confederates (of the whiche, some were more farther of, then he coulde cal to for helpe with a whistel, when he stode in moost danager and distresse) Fortune besyde all his expectacio prouided hym euen at hys elbowe, A brother in lawe, a perpetual allye and frendly neighboure: whiche offered allyaunce and new amitie, if he had either refused or myssed surely of al his other putatyue (I dare not say fayned) frendes, for all their leage, in his extreme necessitie, he had bene clerely abandonyd, and of all comfort left disconsolate. Thys happy chaunce came by thys occasion, In thys same season was lord and prince in Flaunders, Brabant and Zeladt, and other the lowe contreis theraboute Philippe duke of Burgoyne, a man as he was of greate age and yeres, so was he had in muche honor, great estimacion & high reuerēce emongest all kynges and prynces in hys dayes: which duke as you harde before, was enemye mortall to kynge Henrye the sixte This duke had only one sonne legitimate, called Charles erle of Charoloys, a man of suche haute corage, of so high enterprise and vntimerous audacite (euen lyke the sonne of Mars) as fewe or none was sene in hys tyme: For how he discomfited kyng Loys the. xi. then the Frēch kyng at the battayle of Monteherrye, the Frenchemen hathe not yet forgotten. The lade of Luke also hath in recent memorie his sore scorge and cruell plage. Thys erle Charles was at this tyme a wydower, hauyng onely a sole doughter, and no sonne, wherfore bothe by hys father and hym selfe and the companions of the order of the golde fleece being of their counsail, it was thought not onely expedient but much more necessary, that he should take a wyfe, ye and

in

in such a place as they might by that matrimony haue both alliaunce and ayde agaynste all their outwarde enemies, and especially agaynst the Frenche kyng, whome they knew dayly to wayte & watche lyke a serpente, how he by fraude might swalow or catche them or their possessions: vpon which cõunicaciõ it was declared by certayne, there beynge present, that kynge Edward of Englande had a fayre virgyn to hys syster, called lady Margarete, a lady of excellent beautie, and yet more of womanhod then beautie, and more of vertue then womanhode, whose innumerable good qualities, beside the giftes of nature, grace and fortune, were so seriously setforth to duke Philip, and the erle of Charoloys hys sonne, that bothe the father & the child iudged that mariage to be the moste metest matrimony in Christendom, not onely for the excellent qualities and manifold vertues emprinted in the person of the noble virgyn, but also for the great profite, allyance and continuall frendship that shoulde growe and ryse betwene the realme of Englande, and the dukes landes.

THE. VI. YERE.

The. vi. yere.

AFter that thys poynte was clerely resolued on, the Duke appoynted hys bastard sonne lorde Anthony, commonly called the bastarde of Bourgoyne, chefe Ambassadoure for this purpose: a man of great witte, corage, valiauntnes and liberalitie, whiche beyng richely furnished of plate & apparel, necessary for his estate, hauing in his cõpany gẽtelmen & other expert in all feates of chiualry, and merciall prowes, to ỹ nũber of. cccc. horses (as the Brabanders write) toke hys ship, and with prosperous wynde arryued in Englande, where he was of the nobilitie receyued and with al honorable entertainment, conueyed to the kynges presence which like a prince, that knew what apperteined to his degre, louingly welcomed, and familiarlye imbrased the bastard & other nobles ỹ came with hym. And after hys commission seene, and hys message declared, the Kynge gaue to hym a gentell answere for that tyme, and so the ambassadours departed to their lodgynge, where they kept a great housholde, and made triumphãt chere. You may thinke that kyng Edward was not so vnwyse, nor yet so vnpurueyed of counsail, to forsake thys beneficiall alliaũce, amicable consanguinitie and louynge frendshyp, thus frankely to hym profered and graunted but that he and all hys counsaill with fote and hande endeanoured theym selfes to bryuge too passe, and fynally to conclude thesame, the Erle of Warwycke onely excepte, whiche berynge hys harty fauoure too the Frenche kynge by yll reportes, dyd asmuche as in hym laye to hynder thys mariage and affinitie, of whose good will duke Charles was well informed.

But for all hys opinion at a certayne daye, the kynge sente for the Ambassadours, and there declared too theym howe he gladlye dyd bothe accept and graunte their louynge request, and demaunde, promisyng them in the word of a Prynce, that he should be ỹryng his life frend to the frẽdes of the Duke and the Erle, and enemies to their aduersaries and ennemies, which wordes not a littel pleased the Burgõnyons. After this he caused the lady Margaret his syster to be sent for which beyng richely appareled, accompanied with a great multitude of ladyes and gentelwomen, entred into the kynges great chãber, with so sober demeanure, so faire a visage, so louyng a cõtenaunce, & so princely a port, that she was estemed for her personage and qualities, bothe of the Burgonnyons and other, not to be vnworthy to matche in matrimony, with the greatest prynce of the worlde. And after the kynge, she & the ambassadours had cõmoned a good tract of tyme, the lord Anthonye bastard of Burgounye, contracted openly the sayde lady Margaret, for and in the name of his brother the erle Charles, and there in the name of the duke his father, and the Erle his brother, he presented to ỹ lady Margaret a ryche and a costly Iuell, whiche she ioyouslye receyued with great thankes and many gratulations geuen, both to her father in lawe and her new contracted husband.

After thys mariage, was thus concluded and contracted to speke what bankettes, festes, disguysynges pastymes & pleasures were made and shewed to the ambassadours, it were to

longe to write the matter, beyng no more serious, & much more tedious to here: But one thyg
A chalenge. was very honorable, and not mete to be put in oblioñ. The Bastard of Burgoyne, a man of a haute corage, chalenged Anthony lord Scales, brother to the Quene, a man both egall in harte, and valyantnes with the bastard to fight with hym bothe on fote & on horsbacke, the lord Scales gladly receyued hys demaunde and promised hym on the othe of a gentelman, to answere hym in the felde, at the day appoynted: lyke chalenges were made by other Borgonyons, to the gentelmen of Englande, which you may surely beleue were not refused. The kyng entēdyng to see thys marciall sport and valiant chalenge performed, caused lystes royall for the champions, and costely galleries for Ladies to loke on, to be newly erected and edefied in West Smythfelde in Lōdon. And at the day by the kyng assigned, the. ii. Lordes entered within the lystes, well mounted, richely trapped and curiouslye armed. On whiche daye they ran together, certayne courses wyth sharpe speres, and so departed with egall honor. The next daye, they entered the felde, the bastarde sitting on a bay courser, beinge somewhat dymme of sight, and the lord Scales had a gray courser, on whose schaffrō was a long and a sharpe pyke of stele. Whē these. ii. valeat persones coped together at the tornay, the lord Scales horse by chaūce or by custome, thrust hys pyke into the nostrelles of the horse of the bastarde, so that for very payne he mouted so hygh, that he fell on the one syde with hys master, & the lord Scales rode roūd about him with his swerde shakyēg in hys hand, tyll the kyng cōmaunded the Marshall to helpe vp the bastarde, whiche openly sayed, I can not holde by the cloudes, for though my horse fayled me, surely I will not fayle my coūtercōpaignions. And when he was remounted, he made a countenaūce to assayle his aduersarie, but the kyng either fauoryng his brothers honor then gotten, or mistrustyng the shame, whiche mighte come to the bastarde, if he were agayne foyled, caused the Heraldes to cry, *a lastel*, and euery man to departe. The morow after, the two noble men came in to the felde on fote, with two Poleaxes, and there fought valiantly lyke two coragious champions, but at the laste, the point of the axe of the lord Scales happened to enter into the sight of the healme of the bastard, & by fyne force might haue plucked hym on his knees, the kynge sodaynely caste doune his warder, and then the Marshalls them seuered. The bastard not content with this chaunce, very desirous to be reuenged, trustynge on his cunning at the Poleaxe (the whiche feate he had greatly exercysed, & there in had a great experiment) required the kyng of iustice, that he might performe his enterprise: the lord Scales, not refused it. The king sayd he wolde aske counsail, & so calling to hym the Cōstable and Marshall with the officers of armes, after longe consultacion had, and lawes of armes rehersed, it was declared to the bastarde for a sentence diffinitiue by the duke of Clarence, then Constable of Englande, and the duke of Northfolke Erle Marshall, that if he wolde prosecute farther his attempted chalenge, he muste by the lawe of armes, be deliuered to his aduersarye in thesame case and like condicion, as he was when he was taken from him, that is to saye, the poynt of the lord Scales axe to be fixed in the sighte of his healme, as depe as it was when they were seuered. The bastard heryng this iudgemt, doughted much the sequele, if he so should procede agayne, wherfore he was content to relinquyshe hys chalenge, rather then to abyde the hasarde of hys dishonor: Other chalenges we done, & valiantly acheued by the Englishmen, which I passe ouer. When all these corragious actes wer thus with ioy accomplished, sorowfull tidinges were broughte to the bastard, that duke Philip his father was passed this transitory lyfe, of whiche tidinges he was not a litell sorowfull, and therevpon takynge his leue of kynge Edwarde and his syster, the newe Duches of Burgoyne, liberally rewarded with plate and Iewels, with all celeritie he returned to the new duke Charles his nephew, accōpting to him what exployt he had made in his Ambassade & message, which answere was to the great contentacion and accomplishement of the desire of the said Duke, and therof moste hartely thanked the lady for her consent, as for the thynge that he most desired, not forgettynge to gratefie kynge Edwardes for his preferment and furtherance in his louinge request. This contract was made, and duke Philip dyed in the yere of our saluacion. M.CCCC.LXVII. and in the. vj. yere of kynge Edwarde the. iiij. in whiche yere

kyng Edward more for the Marques Montagewes loue, then for any fauour he bare to the erle of Warwycke, promoted George Neuell their brother, to the Archebishoperyke of Yorke.

THE VII. YERE.

NOw to returne to Charles duke of Burgoyne, whiche was with greate victory, and victorious triumphe returned from the conquest of the lande of Luke to Bruseles, he not forgetting the contract, which his bastard brother the lord Anthony had made in his name, with the noble princesse lady Margaret, syster to Edward kynge of Englande, deuised alwayes how he might with all honor and royaltie, haue her receyued into his countrey. And first he wrote to the kyng of England, to sende her ouer the sea with all diligence, accordinge to the pact and leage betwene them concluded, whiche beyng nothynge slacke, and especially in suche a cause, as so highly magnified his blonde, prepared shippes and all thynges necessary, for the honorable conduyte of her and her cõpany and so accompanied with the dukes of Excester and Southfolke and their wyfes, beynge both her systers, and a great companye of lordes and ladies and other, to the number of. CCCCC. horsses, in the beginninge of Iune departed out of Londõ to Douer, & so sayled to Slays, how she and her companye were there receyued and from thence conueyed to Bruges, where the mariage was celebrate and solempnized, what abundaũt fare and Delicate viand was serued at the feast, with how riche hanginges the house was garnished and trimmed, with how many Cupperdes of golde & silver the palace was adourned, with how many garnyshe of siluer vessell the companyes were serued, what Iustes, what Tourneys, what banketies, and what disportes were at this Nupciall feast? Ineither dare nor wil write, accordinge to the Brabãder Chronicle, lest peraduenture some men might thynke that I flattered a litle, as perchance I thynke they saye not trew in a greate dele.

The vii. yere.

But now to let go ỹ matters of ioy & solace, & to returne to the pestilent serpent, whiche so longe had sucked vp his poyson, and now begãn to vomit and cast it so abrode, that all the iij. yeres folowyng the whole Realme was continually infected with thesame, whiche infeccion, neuer ceased till the ayre was purified with the bloudde and deathe of him selfe at Barnet felde: for if you call to youre remembraunce the depe dissimulinge of the Erle of Warwycke at his retorne from beyonde the sea, and the continuall grudge that lurked in his stomack, toward kyng Edward syth ỹ tyme, ye must thinke that of very necessite it wolde at length either burste the vessell, and by some meanes issue out, as it did now euen at this tymee he beyng at his towne of Warwycke, accompanied with his two bretherne the Marques Mountacute, and the Archebishop of Yorke, framed communicacion too make them merye and to passe furth the tyme two or thre dayes, and at the last hauynge an occasiõ to speake of the kyng & his doynges and procedinges, he then first moued and excited them by al waies possible to helpe and ayde, & to restore kyng Hẽry the sixte, to the Croune and royall dignitie agayne, saiyng to the after this wise. My dere & welbeloued bretherne, the incredible faythefulnes, the secrete sobernes, and the polytique prudeuce that I haue euer by long cõtinuãce of tyme experimented in you both, doth not onely encourage my harte, yea and setteth me in great hope of obteynynge my purpose, but also putteth me out of all dreade & mistrust, fermely beleuyng, & surely iudging, ỹ you both wyl with tothe and nayle endeuer your selfe, to the vttermost of your power to bring to effect & purpose ỹ thing that I now shalbe bare vnto you. Surely, I woulde in nowise that you shoulde thynke that, that whiche I shall speake to you, of king Edward and kyng Henry, should rise of any lightnes or phantasie of my mynd, or any trifelyng toye, lately fallen into my imaginacion, but the true experience and iuste iudgement, that I haue of them bothe, their qualities and condicions, in maner cõpell and constreine me to saie as I saie, and to doe as I doo. For surely Kyng Henry is, a Godly, good, and a verteous persone, neither forgettyng his frendes, nor puttyng in obliuion any benefite by hym, of a meane persone receiued, nor yet

The persuasion of ỹ erle of Warwyke vnto his two bretherne against king Edward the fourth.

yet any paine for his causes susteined, he hath lefte vnrewarded: To whom God hath sent a sonne, called Prince Edward, borne to be of great worthynes and prayse, of muche bountefulnes and liberalitie, of whom men maie, many laudable thynges coniecture, consideryng the pein, labor and trauaill, that he taketh to helpe his father out of captiuitie and thraldome. Kyng Edward on the contrary side, is a man, cõtumelious, opprobrious, & an iniurious person, to them that deserue kyndnes, he sheweth vnkyndnes, and to them that loue him, he dedly hateth, now detestyng to take any pein, for the preferment or maintenaunce, of the publique wealth of this realme, but all geuen to pastime-pleasure, and daliance. Soner preferryng to high estate, men discended of lowe bloud, and basse degree, then men of old and vndefiled houses, whiche hath bothe supported hym, & the common wealth of his realme: So that now I perceiue, that it is enẽ come to this poynt that he will destroye all the nobilitie, or els the nobilitie must shortly, of very necessitie destroye and confounde hym. But reason would, that we wer first hurt, should first reuẽge our cause: for it is not vnknowen to you bothe, how that he, immediatly after he had obteined the croune, began first secretly, and then openly, to enuie, disdain, and impugne the fame, glory, and renoune, of our house and familie, as who saied that al the honor, preferment and auctoritie that we haue, we had onely receiued at his handes, and that we had neither obteigned, dignitie nor rule by our great labor, aide and trauaill. Whiche to all men maie seme vntrue, whiche consider that our name, chief title and principall auctoritie, was to vs geuen by kyng Henry the sixte, and not by hym. But if euery man will remembre, who firste toke parte with his father, when he claimed the Croune: who at that tyme, for that cause was in greate ieoperdie, and almost slain by the kynges meniall seruauntes, and who neuer lefte this man in prosperitie nor aduersitie, till he had the garlande, and the realme in quietnes, shall manifestly perceiue, that we and oure bloudde, hath shewed our selfes more like fathers to hym, then he like a frend to vs. If we haue receiued any benefites of hym, surely thei be not so muche, as we haue deserued, nor so muche as we looked for, and yet they bee muche more, then he would wee should enioye, as ye bothe well perceiue and knowe. Let these thynges ouerpasse, and speake of the vngentle, vntrue and vnprincely handelyng of me, in the laste ambassade, beyng sent to the French kyng, for to treate a mariage for hym, hauyng full auctoritie to bynd and to lose, to contracte and conclude. Whiche thyng when I had finished and accomplished: how lightly his mynde chaunged, How priuily he vowed, and how secretly he maried, Bothe you knowe better then I. So that by this meanes, I was almoste out of all credence, in the Courte of Fraunce, bothe with the kyng and quene as though I had come thether like an espiall, to moue a thyng neuer mynded, or to treat of a mariage determined before, neuer to take effect. Whereby the fame of all our estimacion, whiche all kynges and Princes haue conceiued in vs, partly obteined by the vertue and prowesse of our noble auncestors, and partly acheued by oure awne peines and forward actes: shall now be obfuscate, vtterly extinguished, and nothyng set by. What worme is touched, and will not once turne again? What beast is striken, that will not rore or sound? What innocẽt child is hurt that will not cryẽ? If the poore and vnreasonable beastes: If the sely babes that lacketh discrecion, grone against harme to theim proffered, How ought an honest man to be angery, when thynges that touche his honestie, be daily against him attempted? But if a meane person in that case bee angery: how muche more ought a noble man, to fume and stirre coales, when the high tipe of his honor is touched, his fame in maner brought to infamy, and his honor almoste blemished and appalled, without his offence or desert? All this brethren you know to be true, his dishonor of one, is the dishonor of vs all, and the hurte of one, is the hurte of all: Wherfore, rather then I will liue vnreuenged, or suffre hym to reigne, whiche hath sought my decaye and dishonor, I will surely spend my life, lande, and goodes, in settyng vp that iuste and good man kyng Henry the sixte: and in deposyng this vntrue, vnfaithfull, and vnkynde Prince (by our onely meanes) called kyng Edward the fourthe.

These faire wordes allured the Archbishop shortly, to his intent and purpose, but the

Lorde

Lorde Marques could by no meanes bee reduced, to take any parte against kyng Edward till the erle had bothe promised hym great rewardes and high promocions, and also assured hym of the aide and power, of the greatest princes of the realme. Euē as the Marques vnwillyngly, and in manner coacted gaue his consent, to this vnhappy coniuracion, at the intisement and procurement of therle, so with a fainte harte and lesse courage, he alwaies shewed hymself enemie to Kyng Edwarde, excepte in his laste daie: whiche lukewarme harte, and double dissimulacion, wer bothe the destruccion of him and his brethrē. The erle of Warwicke beeynge a man of a greate wit, farre castyng, and many thynges vigilantly foreseyng, either perceined by other, or had perfect knowledge of hymself, that the duke of Clarence, bare not the best will to kyng Edward his brother (as he did not in dede) thought firste to proue hym a furr of, as it wer in a probleme, and after to open to him (if he sawe hym flexible to his purpose) the secrete imaginacions of his stomacke: thynkyng that if he might by policie or promise, allure the duke to his partie, that kyng Edward should be destitute, of one of his best Hawkes, when he had moste nede to make a flight. So at tyme and place conuenient, the erle began to complain to the duke, of the ingratitude and doublenes of kyng Edward, saiyng: that he had neither handled hym like a freude, nor kepte promise with hym, accordyng as the estate of a Prince required. The erle had not halfe tolde his tale, but the duke in a greate fury answered, why my lorde, thynke you to haue hym kynd to you, that is vnkynd, and vnnatural to me beynge his awne brother, thynke you that frendship will make hym kepe promise, where neither nature nor kynred, in any wise can prouoke or moue hym, to fauor his awne bloud? Thynke you that he will exalte and promote his cosin or alie, whiche litle careth for the fall or confusiō, of his awne line and lignage: This you knowe well enough, that the heire of the Lorde Scales he hath maried to his wifes brother, the heire also of the lorde Bonuile and Haryngton, he hath geuen to his wifes sonne, and theire of the lorde Hungerford, he hath graunted to the lorde Hastynges: thre mariages more meter for his twoo brethren and kynne, then for suche newe foundlynges, as he hath bestowed theim on: But by swete saincte George I sweare, if my brother of Gloucester would ioyne with me, we would make hym knowe, that we were all three one mannes sonnes, of one mother and one lignage discended, whiche should be more preferred and promoted, then straungers of his wifes bloud.

When therle of Warwicke had hard the dukes wordes, he had that whiche he bothe sore thrusted and lusted for, and then began boldly to disclose to the Duke, his intent and purpose euen at the full, requiryng hym to take parte with hym, and to bee one of the attempted confederacie. And least the duke might thynke, that the matter was ligtlily, and vncircumspectly begon, he declared to hym, howe warely, howe secretly, how spedily all thynges concernyng this purpose; had been compassed, studied, and forseue, requiryng hym in so greate and vrgente a cause, bothe to take pein & trauaill, and also to studie with all circumspeccion and forseyng, how these thynges thus begon, might be brought to a certaintie and a finall conclusion. And the rather to wynne the dukes hart the erle beside diuerse and many faire promises made to the duke, offered hym his eldest daughter (beeyng of ripe age and elegant stature) in mariage, with the whole halfedele of his wifes inheritaunce. The duke at the perswasion & request of therle, promised to do all thynges whiche he would or could, in any maner require or desire. After that the Duke and the erle had long consulted, concernyng their straunge and dangerous affaires: thei first determined to saile to Caleis, of the which toune the erle was chief capitain, where his wife and twoo doughters then soiorned, whom to visite, the duke of Clarence beyng in amours, had no small affeccion. But the erle continually remembryng the purpose that he was set on, thought to begin and kindle the fire, of his vngracious coniuracion (whiche so many yeres vexed and vnquieted the realme of Englande) before his departure, wherefore he appoynted his brethren the Archebishop and the Marques, that they should by some meane in his absence, stirre vp newe commocion or rebellion, in the Countie of Yorke and other places adiacente: so that this

this ciuill warre should seme to all men, to haue been begon without his assent or knowledge (he beyng in the partes of beyond the sea).

THE. VIII. YERE.

The. viii. yere. WHen all these thynges were thus determined, and in graue counsaill allowed, the erle and the duke sailed directly to Caleis: where thei were solempnely receiued, and ioyously interteined of the Countesse and of her twoo daughters. And after that the duke had sworne on the Sacrament to kepe his promise and pacte inuiolate made and concluded with the erle of Warwicke, he maried the Lady Isabell, eldest daughter to thesaied erle, in our Lady Churche at Caleis, with greate pompe and solempnitie. After whiche mariage so solempnized, the duke and therle consulted sadly together, by what meanes they should continue the warre (whiche as it was by theim appoynted) was recently and within fewe daies begonne in Yorkeshire, not without great rumore and disturbaunce, of all quietnes in that countrey.

The mother of this pernicious commocion, was vncharitie, or very impiety, for there was in the citee of Yorke, an olde and riche Hospitall, dedicated to Saincte Leonarde, in the whiche Almosehouse the poore and indigente people were harbored and refreshed, and the sicke and impotente persones were comforted and healed. For this good purpose and charitable intent, all the whole Prouince of Yorke, gaue yerely to this Hospitall certain measures of corne: in maner as an oblacion of the first fruites of their newe grayne, thynkyng their gyfte geuen to so holy a place, for so holy an expence, should bee to theim meritorious, and before God acceptable. Certain euill disposed persones of the erle of Warwickes faccion, intendyng to set a bruill in the countrey, perswaded a great nombre of husbande men, to refuse and deny to geue any thyng to thesaied Hospitall, affirmyng and saiyng: that the corne that was geuen to that good intent, was not expended on the pore people, but the Master of the Hospitall wexed riche with suche almose, and his priestes wexed fat, and the poore people laie leane without succour or comfort. And not content with these saiynges, thei fell to dooynges, for when the Proctors of the Hospitall, accordyng to their vsage, went aboute the countrey, to gather the accustomed corne they were sore beaten, wounded, and very euill intreated. Good men lamented this vngodly demeanure, and the peruerse people much at it reioysed, and toke suche a courage, that they kept secrete conuenticles, and priuie communicacions, in so muche, that within fewe daies, thei had made suche a confederacie together, that thei wer assembled to the nombre of. xv. thousād men, euen redy prest to set on the citie of Yorke. When the fame of this commocion and great assemble, came to the eares of the citizēs of Yorke they were firste greatly astonied: but leauyng feare aside, they were in a greate doubt and vncertaintie, whether it were best for them to issue out of their walles, and to geue battaill to the rebelles, or to kepe their citie, and repulse the violence of their enemies, by the manfull defendyng of their walles and portes. But the lorde Marques Montacute, gouernor and presedent of that countrey for the kyng, did shortly put the citizens out of all feare and suspicion of inuasion, for he takyng spedy counsaill, and considerꝑyng the oportunitie of the tyme, with a small nombre of menne but well chōsen, encountered the rebelles, before the gates of Yorke: where after long conflicte, he toke Robert Huldurne their capitain, and before theim commaunded his hed there to be striken of, and then he caused all his souldiours (because it was darke to entre into the citie of Yorke) and after their long labor to refreshe them.

Here is to be marueiled, why the Marques thus put to death the capitain and ruler of the people, stirred and reised vp by hym, and the felowes of his coniuracion and conspiracie: Some saie he did it to the intent, that he would seme faultles and innocent, of all his brother's dooynges, and priuie imaginacions: But other affirme and saie, that he for all his promise made

made to his brother, was then deliberatly determined to take parte with kyng Edward, with whom (as it shall after appere) he in small space entered into greate grace and high favor. The people beyng nothyng abashed at the death of their capitain, but rather the more eger, and fierce, by faire meanes and craftie perswasions: found the meanes to get to theim, Henry sonne and heire to the lorde Filz Hughe, and sir Henry Neuell, sonne and heire of the Lorde Latimer, the one beeyng nephew, and the other cosin germain to therle of Warwicke. Although that these young gentlemen, bare the names of capitaines, yet they had a tutor & gouernor called sir Ilion Conyers, a man of suche courage & valiauntnes, as fewe was in his daies, in the Northe partes. And firste considerynge that they could not get Yorke, for want of ordinaunce and artilery, whiche they did lacke in dede, they determined with all spede to marche toward Londō, intending by the waie to reise suche a phantesie in the peoples hartes, ỹ they should thynke that kyng Edward was neither a iust prince to God, nor profitable to the cōmon welth of ỹ realme.

When kyng Edwarde (to whom all the dooynges of the Erle of Warwicke, and the Duke his brother, were manifest and ouerte, and wer come to that poynt, that he expected and loked for) was by diuerse letters sent to him, certified that the great armie of the Northren men, wer with all spede commyng toward London. Therefore in greate hast he sent to Wyllyam lorde Herbert, whom, within twoo yeres before, he had created erle of Penbroke, that he should without delaye encountre with the Northren men, with the extremitie of all his power. The erle of Penbroke, commonly called the lorde Herbert, was not a litle ioyous of the kynges letters, partly to deserue the kynges liberalitie, whiche of a meane gentleman, had promoted hym to the estate of an erle, partly for the malice that he bare to the erle of Warwicke, beyng the sole obstacle (as he thought) why he obteined not the wardship of the Lorde Bonuiles daughter & heire, for his eldest sonne. Wherupon he accompaignied with his brother sir Richard Harbert, a valiaunt knight, and aboue. vi. or. vii. thousande Welshemenne well furnished, marched forwarde to encountre with the Northren men. And to assiste and furnishe hym with archers, was appoynted Humffray lorde Stafford of Southwike (named, but not created) Erle of Deuonshire, by the kyng, in hope that he valiauntly would serue hym in that iorney, and with hym he had eight hundred archers. When these twoo Lordes were met at Cottishold, they made diligent inquiry, to here where the Northren menne were, and so by their explorators they were asserteined, that thei were passyng towarde Northamptou, whervpon the lorde Stafford, and sir Richard Harbert with twoo thousande well horsed Welshmen, saied: they would go vewe and se the demeanor and nombre of the Northern men, and so vnder a woodes side, thei couertly espied the passe forward, and sodainly set on the rerewarde: but the Northren men with suche agilitie so quickly turned aboute, that in a moment of an houre, the Welshemen wer clene discomfited and scatered, and many taken, and the remnaunt returned to the armie with small gain.

Kyng Edwarde beeyng nothyng abasshed of this small chaunce, sente good woordes to the Erle of Pembroke, animatyng and byddyng hym to bee of a good courage, promisyng hym not alonely ayde in shorte tyme, but also he hymself in persone royall, would folowe hym with all his puyssance and power. The Yorke shire menne, beyng glad of this small victory, were well cooled and went no farther Southward, but toke their waie toward Warwicke, lokyng for aide of therle, whiche was lately come from Caleis, with the Duke of Clarēce his sonne in lawe, and was gatheryng and reisyng of men, to succor his frendes and kynsfolke. The kyng likewise assembled people on euery side, to aide and assist therle of Penbroke and his compaignie. But before or any part receiued comfort or succor, from his frend or partaker, bothe the armies met by chaunce, in a faire plain, nere to a toune called Hedgecot, three myle from Banbery, wherin be three hilles, not in equal distaunce, nor yet in equall quantitie, but lyng in maner although not fully triangle: the Welshemen gat firste the West hill, hopyng to haue recouered the East hil: whiche if thei had obteined, the victory had been theirs, as their vnwise Prophesiers promised thē before. Banbery feld.

The Northren men incamped themself on the Southe hill. The erle of Penbroke and the lorde Stafford of Southwike, wer lodged at Banbery the daie before the feld, whiche was sainct Iames daie, and there the erle of Pembroke, putte the Lorde Stafforde out of an Inne, wherein he delighted muche to be, for the loue of a damosell that dwelled in the house: contrary to their mutuall agrement by them taken, whiche was, that whosoeuer obteined first a lodgyng, should not be deceiued nor remoued. After many great woordes and crakes, had betwene these twoo capitaines, the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, in greate dispite departed with his whole compaignie and band of Archers, leauyng the erle of Pembroke almoste desolate in the towne, whiche, with all diligence returned to his host, lyng in the feld vnpurueied of Archers, abidyng suche fortune as God would sende and prouide. Sir Henry Nenell sonne to the Lorde Latimer, tooke with hym certain light horssemen, and skirmished with the Welshemen in the euenyng, euen before their Campe, where he did diuerse valiaunt feates of armes, but a litle to hardy, he went so farre forward that he was taken and yelded, and yet cruelly slain: whiche vnmercifull acte, the Welshemen sore ruied the next daie or night. For the Northren men beyng inflamed, & not a litle discontented, with the death of this noble man, in the mornyng valiauntly set on the Welshemenne, and by force of archers, caused theim quickely to descende the hill into the valey, where bothe the hostes fought. Therle of Penbroke behaued hymself like a hardy knight, and expert capitain, but his brother sir Richarde Herbert so valiauntly acquited hymself, that with his Polleaxe in his hand (as his enemies did afterward reporte) he twise by fine force passed through the battaill of his aduersaries, and without any mortall wounde returned. If euery one of his felowes and compaignions in armes, had doen but halfe thactes, whiche he that daie by his noble prowes achiued, the Northremen had obteined neither sauetie nor victory.

Beside this, beholde the mutabilitie of fortune, when the Welshemē were at the very poynt, to haue obteyned the victory (the Northernmē beyng in manner discōfited) Ihon Clappam Esquier, seruaunte to the erle of Warwycke, mouted vp the syde of ỹ east hyl, accōpanied onely with. CCCCC. men gathered of all the Rascal of the towne of Northampton and other villages about, hauyng borne before them the standard of the Erle with the white Bere, Cryenge a Warwycke a Warwycke. The Welshmen thinkyng that ỹ Erle of Warwycke had come on them with all his puyssance, sodaynlye as men amased fledde: the Northernmē, them pursued and slew without mercy, for ỹ cruelty that they had shewed to the lord Latimers sonne. So that of the Welshmē there were slayn aboue. v. M. besyde them that were fled and taken.

A greate slaughter of Welshemen.

The erle of Pembroke, syr Rychard Herbert his brother, and diuers gentelmen were taken, and brought to Banberie to be behedded, much lamentacion and no lesse entreatie was made to saue the lyfe of Syr Rychard Herbert, both for hys goodely personage, whiche excelled all men there, and also for the noble Chiualry, that he had shewed in the felde the day of the battayll, in so muche that his brother the Erle, when he should laye doune his hed on the block to suffer, sayd to syr Ihon Conyers and Clappam, Masters let me dye for I am olde, but saue my brother, which is yonge, lusty and hardy, mete and apte to serue the greatest prince of Christendom. But syr Ihon Conyers and Clappam, remembryng the death of the yonge knyght syr Henry Neuel, Cosyn to the erle of Warwycke, could not here on that side, but caused the erle & hys brother with diuers other gentelmē, to the number of x. to be there behedded. The Northamptonshire men, with diuers of ỹ Northernmē by them procured, in this fury made them a capitayne, and called hym Robyn of Riddesdale, and sodaynly came to the manner of Grafton, where the erle Ryuers father to the Quene then lay whom they loned not, and there by force toke the sayde erle and and syr Ihon his sonne, and brought them to Northampton, and there without iudgement stroke of their heddes, whose bodyes were solemply enterred in the Blackefriers at Northampton. When kynge Edward was aduertised of thys vnfortunate chaūces, he wrote in all hast to the Shirriefes of Somersetshyre and Deuenshyre, that if they couldde by any meane take the lorde Stafford of Southwyke, that they vpon payne of their lyues, should without delay put hym in execucion, whiche

Robin of Riddesdale.

accordingly

accordingly to the kynges commaundement, after long exploracion made, founde hym hyd in a village in Brentmarche, called where he was taken & brought to Bridgwater, & there cut shorter by the hedde. Thys was the order, manner and ende of Hegecot felde, comēly called Banberie felde, foughten the morow after sainct Iames daye, in the. viij. yere of kynge Edwarde the. iiij. the whiche battaile euer synce hath bene, and yet is a cōtinuall grudge betwene the Northernmen and the Welshemen. After thys battayle the Northerume resorted towarde Warwycke, where the erle had gathered a greate multitude of people, whiche erle gaue hygh commēdacions to syr Ihon Conyers and other capitaynes of ŷ North, much reioysing, that they had obteyned so glorious victory, requiring them to continew as they had begon. The king likewyse sore thrusting to recouer his losse late susteyned, and desirous to be reuenged of the deathes and murders of hys lordes and frēdes, marched toward Warwycke with a great armye, and euer as he wente forwarde, his company increased, because he commaunded it to be noysed and published to the common people, that his onely entent was to destroy, and vtterly to confounde the vnhappy stocke and yll graffed generacion, of suche pernicious persones, as wolde disturbe and bring in thraldome, ŷ quiet cōmons and peaseable people. The erle of Warwycke had by his espialles perfyt, knowlege how the kyng with his armye was bent toward hym, & sent in all hast possible to the duke of Clarēce (which was not far from him with a great power) requyringe him that bothe their hostes myghte ioyne in one for as farre as he could imagyne, the tyme of battayle was very nere. The duke hearynge these newes in good order of battayle, came and encampcd him selfe with the erles host. When all thynges were redy prepared to fight: by the meanes of frēdes, a meane was founde how to cōmon of peace, for the whiche letters were writtē from eche parte to other, declaring their griefes and the very bottoms of their stommackes: Heraulides spared no horseflesh in riding betwene the kyng and the erle, nor in retornynge from the Erle to the kynge: the kynge conceyuinge a certayne hope of peace in his awne imaginacion, toke bothe lesse hede to him selfe, and also lesse fered the outward attēptes of his enemyes, thinkyng and trustynge truely that all thynges were at a good poynt and should be well pacified. All the kynges doynges were by espials declared to the erle of Warwycke, which lyke a wyse and politique Capitayne entendyng not to lese so great an auauntage to hym geuen, but trustyng to brynge all his purposes to a fynall ende and determinacion, by onely obteyning this enterprise: in the dead of the nyght, with an elect company of men of warre, as secretly as was possible set on the kynges felde, kylling them that kept the watche, and or the kynge were ware (for he thought of nothynge lesse then of that chaunce that happened) at a place called Wolney. iij. myle from Warwycke, he was takē prysoner, and brought to the Castell of Warwicke. And to the entent that the kynges frendes myghte not know where he was, nor what was chaunced of hym, he caused hym by secret iorneys in the nyght to be conueyed to Mydelham Castell in Yorkeshire, & there to be kept vnder the custody of the Archebishop of Yorke his brother, and other his trusty frendes, which entertayned the kyng, like his estate, and serued hym lyke a prynce. But there was no place so farre of but that the taking of the kyng was shortly knowē there with ŷ wynde which newes made many men to feare, and greatly to dread, and many to wonder and lament the chaūce. Kyng Edward beyng thus in captiuitie, spake euer fayre to the Archebishop and to the other kepers, (but whether he corrupted them with money or fayre promises) he had libertie diuers dayes to go on huntynge, and one day on a playne there met with hym syr William Stanley, syr Thomas of Borogh, and dyuers other of hys frēdes, with suche a great bend of men, that neither his kepers woulde, nor once durst moue him to retorne to prison agayn.

Hegecote felde commonly called Banberye felde.

Kyng Edward the. iiij. taken prisonier, by ye erle of Warwike.

Kyng Edward deliuered out of prison.

Thus as you haue harde was kyng Edward deliuered: Some saye that he was set at large by the erles consent and commaundemente as who sayd, I had hym in my kepyng, and might haue destroyed hym, I had hym in captiuitie, and so might haue deteyned him but yet of myne awne freewill & gentelnes, without pacte or raunsom I am contented to set him at libertie & to deliuer him. Thys doyng might seme to be some countenaunce of treuth, if the erle after this had desisted from persecutyng the warre by hym newly begonne: but for a treuth

this good chaunce happed to kynge Edward, by the yll lucke of kynge Henry, for surely by this yll fortune a man may plainly cõiecture, that the extreme poynt of decay of hys house and estate was apparantly at hande, consideryng that neither by mannes pollicie, nor by worldly riches his vnhappy predestinate chaunce coulde not by any pollicy be put by, nor by any instrumõt scraped away (wel such was Goddes pleasure) for if you consider how that the erle of Warwycke and his frendes, onely to thentent to ayde, conserue and defende kyng Henry the. vi. haue dispended their substances, aduentured their lyues, and taken paynes intollerable, hauyng a sure determinacion fixed in their myndes, that as long as kyng Edward lyued, that kyng Henryes faction should neuer prosper & yet when he was by the Erle taken prisoner, & in captiuitie, he by fortune escaped, or was wilfully deliuered. By thys you may plainly perceyue that the lucke of kyng Henry was vnfortunate, and that all that was done for hym, and in is quarell, euer redouned to hys misfortune and detrinent, euer notyng this, that when thinges contriued & Imagened come to an vnlucky successe, all the senses of our bodyes be then by anger, feare or madnes, rauyshed, and in manner distracte from them selfes. But to retorne to the purpose, when kynge Edward had escaped the handes of hys enemyes, he went streyghte to Yorke, where he was with great honor receyued of the Citizens, and there taried two dayes to prepare some small army, to accompany hym in hys iorney, but whē he perceyued that he coulde haue no hoste mete and conuenient to passe to London, thorough the middes of his enemies (as he was appoynted to do) he turned from Yorke to Lancaster, where he founde the lord Hastynges hys Chamberlayne, well accompanyed. He then with ẏ ayde of the lord Hastynges, and suche othēr as drew to hym beyng well furnished with spedy iorneys, came safe to his cytye of London.

When the erle of Warwyke & ẏ duke of Clarēce, had knowlege how the kyng by treason of them ẏ they put in trust, was escaped their handes, & that in one moment of tyme, all their long studyes and forcastes were brought to none effect or conclusion, they wexed angrye, & chafed without measure, & by and by callynge together all their chief frendes began to consult agayn, of new, & to enquire the estate of their enemies, to the entent that they might make a beginnyng of a new warre, which they coniectured to haue taken an ende when the kyng was brought into captiuitie. The myndes of these Princes were much satisfied, & their corage greatly kindeled, by reason that a great number of men hauing more pleasure in discord then in concord, louyng better stryfe then vnitie, offered themselfes to beginne newe warre of their awne desire & request. Kyng Edward toke euen lyke study for the warres as his ennemyes dyd myndinge either to bringe them to conformitie or reason, by dent of swordē, or els by power of Battayle vtterly to destroye & exstirpate them and their affinitie, to the entent ẏ all men might lede a more quiet lyfe, & lyue in more securitie & rest: for by the sedicious rebellinge of these persons, the state of the Realme was brought to great miserie, for Churches and Temples were euery where robbed & spoiled, houses burnt and men slayne in euery place, all the Realme was replenished with bloud, slaughter, sorow & lamentacion, Cornefeldes were destroied Cities and Townes were made desolate and languished with famyn & dearthe, besyde many other thinges, which happen by the crueltie and furye of warre and rebellion. This tumult and trouble in the common wealth of this Realme sore vexed and troubled many, but in especial ẏ nobilitie muche lamented and pitied the state of the co mminaltie which with all diligence rode betweene the kyng the Erle and the Duke to reconcile thē eche to other, and to cõclude a perfect peace & amitie, requiring them rather more to remēber the benefites, that euerye of thē haue receyued of other, then to set forth the vngratitude or iniury, whiche one hath done to the other, which is rather the occasion of discord, then the meane to come to amitie. Further, they exhorted theym rather to deserue the loue of all men, by keping of peacē & vnitie, then by fightinge and intestine warre to destroy the Realme, and wynne the hatred and malice of all the nacion: for as he is vnkynd and vnnaturall, that will not cherishe hys natural parentes and procreators, much more vnnatural and wicked are they, which will suffer their natyne cõntrey, beyng their common father and mother, by their contencion & stryfe to be brought to decay and vtter perdicion.

The

The auctheritie first of the nobilitie of the Realme, and secondarily their charitable mocion, so mitigated the myndes, bothe of the kyng, the Duke and the erle, that eche gaue fayth to other to go and come, sauely without ieopardy. In whiche promise, the Duke & Erle, hauing perfight trust and cõfidẽce, came both to Lõdon, accompanied with to smal a number of men, in comparison to the great dangier that they were in. And at Westmynster, the kyng, the Duke and the Erle had a longe communicacion together, for some end to be taken or made betwene them: But they fell at such great wordes with such exprobracions, and opening: either of olde benefites shewed or of olde ingratitudes receiued, that in a great furye, without any cõclusion they departed, the kyng to Canterbury, and the Duke and the Erle to Warwycke, where the Erle of Warwycke prepared a new host to ryse in Lyncolnshire, and made there of capitayn syr Robert Welles, sonne to Rychard lord Welles, an experte man in armes and very politique in warre.

These newes sodaynly brought to the kynge, did not a littell vexe & tykil hym, because he euer feruẽtly hoped, that his aduersaries wolde rather come to some honest condiciõs of cõcorde, then so temerariously and so sodaynly renouate the warre. And the more rumor was sprede (contrary to his expectacion) of this new begonne battayll, the soner he gathered together an host for the resistence of thesame, and out of hand he sent to Rychard lord Welles, willing him vpon the sight of his letters with all hast to repayre vnto hym, which oftentymes he had excused by syckenes and debilitie of his body. But when that excuse serued not, he thynkyng to purge him selfe sufficiently before the kynges presence, toke with hym syr Thomas Dymocke, which had maried his syster, and so together came to Londõ. When he was come vp, his frẽdes certefied hym that the kynge was with hym not a littel displeased, but highly discontented. Wherfore for verye feare, he with his brother in law toke the sentuarie at Westmynster, entendynge there to abyde tyll the princes Ire were somewhat asswaged and mitigate. King Edward which thought to pacifie all thys besy tumulte, withoute anye farther bloudshed, promisyng both those persons their pardons, caused theim vpon hys promise tõ come out of Sentuary to hys presence, and callyng to hym the lorde Welles, willed hym to write to sir Robert hys sonne to leaue of the warre, and not to take the Erles parte. And in the meane season, he with hys army went forward towarde his enemyes, hauynge with hym the lorde Welles, and syr Thomas Dymocke, and beynge not past two dayes iorney from Stafford, where hys enemyes had pitched their felde, had perfyt knowlege that syr Robert Welles nothyng moued with hys fathers letters, styl kept his campe, abyding the kyng and his power. The kynge hauyng hygh indignacion at hys presumpcion and mynded to be reuenged in parte, cõtrary to his faith and promise caused the lord Welles, father to the saide syr Robert and syr Thomas Dymocke to be beheded there, to the terrible example of other, which shal put their confidẽce in the promise of a prince. Whẽ syr Robert Welles hard that the kyng drew nere, and that hys father & syr Thomas Dymocke ware beheded, he stode firste in a greate perplexitie, studyeng whither he should gyue battail or no, because it was both perilous and doughtfull to fight with so great an armye, before the erle of Warwycke with hys power were assembled, but yet hauyng a yonge and a lusty courage, and with manly boldnes stimulate, and pricked forward, he set on hys enemyes.

The battayle was sore fought on bothe partes, & many a man slayne And in conclusion, whyle syr Robert was exhortyng and prouokynge hys men to tary, which were in maner disconfit, and redy to flye, he was enuyroned and beset aboute with his enemyes, and so was taken, and with hym syr Thomas Delaund knyght and many mo. After hys takyng, the Lyncolnshyre men amased, threw away their coates, the lighter to runne away, and fled, and therfore thys battayl is yet there called Losecote felde. The kyng, glad of this victory, commaunded out of hand syr Robert Welles and diuers other, to be put to execuciõ in thesame place. The fame was, that at thys battayll were slayne. x. M. men at the least. Losecote felde.

The erle of Warwycke lay at this tyme at his Castell of Warwycke, and was cominge with a houge host the nexte day towarde his armye in Lyncolneshyre, but when he hard saye that they had foughte soner then he thought either they could or woulde, and that hys partye was ouerthrowen

ouerthrowen and vanquished: Although he might now be discoraged yet he thought it necessary to dissimule the cace, because oftentymes in battayles, vain thinges be regarded before trew, and to thentēt to comfort certayn of his company (beyng in dispayre, and redy to flee) both in woorde and dede, he conscribed and prepared a new host, and with all the studye and industrye, that he coulde practise or vse, he imagened how to compasse Thomas lord Stanley, which had maried hys syster, that he might be one of the confederacy and coniuracion: whyche thynge when he coulde not bryng to passe for the lord Stanley hadde aunswered him plainly that he woulde neuer make warre against kig Edwarde, he thought to spende no lenger tyme in watse, and mistrustyng that he was not able to mete with hys enemyes, he with the Duke of Clarence his sonne in lawe, departed to Exceter, and there taryenge a few dayes, and perceyuynge that all thynges lacked whiche were apt and necessary for the warre, determined to sayle to kyng Loys the French kyng, to renew the familier acquayntaunce, whiche he had with him when he was there of Ambassade, for the mariage of kynge Edward as you haue hard, hauyng a sure cōfidence and hope, either to haue a great ayde of the French king, or els to incense hym earnestly to make battayll agaynst kyng Edward. And restyng vpon this opinion, they hyred shippes at Dartmouth in Deuonshyre, well armed, and at all poyntes trymmed and decked. And when wynde and wether serued theym, the Duke and the Erle with their wyues and a great number of Seruauntes, plucked vp the sayles, & toke their way fyrst toward Caleys where the erle of Warwycke was chefe capitayn, and thought there to haue left hys wyfe and doughters, tyll he had returned out of Fraunce.

THE. IX. YERE.

The. ix. yere. WHen the erle of Warwicke thus fled out of England, the yere of our Lorde was iust. 1470. and the yere of King Edwardes reigne was then. ix. This sodain departyng of kyng Edwardes aduersaries, did not onely vexe and bite hym at the very stomacke, but also did stimulat and quicken hym to loke the more diligently to his affaires, and busines, and especially, because that the absence of the erle of Warwicke, made the common people daily more and more, to long and bee desirous to haue the sight of him, and presently to behold his personage. For they iudged that the Sunne was clerely taken from the worlde, when he was absent: In such high estimaciō emongest the people, was his name that neither no one manne, thei had in so muche honor, neither no one persone, thei so much praised, or to the Cloudes so highly extolled. What shall I saie? His onely name sounded, in euery song, in the mouthe of the common people, and his persone was represented with greate reuerence, when publique plaies, or open triumphes should bee shewed, or set furthe abrode in the stretes: which hartie fauor, was the apparant occasion why his faccion and compaignie, within a fewe dayes, merueilously increased and augmented. For the whiche cause, the kyng was vexed with a double mischief, for he doubted muche, whom he should moste feare of twoo, either the familier enemies abidyng at home, or the extramagant fooes, lyngeryng beyond the sea: But chiefly he prouided, But very slackly, to withstande the erle of Warwickes landyng. And first he wrote to Charles duke of Burgoyn, whiche had maried the lady Margaret his suster, to helpe that therle nor his compaignie, should haue neither aide nor refuge, in any part of his, nor his frēdes territories or dominions. These tidynges were ioyfull to the duke of Burgoyne, as to hym whiche (accordyng to the olde prouerbe) hated the erle of Warwycke, worse then the curre dogge, or serpent: partly, because he was the ouerthrower and confounder, of the house of Lancastre, of the which, the erle was linially discended by the duches his mother, partly because therle had suche high offices, and was so renoumed in Englande, that kyng Edward the dukes brother in lawe, might not do liberally all thynges in his realme, as he hymself would (whiche the duke estemed to be a greate bondage.) And partly, because the erle with stoode with all his power and might, the conclusion of the mariage, betwene the kynges suster and thesaid duke. But the chief rancor was, because the erle of Warwicke, fauored the Frenche kyng, whom the duke loued not, for at his last beeyng in Fraunce, he promised the Frenche kyng,

to

to be frende to his frendes, and vtter enemie to his fooes and aduersaries. This roted hatered, and cankarde malice, whiche the Duke bare to the Erle, caused him to attempte mo displeasures, and to inuent mo mischiefes against therle, then either kyng Edward could imagyn, or was of the Duke required as you shall plainly perceiue, by the sequele of this historie.

Now let vs speake of the erle of Warwickes doynges, whiche muste nedes play a pagiaunt in this enterlude, or els the plai wer at apoynt. The erle as you haue hard before, sailed from Dartnouth toward Caleis, where he was capitain generall, and with a prosperous wind came before the toune, in whiche fortresse was deputie for the erle, the Lorde Vawclere a Gascoyne, beside diuerse of therle of Warwickes seruauntes, whiche bare great offices and auctborities in the toune. This Vawclere, whether he did it by dissimulacion, or bearyng his good mynde to kyng Edward, (as by the sequele hereof, I doubt whether he did or no) Instede of receiuyng of his master with triumphe, he bent and discharged against hym, diuerse peces of ordinaunce, sendyng him worde, that he should there take no land. This nauie lyng thus before Caleis at ancre, the duches of Clarence, was there deliuered of a faire sonne, whiche child, therles deputie vnneth would suffre to be christened within ỹ toune, nor without great intreaty, would permit twoo flagons of wine to bee conueighed aborde, to the ladies liyng in the hauen. This was a greate rigor and extremitie, for the seruaunt to vse against the Master, or the inferior to vse against the superior, wherefore the erle hoped, and nothyng lesse mistrusted, then to be assured and purueyed in that place, whiche is the greatest treasure, that belongeth to Englande, and the fairest capitainship of the worlde, at the least in Christendom. But he was fain to kepe the seas without comfort or aide, of any of his seruauntes. The kyng of Englande was quickely aduertised, of the refusall that Mõsire de Vawclere, made to his capitain therle of Warwicke, whiche manful doyng so muche pleased the kyng, that incõtinent he made hym chief capitain of the toune of Caleis, by his letters patentes, whiche he sent to him out of hand, and therof discharged clerely therle as a traitor and a rebell. Duke Charles of Burgoyn, liyng at sent Homers (which would nedes haue an ower in the erle of Warwickes boate) beyng aduertised also, of Monsire de Vawcleres refusall made of his Master, sent hym his trustie seruaunt, Philip de Commines (whiche wrote al these doynges in a Chronicle) and gaue to hym yerely a thousand crounes in pencion, (a small reward God wotte, for so high a seruice, as vntruly to kepe his Master from his office) praiyng and requiryng hym, to continue in truth and fidelitie, toward kyng Edward, as he had shewed and begonne. The messenger founde hym so towarde and of suche conformitie, that he was content to sweare in his presence, truly to take kyng Edwardes part against all men, and onely to his vse to kepe and defend the strong toune of Caleis. But the saied Phillip de Commines sore mistrusted Monsire de Vawclere, because he sent worde to the erle of Warwicke priuily, liyng at whitsandbay, that if he landed he should be taken and lost: for al England (as he said) toke part against hym, the duke of Burgoin and all thinhabitantes of the toune wer his enemies, the Lorde Duras the kynges Marshall, and all the retinue of the garrison wer his aduersaries: so that for a finall conclusion, his onely sauegarde and comforte, were to withdrawe hym and his compaignie into Fraunce, where he knewe he should bee highly receiued and better welcomed, & as for the toune of Calice, he should take no thought, for thesaid Monsire de Vawclere, promised thereof to make hym a good reconyng, when tyme and opportunitie should serue. This counsaill was profitable to the erle of Warwicke, but not to the kyng of England, and losse pleasant to the duke of Burgoyn: which princes might very well think bothe the office of the Capitainship of Caleis, and the pecion of the. M. crounes (if it wer paied) on suche a depe dissimuler, to be cuill employed.

The duches of Clarence deliuered of a sonne vpon the sea, before the toune of Caleis.

The erle of Warwicke, as he was bothe before his departure out of Englande determined, and also now by Monsire de Vawclere, newly counsailed and aduised, with his nauie sailed toward Normandy, and in the meane waie, robbed, spoyled, and tooke many riche shippes, of the Duke of Burgoyns countreys (whiche sore netteled the duke and caused hym to prepare

paré á strong and a greate armie on the sea, to take therle prisoner, as he returned homeward) & at the last with all his naule and spoyle, he tooke lande at Depe in Normandy, where the gouernor of the countrey for the Frenche kyng, frendely welcomed hym, and louyngly hym entertained, certifiyng king Lewes of his landing and arriuall.

Kyng Lewes a great ceason before, had so muche merueiled at the publique fame and common renoume, of the noble actes and high prowes, of the Erle of Warwike, that he thought nothyng might more pleasauntly happe, or chaunce towarde hym, then to haue a cause or occasion to him ministered, whereby he might do the Erle some profite or pleasure. Which long lust accordyng to his desire, was now likely to take effecte, to his contentacion, and the erles greate commodity: wherefore beyng ioyous of his landyng in France, he sent vnto hym certain Princes which declared to hym on the kynges behalf, that as the kyng had long time sought waies and meanes, how to do him pleasure, aid and comfort: So seyng that now the tyme was come, that the Erle had necessitie of all those thynges, he assured him that he would neither forget him, nor yet desist to do for him any thing, which might be consonaunt to his louing request, or frendly desire: requiryng him with the duke his sonne in law, to take pein to come to his castle of Amboys, set on the Riuer of Leyre: affirming ỳ thei should neither losé their labor, nor thynk their iorney to haue euil successe in the conclusion.

When Duke Charles knew that therle was landed in Normandie, he sent in all hast a Poste to King Lewes, with whom he was then ioyned in a league, requiryng hym neither to help with men nor money, the erle of Warwicke, nor the Duke of Clarēce, open enemies to kyng Edwarde, his felowe, frende, and brother in lawe, and his perpetuall alye and trustie confederate, adding therto sharp woordes, and minatorie saiynges, if he would in any case, be to them a refuge or succor.

The Frenche king did not onely contempne his proude wordes, and laughed at his manacyng, and bolde braggyng, but soberly answered, that without enfringyng of any league or treatie, he lawfully might & would helpe his frendes, and in especiall suche, whiche by their desertes, bee aboue other renoumed and extolled: Of whiche nombre, he affirmed therle of Warwicke to be one, whiche thyng if he did, he saied: it should be neither cost, charge, nor burthen to the Duke of one blancke, nor put hym to the pein of a moment of an houre. When the duke had certefied the kyng of Englande of this answer, he was sodainly in a dompe, and began seriously to immagyne, who were his frendes, and who were his foes, and apprehended some, whom he thought gyltie, began with them to question, who were frendes to his enemies: and of their coniuracion (whiche was the occasion that many fearing themselfes, fled vnto Sanctuary) and many trustyng the kynges pardon, submitted and yelded themself to the Kynges clemencie. Emongest whom, Ihon Marques Montacute, humbly yelded hymself, and vowed to bee euer true to the kyng (as he had doen before tyme) whom he with muche humanitie and faire woordes, did receiue and intertain, to the intent to flecte and allure the hartes of other men, to ioyne and knit with him, against all hostilitie and vtter enemies.

While these thynges were thus treated in Englande, therle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, rode with greate pompe toward Amboyse, where the Frenche kyng laie, and by the way the people gathered and in greate nombre flocked, to se and beholde with their iyes, the persone and visage of hym, of whose valiant actes and wonderfull dooynges, their eares haue many tymes been fulfilled and replenished. Whē he came to the kynges presence, he was with all kyndes of curtesie and humanitie receiued and welcomed: To whom by long tracte of tyme, he declared the causes & consideracions, of his commyng into Fraunce. Kyng Lewes aswell hauyng nowe delectacion, with the presence of his frende as he was accustomed to reioyse and be ioyous, when he harde either laude or praise of him in his absence: promised hym his power, his riches, and all thynges that he might or could doo, to helpe hym in his trouble, and to refreshe hym in his aduersitie.

When

When Quene Margarete, whiche soiorned with Duke Reyner her father, called kyng of Sicile, &c. Harde tell that the erle of Warwicke and the Duke of Clarence, had abandoned Englande, and wer come to the Frenche Courte: hopyng of newe comfort, with all diligence came to Amboyse, with her onely son Prince Edward. And with her came Iasper erle of Penbroke, and Ihon erle of Oxenford, whiche after diuerse long imprisonmentes lately escaped, fled out of Englande into Fraunce and came by fortune to this assemble. After that thei had long cõmoned, and debated diuerse matters, concernyng their suretie and wealthe, they determined by meane of the Frenche kyng, to conclude a league and a treatie betwene them: And first to begin with all, for the more sure foundacion of the newe amitie, Edward Prince of Wales, wedded Anne second daughter to therle of Warwicke, which Lady came with her mother into Fraunce. This mariage semed very straunge to wise men, considerynge that the erle of Warwicke, had first disherited the father, and then to cause his sonne, to mary with one of his daughters, whose suster the duke of Clarence before had maried, whiche was euer extreme enemie to the house of Lancaster: wherevpon they diuined that the mariage of the Prince, should euer be a blot in the dukes iye, or the mariage of the Duke, a mote in the iye of the Prince, eche of them lokyng to be exalted, when therle on hym smiled: and eche of them again thinkyng to be ouer thrown when the erle of hym lowred. After this mariage the duke and therles toke a solempne othe, that they should neuer leaue the warre, vntill suche tyme as kyng Henry the sixt, or the prince his sonne, were restored to the full possession and Diademe of the Realme: and that the Quene and the Prince, should depute and appoynt the Duke and the erle, to be gouernors and conseruators, of the publique wealthe, till suche tyme as the Prince wer come to mannes estate, and of habilitie meete and conuenient, to take vpon hym so high a charge, and so greate a burden. There were many other condicions concluded, which bothe reason, & the weightines of so great a busines, required to be setforward.

While these Lordes wer thus in the Frenche Courte, there landed at Caleis a damosell, belongyng to the Duches of Clarence (as she saied) whiche made Monsire de Vawclere beleue, that she was sent from kyng Edwarde to the erle of Warwicke, with a plain ouerture and declaracio of peace. Of the which tidynges, Vawclere was very glad for the erles sake, whom he thought (by this peace) to bee restored to all his old possessions, romes and dignities. But he was sore by this damosel deceiued for her message (as it after proued) was the beginnyng of the erles confusion. For she perswaded the Duke of Clarence, that it was neither naturall, nor honorable to hym, either to condiscende or take parte, against the house of Yorke (of whiche he was lineally discended) and to set vp again the house of Lancastre, whiche lignage of the house of Yorke, was not only by the whole Parliament of the realme, declared to be the very and indubitate heires of the Kyngdome: but also kyng Henry the sixte and his bloud affirmed thesame, and thervpon made a composicion, whiche of record appereth. Farthermore she declared, that the mariage with therles daughter with Prince Edward, was for none other cause but to make the Prince kyng, and clerely to extinguishe all the house of Yorke, of whom the duke hymself was one, and next heire to the croune, after his eldest brother and his children. These reasons, and the mariage of the Prince to the Erles daughter, so sancke in the Dukes stomacke, that he promised at his returne, not to be so an extreme enemie to his brother, as he was taken for, whiche promise afterwarde he did not forget. With this answere the damosell departed into Englande, therle of Warwicke therof beyng clerely ignoraunt.

When the league was concluded (as you before haue harde) the Frenche kyng lent them shippes, money, and men, and that thei mighte the surer saile into Englande, he appoynted the Bastard of Burgoyn, Admirall of Fraunce with a greate nauie, to defende theim against the armie of the Duke of Burgoyne, whiche was stronger then bothe the Frenche kynges nauie, or the Englishe flete. Kyng Reyner also did help his daughter, to his smal power, with menne, and municions of warre. When this armie (whiche was not small) was conscribed and come together to Harflete, at the mouthe of the riuer of Seyne, expectyng wind

and wether. The Erle of Warwicke receiued letters out of Englande, that men so muche daily and hourely, desired and wished so sore his arriual and returne, that almoste all men were in harnesse, lokyng for his landyng: wherefore he was required to make hast, yea, hast more then hast, although he brought no succor with hym. For he was farther assured, that assone as he had once taken lande, there should mete hym many thousandes (as after it proued in deede) to do hym what seruice or pleasure, thei could or might: all this was the offer of the cõmon people. Beside this diuerse noble men wrote, to helpe hym with mẽ, harnesse, money, and all thynges necessary for the warre: beside their awne persones, whom thei promised to aduenture in his quereli. When therle had receiued these letters, he not a litle regardyng suche an offer, and so many greate benefites to hym, euen at hande apparauntly proffered, fully determined with the duke, and the erles of Oxenford and Penbroke (because Quene Margaret and her sonne, were not fully yet furnished for suche a iorney) to go before with part of the nauie, and part of thармie, and to attempt the firste brunte of fortune and chaunce, whiche if it well succeded, then should Quene Margarete and her soonne, with the residue of the nauie and people followe into Englande. The erle of Warwick thinking this weighty matter, not worthy to be lingered, but to be accelerate with al diligence possible, takyng his leue of the Frẽche kyng Lowes, geuyng him no small thanks, bothe on the behalfe of kyng Henry, and also for his awne parte, and so beyng dismissed, came where his nauie laie at Anker, commaundyng his men to go on ship bord, myndyng to take his course toward Englande.

The Duke of Burgoyn whiche was not content, that therle of Warwicke and his compaignie, was succored and aided of the French kyng against his brother in lawe kyng Edward of England, to withstande that armie, and to take therle of Warwicke prisoner, if it were possible. He prepared suche a greate nauie, as lightly hath not been sene before, gathered in maner of all nacions, whiche armie laie at the mouthe of Seyne, ready to fight with therle of Warwicke, when he should set out of his harborowe.

Se the worke of God, thesame night before the erle departed, ther rose such a sodain wynde and a terrible tempest, that the dukes shippes wer scatered one from another, some drouned, some wether driuen into Scotland, so that two of them wer not in compaignie together, in one place. In the morning next folowyng, the wether wexed faire, and the wynde prosperous, wherupõ in hope of a bone voiage, the Erle and his company halsed vp their sayles, and with good spede lãded at Dartmouth in Deuonshyre, from which place he passed into Fraũce, almost the. vj. monethe, last passed.

Before this tyme the duke of Burgoyne Charles, which more hated the Erle of Warwycke, and enuied his prosperitie, then he loued kyng Edward, sauyng for his ayde & he trusted of in tyme of necessitie, wrote to kynge Edwarde, bothe of the doynges of the erle of Warwycke in Fraunce, and of his armye and power, and also certefied hym by hys trusty seruaũtes of the place, where the Erle purposed with all his people to take lande, kynge Edward passed litle on the matter, trustynge to much to the mouable commons of his Realme, and without anye army layd, either to kepe the Erle from landyng, either to encoũtre wyth hym at the first arryuall, to the entent that his frẽdes should not draw in hepes to hym for his strength, left all purueiance for defẽce alone, & rode on huntyng, Hawkyng, and vsing all maner of pastimes, with Ladyes and Damosels, for his disport and solace that could be imagened or inuented. When the erle of Warwycke had taken lãde, he made a Proclamation in the name of kyng Henry the. vi. vpon high paynes, commaunding and charging all men apt, or able to bere armour, to prepare them selfs to fight against Edward duke of Yorke, which contrarye to al right, Iustice and law, had vntrewly vsurped the Croune and Imperial dignite of this realme. It is almost incredible to thinke how sone the fame of the erles landyng was blowen ouer, and thorow all the whole Realme, and how many thousand men of warre, at the very first tidinges of his landing, were sodaynly assembled and set forwarde to welcome him. When he was thus, according to hys desire, fully furnished on euery syde with his kynred & frendes,

he

he toke his way toward London, where he iudged and faythfully beleued, to fynde more open frendes then priuie enemies, or cancard hartes.

When kyng Edward knew of the Erles landynge, and of the great repayre of people, that to him incessantly without intermission dyd resorte, he then began to thynke on his busines, and studied how to fynd a remedy for a mischief, (but this was to late) And first he wrote to the Duke of Burgoyne, requyring hym to haue a vigilant eye to the sea, and so to se the stremes kept and scoured with his nauie, that the Erle neither should nor might returne agayn into Fraunce, if he shoulde be agayne propulsed out of the Realme. And as for the doynges in Englande he bad let hym alone, for he was both of puissance and abilitie, sufficient to ouercome and defende all his enemies and rebelles, within his awne Realme and countrey. This saiyng littel or nothing pleased the duke of Burgoynes messengers, for they thought that it had bene muche more profitable to kyng Edward, to haue circumspectly forsene afore, and prouided to stoppe his landyng, then now sodaynly to abide the fortune of battayle, which is euer dubious and vncertayne. Kynge Edward accompanyed with the duke of Glocester his brother, the lord Hastynges his Chamberleyn, which had maried the Erles sister, & yet was euer trew to the kyng his Master, and the lord Scales brother to the Quene, sent out curriers to al his trustye frendes, for the fornyture of able persons, mete for the warre and conueniente for the defence of his awne royall person, entending if he might by any pollicie or subtill engyn to circumuent or trappe the erle of Warwycke, knowing perfitly that if he had once mastred the chief belwether, the flocke wolde sone be dispersed.

Of them that were sent for, fewe in effect came, and yet more came then were willyng, and more came willingly then were betrusted, some came for feare, and some muche doughted to come, but the greatest heddes wynked and sayd they could not, but they ment they would not come. Kyng Edward beyng in this perplexitie, and in diffidence of reysyng any army, with such trusty frendes as he had departed, into Lyncolnshyre, consulting what was best to be done, but sodainly or he was fully determined on any certayn purpose, newes were brought to hym, that all the Townes and all the countrey adiacent was in a great rore, and made fiers and sang songes, cryeng kynge Henry, kyng Henry, a Warwycke a Warwycke. King Edward was much abashed with these new tidynges, and more and more, his especials and explorators declared and accopted to hym, that all the Realme was vp, and by open Proclamacion comaunded to make warre agaynst him, as enemy to kynge Henry and the Realme, wherfore his nere frendes aduised and admonished him to flye ouer the sea to the duke of Burgoyne, hys brother in lawe, there to tary tyll God and fortune should sende him better luck and chaunce, he beyng somwhat ruled by this consayl, but much more quickened by hauyng knowledge, that some of the erles of Warwyckes power was within a halfe dayes iorney, and lesse of his tayle, with all hast possible passed the wasshes (in greater ieopardye then it besemed a Prince to be in) & came to the towne of Lynne, where he founde an English shyp &. ii. Hulkes of Hollād redy (as fortune wolde) to make sayle and take their iorney, wherupon he beyng in a marueilous agonye and doughtyng the mutabilite of the Townes men, takyng no farther leysure for his sure succor & sauegard, with his brother the duke of Glocester, the lord Scales, & diuers other his trusty frendes entered into the ship, without bagge or bagage, without clothe sacke, or male, and perchaunce with a great purse, & littel treasure, for he nor his had no leyser to prouyde, according to their degrees & estates. The lord Chamberlayne taryed a while after exhortyng all his acquayntance, that of necessitie should tarye behynde, to shew them self openly as frēdes, to the parte aduerse for their awne sauegard, but hartely requiryng them priuelie to cōtinew in their hartes trew to kyng Edward, & frendly to him & his: this persuasion declared he entered, the ship with the other, which were redy to depart. This was in the yere of our lordes blessed incarnacion. M. iv. C. lxx. & in the. ix. yere of kynge Edward: When he with one smal ship of hys awn, &. ii. Hulkes, &. vii. or. viii. C. persones, with him hauyng no rayment, but apparel for warre, & smal store of money, sailed toward

Holland. At which tyme the Easterlynges were mortal enemyes, aswell to the Englishmen as to the Frenche nacion, & had done ỹ last yeres past much preiudice & domage to the Englishe marchantes, both in takyng and spoylyng of shyppes.

And as the kyng with sayle and ower was makynge his course as fast as could be possible, the Easterlynges, whiche had many shippes of warre on the sea, hym espied (accordyng to the olde prouerbe) one yll commeth neuer alone, and with. vii. or. viii. gallant shyppes, began to chace the kyng & his cõpany. The kynges shyp was good with sayle, & so much gat of the Easterlinges, that she came on the coast of Holland, and so discended lower, before a towne in Holland, called Alquemare, and there cast Ancker as nere the towns as was possible, because they could not enter the Hauen at an ebbyng water. The Easterlynges also approched the Englishe shippe as nere as their great shyppes coulde come at the lowe water, entending at the fludde to haue obteyned their pray, and so they were likely to do, if Monsieur de Gronture, gouernour for duke Charles in Holland had not at that season bene personally present in those parties.

O what a miscrable chaunce & straũge lucke was this to happen so sodaynly to a kyng, and in especial to such a kyng, as by his owne valyantnesse & prowes had ouercome his foes, & destroyed his enemyes in more then. v. or. vi. great & mortal battayles. First to be persecuted, exiled, & expulsed hys awne Realme & kyngdom, by hys awne seruantes, subiectes and kynsmen. Secondarely, beyng destitute of all helpe and consolacion, flyeng to his onely frende & brother in law duke Charles, for refuge and comfort, to be chased on the sea by hys mortall enemyes and deadly foes, & lyke to be taken prisoner, and brought into captiuitie, which thyng, if it had happened (as God woulde that it should not) he had lyen long vnraunsoned (kyng Henry beyng restored to hys pristinate estate and dignitie royall) or els he had dyed prisoner in greate wretchednes & misery. These soure sauces he tasted as a penaunce for his wanton liuyng, & negligent ouerseyng of thinges that he mighte well haue forsene & preuented, but his mynd was so geuen to pastyme, dalyaunce, & sensuall pleasure, that he forgat the olde adage, sayngc, in tyme of peace prouyde for warre, & in ỹ time of warre prouide for peace which thing if he either had well remẽbred, or politiquely prouided for he had not bene chaced & expulsed his Realme within. xi. dayes as he was in dede. The onely excuse of his foly is to say, that he so much trusted fortunes flatteryng, that he thought neuer to see her chaunge, nor yet to haue at dyce any yll chaunce, or at chestes any checke mate.

Kyng Edward thus lyeng at Ancker in great feare of the Easterlinges, was by good chaunce cõforted, & of his great perplexite releued, or he wist how, for thesame tyme laye in the towne of Alquemare the lord Gronture, chief gouernour of Hollande, for duke Charles of Borgoyne, which beyng incontinent aduertised of the kynges arryuall, & also of the great ieopardy that he was in, prohibited firste the Easterlinges in no wyse on payne of death, to intermit or medle with any Englishmẽ which were both the dukes frendes & alies: which commaundement so vexed and troubled the Easterlinges, makyng sure reconynge to haue had for their pray & pryse, a Kyng, a Duke, diuers Barons & ryche gẽtelmen, that they cryed out of God, rayled & cursed the duke & hys officer, and in a rage, halsed vp theyr sailes, & without any more expectaciõ of good lucke, departed home to their countray. The lorde Gronture came a borde ỹ shyppe, where kyng Edward was, & hym honorably saluted & requyred him to come to lãd, offering hĩ his seruice with al pleasures that he coulde do or imagine to be done. The kynge hym hartely thanked, & was wel reuiued & cõforted with his wordes, & so he with al hys company were set on land, & wel refreshed. The lord Gronture, lyke a noble man, cõsidering in what poore, estate & necessitie the king & his people were in, ministred to them habundantly all thinges conuenient & necessary, according to euery mans estate and degree, at the dukes charge & cost. And after they had bene wel refreshed & newly appareyled, he conduyted them to the Hage, a ryche towne in Holland, where they arryued on the churche holy daye, not longe after Mychelmas. The lord Gronture, of all this aduenture wrote to the duke hys master,

master, which there at, was at the fyrst so abasshed & amased to se ỹ erle of Warwyke, whome he hated more then a Cocodrylle, to haue the vpperhande of hys brother, that he had rather haue harde of kynge Edwardes death, then of hys discomfiture, & especially by the erle of Warwycke, whom he more feared & disdayned, then any one man liuynge, yet he willed the lord Gronture to se hym & hys company, well enterteyned at the Hage, tyll he sent for them.

Now let all Englishmen consider (as before is rehersed) what profyt, what commoditie, & what helpe in distresse, the mariage of the lady Margarete, kyng Edwardes syster to the. duke Charles, did to hym in hys extreme necessitie: & but by that meane vncurable extremitie, for his alyes & cõferates in Castell & Arragon, were to farre from hym, either spedely to flye to, or shortly to come fro with any ayde or armye. The French kyng was his extreme enemye, and frende to kynge Henry, for whose cause in the kyng of Scottes (for all the leage betwene them) he did put littell confidence & lesse truste. The stedes & all Eastland were with him at open warre, & yet by thys mariage, God prouided hym a place to flye to, both for refuge & for releue.

When the fame was spred of kynge Edwardes flyenge, innumerable people resorted to the erle of Warwycke to take his parte, but all kyng Edwardes trusty frendes went to diuers sentuaries, dayly loking, & howerly harkening, to hear of his health, & prosperous retorne who afterward serued hym manfully & truly. Emongest other, Quene Elizabeth his wyfe, all moste desperate of all comfort, toke sentuarye at Westmynster, & their in great penurie forsakē of all her frendes, was deliuered of a fayre sonne called Edwarde, which was with small pōpe like a pore mans child Christened & Baptised, the Godfathers being the Abbot & Pryor of Westmynster, & the godmother the lady Scrope. Kynge Edward the. v. borne in sanctuary.

The Kentyshmen thys season, whose wyttes be euer mouable at the chaunge of Prynces came to the subberbes of London, & spoyled houses, robbed herehouses, & by the counsayll of syr Geffray Gates, & other sentuary men, they brake vp the kynges Benche, & deliuered prisoners, which fell at Radclefe, Lymehouse, & sainct Katherynes to burnynge of houses, slaughter of people, & rauishyng of women: which small sparcle had growen to a greater flame, if the erle of Warwycke with a greate power had not sodaynly quenched it, & punished the offendors: whiche benefite by him done, caused hym much more to be praysed & accepted emonges the commons then he was before. When he had setteled & put an order in all thinges, according as he thought most conuenient, Vpō the. xii. daye of October he rode to the towre of London, whiche was to him without resistence deliuered, there toke kyng Henry the vi. out of the warde, where he before was kept, & was brought to the kings lodging & there serued, according to his degre. And the. xxv. daye of the sayd moneth, the duke of Clarence accompanied with the erles of Warwycke, Shrewsbury, & the lord Stanley, & other lordes & Gentelmen, some for feare, & some for loue, and some onely to gase at the wauering world, resorted with a greate company to the towre of London, & from thence with great pompe broughte kynge Henry the. vi. appareled in a longe gowne of blew veluet, through the high streates of London, to the cathedral church of sainct Paule, the people on the right hand and on the left hand, reioysing & cryeng God saue the Kynge, as though all thyng had succeded as they would haue it, and when he had offered as kynges vse to do, he was conueyed to the palleys of the bishop of London, and there kept hys housholde lyke a kynge.

King Henry the. vi. thus readepted (by the meanes, onely of ỹ erle of Warwycke) his croune & dignitie Royall, in the yere of oure Lorde 1471. newly, after so many ouerthrowes beginnynge to reygne, lykely within short space to fall agayn, & to taste more of his accustomed captiuitie & vsuall misery. This yll chaūce & misfortune, by many mēs opinios happened to him, because he was a man of no great wit, such as men comonly call an Innocent man, neither a foole, neither very wyse, whose study always was more to excell, either in Godly liuynge & vertuous example, then in worldly regiment, or temporall dominion, in so much, that in cõparison to the study & delectacion that he had to vertue Kyng Henry the. vi. agayne restored to his kyngly estate.

and godlines; he littel regarded, but in manner despised al worldly power & temporal authoritie, which syldome folow or seke after such persons, as frō them flye or disdayne to take them. But his enemies ascribed all this to hys coward stommack, afferming that he was a man apt to no purpose, nor mete for any enterprise, were it neuer so small: But who so euer dispiseth or dispraiseth, that which the cōmon people allow and marueyll at, is often taken of them for a mad & vndiscrete person, but notwithstandyng the vulgare opinio, he that foloweth, loueth and embraseth the contrary, doth proue bothe sad and wyse (verifieng Salomons prouerbe) the wisedom of this world, is folishenes before God. Other there be that ascribe his infortunitie, onely to the stroke & punishment of God, afferming that the kyngdome, whiche Henry the. iiii. hys grandfather wrongfully gat, and vniustly possessed agaynst kyng Rychard the. ii. & his heyres could not by very diuyne iustice, longe contynew in that iniurious stocke: And that therfore God by his diuine prouidence, punished the offence of the grandfather, in the sonnes sonne.

When kyng Henry had thus obteined agayn, the possession & dominion of the Realme, he called his high court of Parliament to begin ỹ xxvi. day of Nouember at Westminster, in the which kyng Edwarde was declared a traytor to his coūtrey, & vsurpor of ỹ Realme, because he had vniustly taken on him, the Croune & Scepter, & all his goodes were cōfiscate & adiudged, forfayted: & lyke sentence was geuen agaynst all his partakers & frēdes. And beside this, it was there enacted that extreme punishment should be done without delay ouer suche persons, as for his cause were taken or apprehended, & were either in captiuitie, or went at large vpon trust of their suerties, emongest whom lord Ihon Typtoft, erle of Worcester lieuetenant, for king Edward in Ireland exercising there more extreme crueltie (as the fame wēt) then princely pity, or charitable cōpassion & in especial on. ii. enfantes, being sonnes to the erle of Desmōd, was either for treason to him layed or malice agaynst hym conceyued, atteynted & behedded. Beside this, all estatutes made by king Edward, were clerely reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate. The Crounes of the realmes of England & Fraūce, was by ỹ authoritie of thesame Parliament entayled to kyng Henry the. vi. and the heyres males of hys body lawfully begotten, & for default of suche heyre male of his body begotten, then ỹ sayd Crounes & dignities were entayled to George duke of Clarence, & to theyres males of hys bodye lawfully engendred, and farther the sayd Duke was by authoritie aforesayd enabled to be next heyre to hys father, Richard duke of Yorke, & to take by discent from him all hys landes, dignities & preheminences as though he had ben his eldest sonne & heyre, at the tyme of his death. Iasper erle of Penbroke, and Ihon erle of Oxenford, and diuers other by kyng Edward attaynted, were restored to theyr olde names, possessions, and auncient dignities (kepe them euen as longe as they myght) Beside this, the erle of Warwycke as one to whome the cōmō welthe was much beholden, was made Ruler, & Gouernor of the Realme, with whom as felow and compaignion was associated, George duke of Clarence his sonne in law. So that by these meanes the whole estate, both of the realme, and the publique wealth of the same, wer newly altered and chaunged, yea, and in maner clerely transfigured and transmuted. To this Parliament came the lorde Marques Montacute, excusyng himself that onely for feare of death, he declined to kyng Edwardes parte, whiche excuse was so accepted that he obteined his pardon, which, after was the destruccion, of him and his brother: For if he had manfully and appartly taken kyng Edwardes parte, surely he beyng an open enemie, had much lesse hurted, then beyng a fained, false and a coloured frende: for suche thynges as wee se before our iyes, we bee well ware of, and seldome thynges before knowen, do vs any hurt or preiudice.

Quene Margaret after that the erle of Warwicke was sailed into England, euer forcastyng and doubtyng, the chaunce that might happen, did neuer cease to praie to God, to sende victory to her frendes and confederates: whiche, when she knewe by her husbandes letters to bee obteigned, she with Prince Edwarde her sonne, and her trayne, entered their shippes, to take their voyage into Englande: but the Wynter was so sore, the wether so

stormie, and the wynde sō contrariant, that she was fain to take land again, and defer her iorney till another season. Her enemies saied, that it was Goddes iuste prouision, that she whiche had been the occasion of so many battailes, and of so muche manslaughter in Englande, should neuer returne thether again, to doo more mischief. Her frendes on the otherside, said, that she was kept awaie, and her iorney empeched by Sorcerers and Necromanciers: thus as mennes inmaginacions ranne, their toungues clacked.

In this season Iasper erle of Penbroke, went into Wales, to visite his Countie of Penbroke, where he found lord Henry, sonne to his brother Edmond Erle of Richmond, hauyng not fully ten yeres of his age complete, whiche was kept in maner like a captiue: but well and honorably educated, and in all kynde of Ciuilitie brought vp, by the Lady Harbert, late wyfe to Willyam Erle of Penbroke, beheded at Banbery, as you before haue hard. This lorde Henry was he, that after king Richarde, brother to kyng Edwarde, was vanquished and ouerthrowen, obteined the Crowne and regalitie of this Realme, whom wee ought to beleue, to be sent from God, and of hym onely to be prouided a kyng, for to extinguish bothe the faccions and partes, of kyng Henry the. vi. and of kyng Edwarde the. iiii. (whiche had almoste brought the nobilitie of this realme, to a finall destruccion and vtter decaye) considerynge, that he once exalted to that dignitie, nothing more mynded, nor to any one thyng more his studie applied: This Henry was borne of Margaret, the onely doughter and heire, to Ihon the first Duke of Somerset, then not beyng fully of. xiiii. yeres of age. The whiche Lady Margaret, although she were after conioyned in mariage, with Lorde Henry sonne to Humfrey duke of Buckyngham, and after to Thomas Stāley erle of Darby, bothe beyng lustie, and of age mete for generaciō: yet afterward she brought furthe no more fruite, as though she had done her part sufficiently, for to haue borne one man child, and thesame to be a kyng. Iasper erle of Penbroke toke this child beyng his nephew out of the custodie of the Lady Harbert, and at his returne, he brought the childe to London, to kyng Henry the sixte, whom, when the kyng had a good space by himself, secretly beholden and marked, both his wit and his likely towardnes, he said to suche princes, as were then with hym: Lo, surely this is he, to whom both wee and our aduersaries leuyng the possession of all thynges, shall hereafter geue rome and place. So this holy man shewed before, the chaunce that should happen, that this erle Henry so ordeined by God, should in tyme to come (as he did in deede) haue and enioye the kyngdome, and the whole rule of the realme. This was Kyng Henry the tenth.

As I haue shewed to you before, what thynges wer done in Englāde after that kyng Henry had obteined the newe possession, of his old kyngdome, thynkyng surely to haue possessed, and enioyed thesame lenger season then either he did, or could by his aduersaries, bee permitted or suffered to do: so must I of congruent necessitie declare vnto you, what greate perplexitie, what sodain trouble, what multiplicitie of immaginacions, the landyng of kyng Edward in Friseland, brought to and encombered with all, Charles Duke of Burgoyn: and how fraudulently for his awne auauntage he dissimuled, first with king Edward, and after with his partie aduerse, and how that he openly denied aid to king Edward, when he priuily ministered; ample and large succors to hym and his. I thynke you would not, that these thynges should be forgotten: wherfore you must call to remembraunce, how that Duke Charles had before this (as you haue hard) greate intelligence with Monsire de Vawclere, as he list hymself to be called, either chief Capitain of Caleis or els deputie Capitain, to the erle of Warwicke, whiche had promised to hym by the Duke, a pencion yerely of a thousand Crounes, to the intent to stande still true to king Edward, and to relinquishe kyng Henry, but in especial to abandon therle of Warwicke. The duke although that he had smal confidence, but rather greate diffidence in the othe and promise of Mōsire de Vawclere: thought it necessary to knowe, in what case Caleis stode, and what mutaciōs wer there, because it was his next neighbor, (for that tyme Bulleyn, and Bullenoys, and all Artoys, were in the handes of Duke Charles) as a pledge deliuered to his father, as is before rehersed. Wherfore in al hast (before he sent for king Edward or spake with hym) he sent his trustie counsailer

counsailer Philip de Commines, accompanied with two gentlemen to Caleis, which two gentlemē fauoredmore the partie of Lancastre then of Yorke. The lorde of Argēton met with the people of the countrey of Bullenois, fliyng from euery parte like wylde dere. For the erle of Warwicke, had now lately sent to Caleis, foure hūdred archers on horsebacke, whiche foraied and spoyled all the countrey of Bullenoys. The dukes messengers, whiche had not sene so sodain mutacion of worldly thynges, durst not kepe on their iorney, but thesame night taried at Turnehan, and sent to Monsire de Vawclere for a sauecondute, and also wrote to the Duke, of the feare that they were in. The Duke sent woorde to Philip de Commines, that he and his with all spede, should passe toward Caleis, and if they there wer taken, he would shortly for a raunsom, bye or redeme them again. For he passed litle, either of the pein of his seruāt, or of his charge and expence, so that his purpose might be serued. When this woorde was brought to the messengers at Turnehan, at thesame time thei receiued a letter, from Monsire de Vawclere, with louyng wordes and gracious termes, declarying that they might safely come, and frely departe, as before they wer liberally accustomed: so that sir Phillip and his compaingnions came to Caleis, without any meting or solempne entertainment contrary to tholde fashion that he had sene. Whē thei entered the toune they might perceiue euery man, did were therle of Warwickes badge, & on euery dore wer set white Crosses and ragged staues, with rimes and poyses, which purported the French kyng, and the erle of Warwicke wer al one. These thynges semed very straunge, and nothyng pleasaunt to the Burgonions. The lorde Vawclere sent for them to diner the next day, beyng wel accompaignied, & did were on his cappe, a white ragged staffe of gold enameled, and so did many other, and he that could haue it neither of gold nor of siluer, had it of silke or cloth. This badge was taken vp within one quarter of an houre, after the newes come out of England: suche is the mutacion of the cōmon people, like a rede with euery wind is agitable & flexible. While these Burgoniōs laie thus in Caleis thei had knowledge that therle of Warwicke had prepared. iiii.M. valiaunt men, to make frontier warre on the Dukes countreis, whereof by poste they certified the Duke, whiche so fumed, and smoked at the matter, that he wist neither well what to do, nor of whom to aske confortable or wholesome counsaill. For warre he was compelled to haue with the French kyng, which had taken from him certain tounes: and if he succoured king Edward, he was sure that with the Erle of Warwicke, he should haue no peace: and if he lefte kyng Edward his confederate and alie, in the tyme of his tribulacion, disconsolate, and destitute of aid and succour, all the worlde of hym might speake shame, vnfaithfulnesse and dishonor. When the duke had well aduised this matter, he wrote to his messengers, that thei should require to haue the league made, betwene the two realmes, kept and obserued, with diuerse other priuie instruccions. Phillip de Comines, beyng wise and well learned, declared to the counsaill of Caleis, that the Duke his Master not a litle marueiled why the Englishemen should ouer runne and destroye his Countreis, hauyng a league so sure, so strong, and with so many wordes of efficacie enforced, lately made betwene the two countreis, their territories and dominions, affermyng that the mutacion of the Prince, is no dissoluciō of the league: For although the Princes be named, as chief contractors in euery treatie and amitie concluded, yet the Countreis are bounden, and the subiectes shall make recompence, if any thynge bee altered wrongfully out of his course. And the rather to obtein their desire, thei caused all the merchauntes goodes of Englande, beyng in the Dukes Countreis, to be attached for the redresse of the spoyle, that the English men had done in the Dukes Countrey. Whiche sore greued the Merchauntes, and muche hindered their voyages: beside this, the Merchātes of the Staple of Caleis, wrote to the king, and to the erle of Warwicke: how, if their Wolle and fell at Caleis, were not sold and vttered, as it was wont to be (the greatest part wherof, was bought by the Dukes subiectes and vassals for redy money) the souldiers of the garrison, should lacke their wages, the king should not be paied his custome, and the Merchaunt in conclusion should stande in aduenture, bothe of losse of stocke and credence. These perswasions mollified therle of

Warwickes

Warwickes mynde, and especially, because the kyng had no greate store of money, to furnishe Caleis with al, which store if he had had, surely the duke of Burgoyne for all the league, had been a little disturbed, and greuously molested. But consideryng that all things were not correspondent at this time to therles appetite: he was content that it should be thus condescended and agreed, that the alyannce made betwene the Realme of Englande and the Dukes dominions, should still remain inuiolated, sauyng in the stede of Edwarde, should bee put for the kyng, this name Henry. This conclusion thus brought to an ende, came (euen as a man would wishe) to passe, for the Duke of Burgoyns purpose, for at this same tyme, the Frenche kyng had wonne from hym, the faire toune of Amias, and sainct Quintines, so that if the Duke should haue had war both with Fraūce and England, he had been likely to haue been shortely a poore Duke, and els vtterly vndoen and brought to destruccion. And to pacify and please the Erle of Warwicke, whom he neuer loued and lesse fauoured: he wrote louyngly to hym declaryng that as he was lineally descended, and naturally procreated, of the noble stocke and familie of Lancaster, by his grand mother, beyng daughter to the high and mightie Prince Ihon of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: so was he by nature obliged, and by aliance enforsed to support, honor, maintein, and defend thesaid noble house and lignage, during his life, as euer he hath done, bothe in worde and deede against all maner of persones and estates: furthermore promisyng to beare his good harte, louyng mind, and frendly fauor, to kyng Henry the sixte and his sequele, before all other Princes and Potentates, with many other flatteryng termes, and glosyng wordes: which faire promises, I thynke neither the Duke hymself inwardly mynded, nor yet the erle outwardly beleued.

Now to returne to kyng Edward, beyng in the duke of Burgoyns land, whiche, although he were out of his countrey, yet did he neuer dispaire, but had a ferme hope, to haue a mature and ready occasion to him geuen, how to obtein his kyngdome and dominion, and that in shorte space. For partly, he hoped of a greate helpe, of his brother in lawe the Duke of Burgoyn, and partly, he was daily solicited by the letters and messages of men of his faccion in Englande, to returne with all spede, promising him compaignie and comforte. Many other there wer, whiche either for feare of the rigor of the law, which they had offended, or els disdainyng that the worlde was so altered: or els being brought in to kyng Edwardes fauor, had hope to exercise their pollyng romes, as they did before his fliyng out of England, daily came to him from England, and prouoked hym more and more, to take his iorney homward Kyng Edward in maner rauished with their golden promises, came to the Duke of Burgoyn, to the toune of Sent Poil, and there declared to hym what great intelligence he had in the realme of Englād, and what assured frēdes he had in thesame, requiryng hym to aide hym with spēde as his onely truste, and sole hope of relife was in him, beyng not onely his brother in law, but eche beyng compaignion of others order: for the kyng ware the golden Flees, and the duke ware the Gartier. The duke of Somerset which was cosin germain, remoued to the Duke of Burgoyn, and brought vp and had a pencion in the Dukes house. (For surely the Duke of Burgoin loued better the house of Lancastre, then the house of Yorke) sore labored to the contrary, affirming that it was bothe vngodly, vnprincely, and vnnaturall, to exalte and set vp a straunger, hauyng no right, and to depose and depriue his naturall kynsman, hauyng a iuste title discended to hym, from the kyng his father, & the kyng his grandfather, from his scepter and regalitie. Duke Charles was in a great perplexitie, not knowyng well what to say, whether consanguinitie should preuaile more, or affinitie, or nature before fauor, not willyng if he might, to displease any of bothe the parties. But because the warre was ouert at his very nose, with the French king: he concluded openly (but intending another thing secretly) to aide the duke of Somerset, and other that were with hym, takyng of them certain promises, for thynges to be done against the erle of Warwicke: when they should espie their tyme, moste propice and conuenient: The duke of Somerset ioyous of these newes, sailed into Englande, and made report to Kyng Henry, Kyng Edward was present,

and heard all this determinacion, whiche brought him into a great beaulnes, and a depe perplexitie: how beit, he was priuely aduertised by a frende, that these cloked dissimulacions, were only for this cause, that Duke Charles would in nowise, haue warre with both the realmes at-once, and further, if thesaid duke were put to the worse, or vanquished by the French kyng, then he were not able, neither to aide, not to succor king Edward. Wherfore to blind with al the French kyng, whiche sore desired, that the duke might haue warre with England: for then he knewe that his enterprise, were more then halfe gotten. The Duke declared openly that he would in nowise minister any succors to kyng Edward, streightly chargyng & commaūdyng, vpon peyne of the harte, that no man should once passe the sea with hym, or in his armie. But all this proclamacion notwithstandyng when the duke saw that kyng Edward, vpō hope of his frendes, would nedes repaire into England again (he hauyng cōpassion of his vnfortunate chaunce) caused priuily to be deliuered to him fiftie. M. Florence, of the crosse of sainct Andrewe, and further caused foure greate shippes to be appoynted for him, in the hauen of Vere in Zelande, which is fre for al men to come to, and the Duke hired farther for hym. xiiij. shippes of the Esterlynges, well appoynted, and for the more suretie, toke bonde of thē to serue them truly, till he wer landed in England, and. xv. daies after. Of which returnyng, the Esterlynges were glad, trustyng that by that meane, if he obteined again the possession of the realme, they shoud the soner come to a concord and a peace, and to the restitucion of their liberties and franchises, which they claimed to haue within England. The Duke of Burgoyn as men reported, cared not much on whose side the victory fell, sauyng for paimēt of his money. For he would oft saie that he was frend to both partes and eche part was frendly to hym.

THE. X. YERE.

The. x. yere. KYng Edwarde beeyng thus furnished, thought nothyng more peinfull & wretched, then the tariyng of one daie lenger, nor nothyng more to be desired, then with all celerite to saile toward his countrey: whervpon hauyng with hym onely. ii. M. men of warre, beside mariners in the spring of the yere. In the yere of our Lorde. 1461. at thesame very season, that the Duke of Burgoyn, went to fight with the French kyng at Amias. He sailed into England, and came on the cost of Yorke shire, to a place called Raueuspurr, and there settyng all his men on lande, he consulted with his Capitaines to knowe to what place, they should first for succor resort vnto: for he imagined that no waie could be for hym sure, hauyng so small a company of souldiours.

Kyng Edwardes landyng.

After long debatyng, it was concluded, that diuerse persones hauyng light horses, should skoure the countrey on euery side, to se if by any perswasions, they might allure the hartes of the rusticall and vplandishe people, to take kyng Edwardes part, and to were harnes in his quarel: which, with all diligence, folowed their cōmission. It semeth somewhat to leane to the truthe, that kyng Edward beyng a wise and a circūspecte Prince, would not haue been so foolishe hardy, as to enter Englande with a halfe a handfull of men of warre, excepte he had been sure of spedy succor, and faithfull frendship: in whiche argument is no doubte, but that the Duke of Clarence and he, were secretly agreed before, and that the Marques Montacute, had secretly procured his fauor, of which prinie signes and cloked workynges, open tokens, & manifest doynges, afterward appered. The light horsemen whiche were sent about, after they had felte the myndes and ententes, of the rude people (as much as they might) they returned to kyng Edward the nexte daie, makyng relacion that all the tounes round about, wer permanent and stiffe on the parte of kyng Henry, and could not be remoued: and that it was but a folye farther to solicite or attempt them, considerynge that when they were moued and exhorted too be trew too kynge Edwarde, not one man durste speke for fere of the Erle of Warwycke.

Which aunswere, when kynge Edwarde had perfitly digested, of very necessitie he chaunged hys purpose: for where before his clayme was to be restored to the croune and kyngdome

kyngdome of England, nowe he caused it to be published that he only claymed the Duchie of Yorke, to ỹ entent that in requyryng nothyng, but that which was bothe trew and honest, he might obtayne the more fauor of the common people. It was almost incredible to se what effect this new imaginacion (all thoughe it were but fayned) sorted and toke immediatly vpon the fyrst opening (Such a power hath Iustice euer emõgest all men) whē it was blowen abrode that kyng Edwardes desyre was farther from nothyng, then from the couetyng or desyre of the kyngdome and royall dominion, and that he no erthely promocion desyred before hys iust patrimony, and lyneall enheritance: All men moued with mercye and compassion, began out of hande either to fauor hym or els not to resist him, so that he mighte obteyne his duchye of Yorke, when he had founde these meanes to pacifie mens myndes, and to reconcile their hartes, he determined to take hys iorney toward Yorke, and so went to Beuerley. The erle of Warwycke which then lay in Warwykeshyre, beyng enformed that king Edward was landed, and goyng toward Yorke, with all hast wrote to the marques Montacute hys brother, whiche had lyen at the castel of Pomfret all the laste wynter, with a great company of Souldears, geuynge hym warnyng, and aduertesyng him in what perill their whole affayres stode in if their enemy should obtayne the possessiõ, or entre into the citie of Yorke, willyng and commaunding him to set on kyng Edward with all expedicion, & byd hym battayle, or els to kepe the passage, that he should passe no farther, tyll he hym self had gathered a greater host, which with all diligence, he was assemblynge to come and ioyne with hys brother the Marques. And because that the erle knew not by what way hys enemies wolde take their iorney, he wrote to all the townes of Yorkeshyre, and to the citie also, commaundyng all men on the kynges behalfe to be redy in harnes, and to shutte their gates against the kynges enemyes. Kyng Edward without any wordes spoken to him, came peaceably nere to Yorke, of whose comynge, when the citezens were certefied, without delay they armed them selfe, and came to defend the gates sendyng to hym two of the chiefest Aldermen of the citie, whiche ernestly admonished hym on their behalfe to come not one foote nerar, nor temerariously to enter in to so great a ieopardy, considering that they were fully determined, and bent to cõpel hym to retract with dēt of swourd, kyng Edward markyng well their message, was not a littell trobled and vnquieted in hys mynde, and driuen to seke the furthest poynt of hys wit, for he had both two mischieuous and perilous chaunces, euen before his eyes, which were hard to be euaded or refelled, one was if he should go backe agayn, he feared lest the rurall and commen people for couetеousnes of pray, and spoyle, would fall on hym, as one that fled away for feare & dreade. The other was, if he shoulde procede any farther in hys iorney, then myght the citiezens of Yorke issue out with all their power, and sodaynly circũuent hym and take hym, wherfore he determined to set forward, neither with army nor with weapon: but with lowly wordes, and gentel entreatynges, requyryng most hartely the messengers that were sent, to declare to ỹ citizens, that he came neither to demaunde the realme of Englande, nor the superioritie of the same, but onely the duchie of Yorke his olde enheritance, the which duchie, if he might by their meanes readept and recouer he woulde neuer passe out of hys memorie so great a benefite, and so frendly a gratuitie to hym exhibited. And so with fayre wordes and flatteryng speche he dismissed the messengers, and with good spede he and his folowed so quickly after that they were almost at ỹ gates as sone as the Ambassadors. The citezens heryng his good answere, that he ment, nor entended nothynge preiudiciall to kynge Henry, nor his royall authoritie, were much mitigated & cooled, & began to commen with hym from their walles, willyng him to conuey hym selfe in to some other place without delay, which if he did they assured hym ỹ he should haue neither hurte nor damage, but he gently speakyng to all men, and especially to suche as were aldermen whome he called worshipfull, and by their proper names them saluted, after many fayre promises to them made, exhorted and desyred them that by their fauorable frendshyp, & frendly permissiõ he might enter in to his awne towne, of the which he had both his name and title. Al the whole daye was consumed in doutfull communicacion and ern estinterlocution. The citiezens partely wone by hys fayre wordes, and partly by hope

of hys large promises, fell to this pact & conuecion, that if kyng Edward woulde swere to entertayne hys citiezens of Yorke after a gentell sorte & fashyon, and here after to be obedient, and faythfull to all kyng Henryes commaundementes and preceptes. that then they woulde receyue hym into their citie, & ayde and cõfort hym with money. Kyng Edward (whome the citezens called onely duke of Yorke) beyng glad of this fortunate chaunce, in the next mornyng, at ỹ gate where he should enter, a Priest beyng redy to say masse, in ỹ masse tyme, receyuyng the body of our blessed Sauior, solemply swearyng to kepe and obserue the two Articles abone mencioned, and agreed vpon, when it was far vnlike, that he either entended or purposed to obserue any of them, which plainly afterward was to all men manifest, euidẽtly perceyuyng, that he toke no more studye or diligẽce for any one earthly thyng, then he dyd to persecute kyng Henry, & to spoile him of his kingdome. So it is dayly sene that aswel princes, as men of lesser reputatiõ led by blynd auarice and deuelish ambicion, forgettynge the scruple of conscience, & the ende of all honestie, vse, to take an othe by ỹ immortal God which they know perfitly, shalbe broke & violate hereafter, before the othe be fyrst made or sworne: yet these persons (as examples, thereof be not very straunge to fynde) at one tyme or other be worthely scorged for their periurie, in so much oftentymes that the blot of suche offence of the parentes is punished in the sequele & posteritie: of this thynge I may fortune to speke more in the lyfe of Rycharde the. iii. as the cause shall arise, where it may euidẽtly appeare, that the progeny of kyng Edward escaped not vntouched for this open periurie.

Kyng Edwardes othe of obedience to kyng Henry the. vi.

When kyng Edward had appesed the citiezens, and that their fury was past, he entred in to the citie, & clerely forgettinge his othe, he first set a garrison of Souldiers in the towne, to the entent ỹ nothyng should be moued agaynst hym by the citezens, & after he gathered a great host, by reason of his money. Whẽ all thing was redy, according as he desyred, because he was enformed that his enemyes did make no great preparacion to resist hym, he thought it necessarie therefore with the more spede and diligence to make hast toward London: and as it were for ỹ nones, he left the right way toward Pomfret, where the Marques Mõtagew with his army lay, and toke the way on the right hand, not fully iiij. myle from the cape of his enemyes. And whẽ he saw that they made no stirryng, nor once shewed thẽ selfe in sight, he returned into ỹ cõmen hygh way agayne, a littel beyonde their campe, and came sauely to the towne of Nottingham, where came to him syr William Parre, syr Thomas a Borogh, syr Thomas Montgomerie, and diuers other of hys assured frendes with their aydes, which caused hym at the fyrst cõming to make Proclamacion in hys owne name, kyng Edward the. iiij. boldely saying to hym, that they would serue no man but a kynge. This Proclamacion cast a great shame and dolor in to the hartes of the citezens of Yorke, for that they might apparantly perceyue, that they were fraudulently seduced, and for their good will vnhonestly (if it might be sayde) deluded and mocked. But when the fame was blowen abrode, ỹ kyng Edward without any detriment, was in sauetynie come to Notyngham, Princes and noble men on all sydes began to fall to hym, fermely beleuyng, that either the Marques Montacute, beryng fauor too kyng Edwarde, woulde not once with hym encounter, or that he was a frayde to set ouer or to geue battayl, knowynge not to what parte his souldiers would enclyne. But what soeuer the occasion was, the moste parte thought it more for their securitie and auantage of theim selfs, to take parte and ioyne with kyng Edward, beyng at all poyntes furnished with men of warre, rather then to cleue to kyng Hẽry, and to be alwayes in ieopardy, both of lyfe and lande. Kyng Edward (as you can not blame hym) beynge with these good fortunes animated, & with his army furnished at all poyntes, came to his towne of Lecester, & there heryng that the erle of Warwycke, accompanied with Ihon erle of Oxford were together at Warwycke with a great power, & were both determined to set on hym, he politiquely imagening to preuent their inuẽcion, determined in great haste to remoue his whole army, hopyng surely, either to geue them battayle, or elles to allure and bryng to his side hys brother George duke of Clarence, and to comen with him in some priuie place, before he came to his confederates:

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lest peraduenture he should be by them, illaquiated & cõpased, knowing that the duke was in nothyng constant, nor in one mynd long permanent.

In this very season to tell you how the erle of Warwycke was displeased, and grudged agaynst his brother the Marques, for lettynge kyng Edward passe, it ware to longe to write: for where he hym self had vigilantlye prouided & politiquely forsene, for all thinges, ỹ Marques neuerthelesse where the power of their enemies first began to gather, neuer moued fote, nor made resistence as he was commaunded, but besydes thys suffered them with a so small number of souldiers, before hys eyes & in his open sight, without any battayle to passe by: wherfore the erle consideryng that kyng Edward did dayly encrease hys power (as a runnyng ryuer by goyng more & more augmenteth) thought it moste necessary for hym, to geue him battayle with spede, and therupon accersed & called together hys army, and in all haste sent for the duke of Clarence, to ioyne with him which had conscribed, & assembled together a great host about London. But when he perceiued that the duke lyngered, & dyd all thinges negligẽtly, as though he were in doubt of warre or peace, he then began somewhat to suspect that the duke was of hys bretherne corrupted & lately chaũged, & therfore without delay marched forward toward Couentry, to thentent to set on his enemyes. In the meane season, kyng Edward came to Warwycke, where he founde all the people departed, and from thence with al diligence auaũced his power toward Couentre, & in a playne by the citie he pytched his felde. And the next day after that he cam thither, hys men were set forwarde, and marshalled in array, & he valiãtly bad the erle battayle: which mistrustyng that he should be deceaued by the duke of Clarẽce (as he was in dede) kept hym selfe close within the walles. And yet he had perfect worde ỹ the duke of Clarence came forward toward hym with a great army, kynge Edward beynge also therof enformed, raysed hys campe, & made toward the duke. And lest that there might be thought some fraude to be cloked betwene them, the kyng set his battayles in an order as though he would fight without any lẽger delay, the duke did likewise. Whẽ eche host was in sight of other, Rychard duke of Glocester, brother to them both, as though he had bene made arbitrer betwene them, fyrst rode to the duke, and with hym commoned very secretly: from him he came to kyng Edward, and with lyke secretnes so vsed hym, that in conclusion no vnnaturall warre, but a fraternall amitie was concluded and proclaymed, and then leuyng all armye and weapõ a syde, both the bretherne louyngly embraced, and familierly commoned together. It was no meruayll that the duke of Clarẽce, with so small persuasion and lesse exhortynge, turned from the erle of Warwyckes parte, for as you haue hard before, thys marchandyse was labored, conduyted and concluded by a damsell, when the duke was in the French court, to the erles vtter confusion.

After this, kyng Edward caused to be proclaymed, that the duke & all that came with hym, should be taken as hys trew frendes, without fraude or yll suspicion. But this notwithstandyng, it semeth that God dyd neither forgeue nor forget to punishe the duke with condigne punishment, for violating and brekyng hys othe solempnely, and aduysedly taken and made to the erle of Warwycke, for God not many yeres after, suffered hym like a periured person to dye a cruell & a straũge death.

Then was it concluded emongest the. iii. bretherne to attempte therle of Warwycke, if by any fayre meanes he might be recõciled or by any promise allured to their parte: To whom the duke of Clarence sent diuers of hys secret frendes, first to excuse him of the act that he had done, secondarely to requyre him to take some good ende now, while he might with kyng Edward.

When the erle had hard paciently the dukes message, lord, howe he detested & accursed him, cryenge out on him, that he cõtrary to his othe promise & fidelitie, had shamefully turned his face from his confederátes & alies: But to the dukes messengers he gaue more other aunswere but this that he had leuer be always lyke hym selfe, then lyke a false & a periured duke, and that he was fully determined neuer to leue war tyll either he had lost hys awne naturall lyfe, or vtterly extinguished & put vnder his foes and enemyes.

From thence kyng Edward thus beyng furnished of a strong host, went without any maner

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of diffidēce or mistrust toward Lōdon: where after that it was knowen that the duke of Clarence was come to hys brethern, & that all they came together in one knot to the citie, suche a feare rose sodaynly emongest the citiezens, that they were driue to their wittes ende, not knowing either what to do or to say, but at ỹ last very feare compelled them to take kyng Edwardes parte. The selfe same season, the erle of Warwycke sent letters to king Henry, to the duke of Somerset, tharchebishop of Yorke, & other of hys counsayll, that they should kepe the citie from their enemies handes, by the space of. ii. or. iii. dayes after the comming of their enemies, and that he shortly woulde be at hande with a puyssant armye. They as they were cōmaunded defended the citie strongly, but it was to small purpose, for the citiczens in thesame tyme began maturely to consult, what part they should folow for their most indempnite: and in conclusion when they considered that kyng Henry was such an innocent person, as of hymself was not most apte to moderate and gouerne the publique wealth of the realme. And that on the other syde kyng Edward by no other mens document, but onely by hys awne pollicie and wit was wont to order the Realme and gouerne the kyngdome. And farther that kyng Edward was such a person as was able bothe to defende hym selfe and also all hys, from iniurie and hostilitie, wherupon all men were glad to leane to hym, and to take hys parte. They concluded to take hys parte & to receyue hym in to the citie: which determinacion beyng blowē abrode (as the nature of the people is euer to delyte in nouelties) the communaltie coulde not be compelled by no commaundement to tarye at home, but ranne in hepes out of the citie, to mete him, and saluted him as their kyng and souereygne lord. When the duke of Somerset and other of kynge Henryes frēdes, saw the world thus sodaynly chaunged euery man fled, and in hast shifted for hym selfe, leuyng kyng Henry alone, as an host that should be sacrificed, in the Bishops palace of London, adioyning to Poules churche, not knowing of whom nor what counsayll to aske, as he which with trouble and aduersitie was clerely dulled and appalled, in which place he was by kynge Edward taken, and agayne committed to prison and captiuitie.

Kynge Henry the. vi. agayne taken and cōmitted to pryson.

Thys was a sodayne chaunge, for thesame day, the Archebishop of Yorke to the entent that the people myght more fermely stycke on his syde, caused him to ryde about London, appareled in a gowne of blewe veluet, with a great company cryeng kyng Henry, kyng Henry (whiche sight asmuch pleased the citezens as a fier paynted on the wall, warmed the olde woman) not knowynge that or nyght, hys tryumphynge shoulde be torned to tremblynge, and hys solempnitie conuerted into mourning, such chaūce was to hym prouided. King Edward returned to London agayn the. xi. daye of April, sixe monethes after that he had sayled in to Flaunders: and fyrste callynge before hym a greate assemble of people, highly commēded the fidelitie of the citiezens, which they constantly bare vnto hym, rendryng to the Aldermen most harty thankes for that, that they had kept, and caused the people to continew, and be permanent in their good myndes and loyaltie toward hym, blāming farther and rebuking as well Marchaunt straungers, as Englishemen, whome he knew to haue prested, and lente money to kynge Henry for the arrayenge and settynge forth of a new armye agaynst hym. But when he had greuously wyth terrible wordes declared to them their sedicious crime & trayterous offounce, he bad them be of good comforte, & to expell all feare, for he released to them both the punyshment of theyr bodies, and losse of goodes, and graunted to them Pardon for theyr faultes and offences, by whiche gentell meane and easy indulgencie, he reconciled to him the hartes of the whole multitude, obteinyng that, by fayre and louynge wordes, which he could not haue acheued with sharpe strokes, and blody woundes.

Therle of Warwicke pondering, that the gain of the whole battaill stode in makyng haste, with all diligence, followed hisenemies, hopyng (that if they were let neuer so litle, with any stop or tariyng by the way) to fight with the before thei should come to Lōdon: the which he thought, should be muche to his auauntage, cōsideryng that he perfightly knew the citee to be destitute of men of warre for defence, and to haue no maner of munitions to set on the walles or towers, so that they were no able to abide a siege, and for that cause, euer they inclined to the victorious and stronger parte. But when he folowyng his enemies, had passed

a greate part of his iorney, he was enformed that kyng Edward, peaceably was entered into London, and had taken, and sent kyng Henry to prison again: Whiche thynges depely considered, he saw that al cauillacions of necessitie, wer now brought to this ende, that they must be cõmitted to thasard and chaunce of one battaill, wherfore he rested with his army, at the toune of sainct Albons, partly to refresh his souldiers and partly, to take counsaill what was best to do. In the erles armie wer Ihon Duke of Excester, Edmond Erle of Somerset, Ihon Erle of Oxenford, and Ihon Marques Montacute, whom the erle his brother well knewe, not to be well mynded (but sore against his stomacke) to take part with these Lordes, and therefore stode in a doubt, whether he at this tyme, might trust him or no, but the fraternal loue betwene thẽ, washed awaie and diminished all suspicion: But what so euer opinion therle conceiued of him or any other, the erle as a man past all feare, determined coragiously to set on his enemies. And from sainct Albones, he remoued to a village in the meane waie, betwene London and sainct Albones called Barnet, beyng tenne mile distaunt from bothe the tounes. This toune standeth on an hill, on whose toppe is a faire plain, for two armies to ioyne together, on the one part of this plain, the Erle of Warwicke pitched his feld, tariyng for his enemies. The rumor of the erles commyng, was spred in an instant ouer all London, whiche quickened kyng Edward not a litle, wherefore with all spede he adioyned to that hoste, that he brought with hym firste to London, a compaignie of elect, picked, and chosen persones, strong, young, and mete for all assaies, beside other new aides, that were then come to him: Harnesse, weapons, horse, and all other engines, instrumentes mete for the warre, he neither forgatte nor slackly furnished. What shall I saie more, he determined clerely to spende all his riches, yea, and all that he could imagyn vpon the chaunce of this battaill: Firmely beleuyng, that this conflict, should knit vp the knot of all his labor, and bryng hym to quietnes. So with a puyssaunt armie, he marched forwarde, and to put his people in vre, that thei might bee the more redy to fight, when so euer they should encõuter with their enemies, he deuided them in foure partes. He brought with hym also kyng Henry the sixte, of all likelyhod for this intent, that either his aduersaries, seyng their kyng stande as a prisoner in captiuitie, should be abashed and discomfited by hym, or els if the fortune of the battail should turne against hym, that then kyng Henry should be to hym bothe a sauegard and a protecciõ. On Easter eue at after noone he came to Barnet, and there not farre from his enemies, he encamped his army, and least his enemies should compel him to fight that night, he enuironed his campe with newe fortifications and trenches: for tariyng that night, was to hym a synguler profite, and to his enemies a greate detriment: Consideryng the longer he taried, the more people came to his aide, the more stronger was his power, and the stronger that his power was, so much weaker was the part of the aduersaries, whiche was farre from all succor, and hoped of no newe relief nor comforte. Thus bothe the armies lodged that night on the plain, but not out of their harnesse, for their tentes were so nere together, in the which, what for neighyng of horsses, and talkyng of menne, none of bothe the hostes could that night take any rest or quietnes. At the breakyng of the daie, the erle of Warwicke sette his men in a raie, in this maner: In the right wyng he set the Marques Montacute, and the erle of Oxenford, with certain horsemen, and he with the Duke of Exceter, toke the left wyng, and in the middes betwene bothe, he set archers and to them he appointed the Duke of Somerset to be capitain. And when he had set his men in an order, he encoraged his men to fight, with many comfortable wordes, willing theim to strike with a good and a fierce corage, and to remembre that they fight not onely for the libertie of the countrey, against a tiraunte, whiche wrongfully and against all right, had inuaded and subdued this realme, but they fight in the querell of a true, and vndubitate king, against a cruell man, and a torcious vsurper, in the cause of a Godly and a pitiful Prince, against an abhominable mãqueller, and bloudy butcher: In the title of a gentle, liberall, and bountifull kyng, against an extreme nigard, and a coueteous extorcioner. In which cause being so good, so godly, & so iust, God of very iustice must nedes be their sheld and defence. Kyng Edward likewise ordred his battailes.

Barnet felde.

In the forward he set the duke of Gloucester, the middle ward, he himself with the Duke of Clarence, hauyng with them kyng Henry, did rule and gouerne, the lorde Hastynges led the rereward, and besides these thre battales, he kept a compaignie of freshe men in store, whiche did hym great pleasure, and this done he encoraged his men, saying: that their aduersaries wer onely traitors to the realme, spoylers of the pore commonalti, and people destitute of al grace, good fortune & good liuyng. Which mischeuous persones, if they should preuaile through the faintnesse of your hartes, all you gentlemen and richmen, wer in ieoperdy of your lifes, all meane men in doubt of robbyng and spoylyng: and all inferior persones, in hasard of perpetual bondage and seruitude.

When the daie began to spryng, the trompettes blewe coragiously, and the battaill fiersly began, Archers first shot, and bill men theiu folowed, Kyng Edward hauyng the greater romber of men, valiauntly set on his enemies. The erle on the otherside, rememberyng his auncient fame and renoume, manfully withstode him. This battail on bothe sides was sore fought & many slain, in whose romes succeded euer fresh and freshmen. In the meane season while all men were together by the eares, euer lokyng to whiche way fortune would encline. The Erle of Warwicke after long fight, wisely did perceiue his men to be ouer pressed, with the multitude of his aduersaries: wherfore he caused newe men to relief theim that fought in the forward, by reason of whiche succors, kyng Edwardes parte gaue a little backe (whiche was the cause that some lokers on, and no fighters, galloped to London, saiyng: that therle had wonne the feld) which thyng when Edward did perceiue, he with all diligence, sent freshe men to their succors.

If the battaill wer fierce and dedly before, now it was crueller, more bloudy, more feruent and fierie, and yet they had fought from mornyng almoste to noone, without any part gettyng auauntage of other. Kyng Edward being wery of so long a conflict, and willyng to se an end, caused a greate crewe of freshe men (whiche he had for this onely pollecie, kepte all daie in store) to set on their enemies, in maner being wery and fatigate: but although the erle sawe these new succors, of freshe & newe men to enter the battaill, beyng nothing afraied, but hopyng of the victory (knowing perfitly that there was all kyng Edwardes power) cõforted his men beyng wery, sharpely quickenyng, and earnestly desiryng them with hardy stomackes to bere out this last and finall brunt of the battaill, and that the felde was euen at an ende. But when his souldiers beyng sore wounded, weried with so long a conflict, did geue litle regarde to his wordes, he beyng a man of a mynde inuincible, rushed into the middest of his enemies, where as he (auentured so farre from his awne compaignie, to kill and sley his aduersaries, that he could not be rescued) was in the middes of his enemies, strikẽ doune and slaine. The marques Montacute, thynkyng to succor his brother, whiche he sawe was in greate ieoperdey, and yet in hope to obtein the victory, was likewise ouer throwen and slain. After the erle was ded, his parte fled and many were taken, but not one man of name, nor of nobilitie.

Some auethors write, that this battaill was fought so nere hande, that kyng Edward was constrained to fight his awne persone, & fought as sore as any man of his partie, and that the erle of Warwicke, whiche was wont euer to ride on horsebacke, from place to place, from ranke to ranke comfortyng his men, was now aduised by the Marques his brother to relynquishe his horse, and trie the extremitie by hande strokes, whiche if he had been on his horsebacke, might fortune to haue escaped.

The death of therle of Warwicke.

This ende had Richard Neuell erle of Warwicke, whose stoute stomacke, and inuincible corage, after so many straunge fortunes, and perilous chaunces by him escaped, caused death before he came to any old age priuilie to stele on hym, and with his darte to take from hym all worldly and mundain affeccions: but death did one thyng: that life could not do, for by death, he had rest, peace, quietnes, and tranquillitie, whiche his life euer abhorred, and could not suffre nor abide. On bothe partes wer slain at this battaill, more then tenne. M. men. Of prisoners the nomber could not be certainly knowen: on the kynges part wer slain sir Humfrey Burchier, soonne to the Lorde Barnes, els no man of estimacion.

The occasion of this greate slaughter was, because that where kyng Edward was wont, after the battaill obteined, to crie: saue the cõmons, and kill the capitaines, now he spared them not, because they not onely so high fauored therle of Warwicke, but also because thei came with the erle against hym in battaill. After this feld ended, the duke of Somerset, with Ihon Erle of Oxenford, wer in all poste hast, flyng towarde Scotlande, but feryng the ieoperdies, that might chaunce in so long a iorney, altered their purpose, and turned into Wales, to Iasper erle of Penbroke: euery man fled whether his mynde serued him. The duke of Excester with muche difficultie, escaped into Westminster disguised, and there toke Sanctuary. Kyng Edward after this victory, although he wanne it not without greate effusion of bloud, aswell on his awne parte, as the part of his enemies, was greatly reioysed and comforted, after the maner of a victorious conqueroure, leadyng with him kyng Henry like a captiue, in moste triumphant maner, on Easter day at after noone, made his entery, solempnly, into the citie of London, and at the Churche of sainct Paule, he offered his standerd, and rendered to almightie God, for his greate victory, moste hũble and hartie thankes. The ded bodies of the erle and the Marques, wer brought to London in a coffin, and before thei should bee buried, by the space of three daies, thei laie open visaged, in the Cathedral Church of S. Paule, to thintẽt that all men might euidently perceiue, that thei vnfaindly were dedde least perauẽture the common people hereafter, here of some dissimulyng persone, to take on hym the name of therle of Warwicke, thynkyng him to be liuyng, might stirre a newe sedicion, & excite an vnware rebellion.

The common people saied, that the kyng was not so iocund nor so ioyous for the destruccion of therle, but he was more sorrowful and dolorous, for the death of the Marques, whom both he knewe and it appered to other, to be inwardly his faithful frend: For whose onely sake he caused both their bodies, to bee with their auncestors, solempnly enterred at the Priory of Bissam. In the meane season, quene Margaret hauyng knowledge, that all thynges in Englande, were now altered and brought into trouble and broyle, by reason of kyng Edwardes late returne into the realme: gathered together no small compaignie, of hardy and valiaunt souldiours, determined with all haste and diligence, with prince Edwarde her soonne, to saile into Englande, but yet once again (suche was her destinie) beyng letted for lacke of prosperous wynd and encombered with to muche rigorous tempeste, a daie after the faire, as the common prouerbe saieth, landed at the Port of Weymouth, in Dorset shire. When she had passed the sea and taken lande, it was to her declared, how that kyng Edward had gotten again the garland, and that kyng Henry her husband, was desolately left post a lone, and taken prisoner, how the Erle of Warwicke and his brother were bothe slain and ded, and all their armie destroyed, scatered or taken, and in conclusion that her parte had susteined, the moste bitter plague and scorge, considerỹg bothe the chaũce and the tyme that in many yeres before, had been red or sene. When she harde all these miserable chaunces and misfortunes, so sodainly one in anothers necke, to haue taken their effect, she like a woman all dismaied for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was perced with sorowe, her speache was in maner passed, all her spirites were tormented with Malencholy. The calamitie and misery of her time, she detested and abhorred, her vnstable and contrariant fortune, she stedfastly blamed and accused, her peinfull labor, her care of mynde, turned into infelicitie she muche lamented and bewailed the euill fate and destenie of her husband, whiche eminently before her iyes, she sawe to approche she accused, reproued, and reuiled, and in conclusion, her senses were so vexed, and she so afflicted, and caste into suche an agony, that she preferred death before life, rather desiryng soner to die, then lenger to liue, and perauenture for this cause, that her interior iye sawe priuily, and gaue to her a secret monicion of the greate calamities and aduersities, which then did hang ouer her hed, and were likely incontinent to fall and succede whiche other persones, neither loked for nor regarded.

This Quene Margarete might well consider and thynke, that these euill aduentures, chaunced to her for the moste parte, for the vnworthy death of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, vncle to her husbande: Of the whiche mischaunce, although she wer not the very occasion

and prouoker, yet she greatly offended in that she concented thereto, and did not saue his life, when she rulyng all other, might conueniently haue staied and letted it. For surely he beyng a liue, and hauyng the moderacio and gouernaunce of the common wealth, kyng Henry had neuer wauered in so many hasardes, and ieoperdies of his life as he did. I would desire of God, that all men would in egall balance, ponder & indifferently consider the causes, of these misfortunes and euill chaunces, the whiche beyng eleuate in auctboritie, dooe mete and measure, Iustice and iniury, right and wrong, by high power, blynd auctboritie, and vnbridled will.

But nowe to the purpose, when Quene Margarete sawe, that to bid battaill was to no purpose, and in maner, in dispaire, of the wealth of her self and her sonne: she with the Prince and her compaignie, departed to a Sainctuary there by, called Beauliew in Hamshire (where was a monastery of Monkes, of the ordre of Cisterciens) and registered herself and hers, as persones there priueleged. When it was knowen that she was landed, Edmond Duke of Somerset, with lord Ihon his brother Thomas Courtney erle of Deuonshire, the which before euer toke the contrary part, whose sodain chaungyng, shortly turned to his awne confusion, Iasper Erle of Penbroke, Ihon Lorde Wenlocke (a man made onely by kyng Edward) and Ihon Longstrother, Prior of sainct Ihones in England, came in great hast to Beauliew, and presented theimselfes to the Quene: Although that she wer almost drouned in sorowe, and plunged in pein, yet when she sawe and beheld, these noble and princely personages, to resort vnto her presence, she was somewhat comforted, and greatly reuiued again.

And first, lest it should be laied to her charge, that she had dooen any thyng misauisedly: she declared and shewed the cause, why she could not come to them in time, as she gladly would haue dooen, and for what purpose and intent, she had then taken the immunitie of Sanctuary: Besechyng them all to studie, and prouide with all diligence, for the wealthe and conseruacion, of her onely iuell the Prince her sonne, and where for this tyme, she dispaired to doo any thyng by force of armes, that might bee to her profite, she thought it moste conuenient for her (if the tyme of yere and her enemies, did not let or stop her) to saile again into Fraunce and there to tary till God would sende her better lucke, and more pleasaunt fortune, and to bryng her long purposed busines, to a good conclusion and ende.

After that the Duke and other with comfortable wordes, somewhat had eased the dolorus harte of this vnfortunate quene: Thesaid Duke began with a long processe, to enter communicacion of warre to be renewed, and with all haste possible, and extreme diligence, least their compaignie by tariyng might bee diminished, and kyng Edwardes power encreased and augmented, considerying that all this tyme, he had no armie gathered together, for so muche that at the laste battaill, the very strength of his chief souldiours, was weked and appalled: And that notwithstandyng, that fortune shone on hym, in obteinyng the victory against therle of Warwicke, yet now she might turne her saile on the otherside, causyng him to tast eger vineger as she before had giuen hym to drynke dilicate Ypocrace, when all men se daily, that of warlike affaires at the poynt, there happeneth not seldome tyme, sodain commutacions and vnloked variaunce: affirmyng farther, that the more nomber of the nobilitie, bare towarde kyng Henry her husband, their good myndes and fixed hartes, and would help hym bothe withe men and money. And of his awne free will, if she would take vpon her, the name of capitain against her enemies, as she before that often tymes had enterprised: he offered a greate power of able men, at his awne expence and charge, promisyng that the twoo erles, should assure her of a farre greater nomber, of valiant and expert warriers, then she would esteme. And when he had shewed that, the victory was now (if thei liste) in their handes, he merily required theim all, to bee of hardy harte and good chere, and because the matter, required great expedicion, he thought it not necessary, farther to reason the cause of battaill, but determine out of hand how the battaill should be geuen and ordered.

The Quene whose mynde gaue her, that this mocion, should come to no good conclusion, answered: that she could well allowe this sentence, if she thought that there might happen, no

greater

greater losse to some other, then the losse of her awne life. But she suspected that while thei would helpe thynges, that thei moste phantesied and affected, the life of prince Edward her soonne, in whom, all the whole hope of that familie stoode and remained, should be in perell and ieoperdie: and therfore, she either thought it necessarie, to defer the battaill till another time, or els to conueigh her sonne into Fraunce again, there to lye sure and secrete, till the chaunce of the first battayle were tryed and assayed. And no marueyll, although the naturall mother, much mynded and studied for the sauegarde and tuycion of the lyfe of her sonne, pondering that next her husband, whom she reputed for clene vndone and viterly cast awaye, she had nothyng more to be beloued, nothyng more derer, nor nothynge to be made more of.

Thus this prudent and politique Quene requyred the cheuetaynes expert in marciall feates, that they shoulde before hande premeditate with them selfes, maturely and deliberatly these thynges by her moued and after that done, if they thoughte it conuenient to geue battayle, she woulde to their agrement with all her hart be conformable. But there was no longer disputacion of the matter, for the duke sayde that there was no nede to waste anye more woordes for all they were determyned (while their lyues lasted) styll to kepe warre agaynste their enemyes, & therfore that thynge whiche with greate counsayll and deliberacion is cōcluded, ought to be anaunced and set forward with a whole consent and agrement.

Thus euery man together clerely bent and encouraged to ỹ battayle gathered hys power by hym selfe. The duke thorough all hys dominions, rayed a chosen companye of men of warre: lykewise did the erle of Deuōshyre. The erle of Pēbroke wēt into Wales to his erledō to prepare hys people with all diligence. The quene, at the last was brought into this hope of good fortune that she sayd, well be it, & so as the duke had aduised her, she with her company departed to Bathe, entendynge there to make her abode, tyll more of her affinitie were together assembled. But whether so euer she went, few or none had thereof knowledge, mistrustyng lest her counsayl should by some titiuille, bee published & opened to her aduersaries, before she came to the place prefixed.

When kyng Edward knew that Quene Margarete was landed in Englande, and that the duke of Somerset with her complices had prepared a new armye, out of hand he dispatched certayn currers on light horses, in to euery part to see what number hys enemyes were, & what way they entended to take. The explorators, according to their instruccions, serched and sought the partes by West, and made relacion diligently at their retorne, what they had knowen and sene. The kynge beyng in a great agony, because he knewe not what waye his enemyes toke, determined, surely to encounter the at some, one place before they came to London. And vpon this conclusion, with such an armye as he had gotten about London, he set forward into Oxford shyre, and there sekynge a place apt and mete to pytche hys tentes, was conducted to Abyngdon, where he encamped hym selfe, cōmaunding all men appoynted for the warre, with all celeritie to folow hym to that place. All the kynges host there beyng assembled and reduct in to one company, newes were brought to hym, that hys enemyes were come to Bathe, and there did soiorne and tarye purposely to augmēt and encreace their nūber of such, as dayly to them dyd resort, wherfore the kyng without delay remoued strayght to Marleborough, being distāt from Bathe. xv. miles, making haste and great diligence, if by any possibilitie he might to geue theim battayle before they diuerted into Wales, whether he thought (as they entended in deed) that they would take their iorney to ioyne them selfe with the erle of Penbroke, which had gathered a great host in those parties.

When the Quene knew that kynge Edwarde was come so nere to her, she taried not long at Bathe, but remoued in greate haste to Brystow: and sent out certayn horsemen to espye, whether she might sauely passe ouer the Ryuer Seuerne by Gloucester into Wales, whether she determined first to go to augment her armye, and then without any delay with spere and shelde, coragiously to set on her enemyes, where soeuer they would abyde. They that

were sent, retorned to her again, declarynge that the towne of Gloucester was vnder the obeisaunce of Rychard, duke of Gloucester the kynges brother, and that although they had sollicited the lord Beauchampe of Powike, which lay there in the Castell, and had the rule of the Towne, and the townesmen fyrst by rewardes after by menacing, either to take their part, or peasably to suffer her to passe ouer their bridge, they were there with all, neither once moued, nor once would speake cõfortably to the messengers. Whē she hard these newes, she shortly departed from Bristow with her army, to a proper towne on seuerne sydé, called Tewkesburye, leuing Gloucester vnassauted, lest peraduēture she might their spēd her tyme ẏ much losse & littel gayne, but in her passage towarde Tewkesbury, the lord Beauchãpe toke from her rereward, more ordinance then she might haue wel spared, which did to her no small preiudice. Whē the Quene was come to Tewkesbury, and knewe that kynge Edward folowed her with hys horsemen at the very backe, she was sore abashed, and wõderfully amased and determined in her selfe, to flye into Wales to Iasper erle of Pēbrōke: But the duke of Somerset, willyng in no wyse to flye backward for doughtes that he casted might chaūce by the way, determined there to tarye, to take such fortune as God should sende, beynge in his awne mynde, and so fixed in a fayre parke, adioynynge to the towne, he pytched his felde agaynst the will and consent of many other Capitaynes which would that he should haue drawen a syde, for a whyle tyl therle of Penbroke with hys armye were with hym associate, but his will serued for his reason, and so the chaunce folowed. The duke of Somerset entending to abide the battayle lyke a pollitique warrior, trenched his campe rounde about of suche an altitude, and so strongly, that his enemyes by no meanes facilye, could make any entrie, and farther perceyuyng that his parte coulde neuer escape without battayle, determined there to se ẏ final ende of his good or yl chaūce, wherfore he marshalled his host in this manner: he and the lord Ihon of Somerset his brother led thē forward: The middelward was gouerned by the Prince vnder the cõduyte of the lord of sainct Ihons, & lord Wenlocke (whome kyng Edward had highly before preferred & promoted to the degre of a baron) The rereward was put in the rule of the erle of Deuonshyre.

The battayl of Tewkesburye.

When all these battayles were thus ordered and placyd, the Quene and her sonne prince Edward rode about the felde, encouragyng their souldiers, promising to them (if they did shew thē selfs valyāt against their enemyes) greate rewardes and hyghe promocions, innumerable gayn of the spoyle and bootye of their aduersaries, and aboue all other fame and renoume thorough the whole realme. Kyng Edward lykewise which the day before was come within a mile of Tewkesbury, put hys brother the duke of Gloucester in the forward, and him selfe in the middelward, the lord Marques and the lord Hastynges led the rereguarde. The duke of Gloucester, which lacked no policye, valyantly with hys battayle assauted the trēche of the Quenes campe, whom the duke of Somerset with no lesse courage defended, the duke of Gloucester for a very politique purpose, with all hys men reculed backe. The duke of Somerset perceiuing that: lyke a knight, more couragious then circūspect came out of his trenche, with his whole battayle, and folowed the chace, not doubtynge but the prince and the lorde Wenlocke, with the middelward had folowed iust at hys backe. But whether the lord Wēlocke dissimuled the matter for kynge Edwardes sake, or whether hys harte serued hym not, still he stode lokyng on. The duke of Gloucester takynge the auantage that he auentured for, turned agayn face to face to the duke of Somersets battayl, which (nothynge lesse thinkyng on, then of the returne) were within a smal season, shamefully discomfited. The duke of Somerset, seyng hys vnfortunate chaunce returned to ẏ middelward, where he seyng the lord Wenloke standynge still, after he had reuyled hym, and called him traytor, with his axe he strake ẏ braynes out of his hedde. The duke of Glocester entered the trenche, & after hym the kyng, where after no lōg conflict, the Quenes part went almost all to wrecke, for the most parte were slayne. Some fledde for succor in the thyck of the parke, some in to ẏ monastery, some into other places. The Quene was foūde in her Chariot almost dead for sorowe, ẏ prince was apprehended and kepte close by syr Rychard Croftes: the duke of Somerset and the lord Prior of sainct

A terrible stroke.

Ihons, were by force taken prisoners, and many other also. In the felde & chace were slaine lord Ihon of Somerset, the erle of Deuonshyre, syr Ihon Delues, syr Edwarde Hampden, syr Robert Wytyngham, and syr Ihon Lewkenor, and. iii. thousand other.

After the felde ended, kyng Edward made a Proclamatiō, that who so euer could bring prince Edward to him alyue or dead, shoulde haue an annuitie of an. C. l. duryng his lyfe, and the Princes life to be saued. Syr Richard Croftes, a wyse and a valyant knyght, nothing mistrusting the kynges former promyse, brought furth his prisoner prince Edward, beynge a goodly femenine & a well feautered yonge gentelman, whome when kynge Edward had well aduised,* he demaunded of him, how he durst so presumptuously enter in to his Realme with banner displayed. The prince, beyng bold of stomacke & of a good courage, answered sayinge, to recouer my fathers kyngdome & enheritage, from his father & grandfather to him, and from him, after him, to me lyncally diuoluted. At which wordes kyng Edward sayd nothyng, but with his hād thrust hym from hym (or as some say, stroke him with his gauntlet) whom incontinent, they that stode about, whiche were George duke of Clarence, Rychard duke of Gloucester, Thomas Marques Dorset, and Williā lord Hastynges, sodaynly murthered, & pitiously manquelled. The bitternesse of which murder, some of the actors, after in their latter dayes tasted and assayed by the very rod of Iustice and punishment of God. Hys body was homely enterred with ŷ other symple corses, in ŷ church of the monastery of blacke Monkes in Tewkesburye. This was the last ciuile battayl that was fought in kynge Edwardes dayes, whiche was gotten the. iii. daye of Maye, in the. x. yere of hys reigne, and in the yere of our lord. M. cccc. lxxi. then beyng Saterday. And on the Monday next ensuyng was Edmond duke of Somerset, Ihon Longstrother, Prior of sainct Ihons, syr Garuays Clyfton, syr Thomas Tresham, and. xii. other knyghtes and gentelmen beheded in the market place at Tewkesbury.

Quene Margaret lyke a prisoner was brought to Loudō, where she remayned tyll kyng Reiner her father ransomed her with money, which summe (as the French writers affirme) he borowed of kyng Lewes ŷ xi. and because he was not of power nor abilitie to repayc so greate a dutie, he solde to the Frenche king & his heyres, the kyngdomes of Naples, and bothe the Sicicles, with the countye of Prouynce, which is ŷ very title that kyng Charles the viii. made when he conquered ŷ realme of Napels. After the raunsom payed, she was conueyed in to Fraunce with small honor, which with so great triumphe and honorable enterteynmēt was ŵ pōpe aboue al pryde, receyued into this Realme. xxviii. yeres before. And where in the beginning of her tyme, she lyued like a Quene, in the middel she ruled like an empresse, toward thende she was vexed with troble, neuer quyet nor in peace, & in her very extreme age she passed her dayes in Fraunce, more lyke a death then a lyfe, languishyng and mornyng in continuall sorowe, not so much for her selfe and her husbande, whose ages were almost consumed and worne, but for the losse of prince Edward her sonne (whome she and her husband thought to leue, both ouerlyuer of their progeny, and also of their kyngdome) to whome in this lyfe nothyng coulde be either more displeasant or greuous. QueneMargaret brought prisoner too London.

After this battayl, kyng Edward rendered to God his most hūble thākes, & caused publique processions to be with all deuout reuerence solemply kept three dayes together in euery Towne and Parishe. And when he had visited the townes and places, where his enemyes assembled first together (to the payne and punishmente of no small number) he with good diligence returned toward London, for he was enformed how one Thomas Neuel, bastard sonne to Thomas lord Faucōbridg the valyant capitayne, a man of no lesse corage then audacitie (who for his euell condicīos was suche an apte person, ŷ a more meter could not be chosen to set all the worlde in a broyle, & to put the estate of ŷ realme on an yll hasard) had of new begonne a great cōmocion. This bastard was before this tyme appoynted by the erle of Warwycke, to be Vice-admyrall of the sea, and had in charge so to kepe the passage betwene Douer and Caleys, that none which either fauored kynge Edward or his frendes should escape, vntaken or vndrouned. And when by the death of the erle of Warwycke,

wycke, he was broughte into pouertie, he robbed both on the sea & the lande, aswel his enemyes as also his frendes: By reason wherof he gat together a great nauy of shippes, and spoiled on euery ship, and at last toke lande in Kent, and gathered together a great company of Kentishmen, such as were most mete for his purpose, and so marched toward London, where the Essex men hauynge wylde whaye wormes in their heddes, ioined them with him, saiyng that their commyng and quarell was to deliuer out of captiuitie Kyng Henry ỹ vi. and to bring him to his wyfe, but what so euer their outward wordes were, their inward cogitacions were onely hope of spoyle, and desyre to robbe and pyll. For the bastarde hym selfe assaulted the drawe bridge of London, and a capitain of his called Spisyng scaled Algate with the Essex mẽ, harnesed in their wyfes Chesecloutes, which assaultes were deadly geuen and manfully resisted, in so much that on bothe partes many were slayne and hurt, but at the last the citiezens then put backe the rebelles, and slew and wounded a great number of them, and draue the bastard from al his pray to his shyppes, lyeng at Radcleffe, which hauyng a good & prosperous wynde, made sayle with all haste, & Roued on the sea, as before he was accustomed.

This styrryng, although it were but littell to thynke on at the fyrst yet if it had begonne not long afore, it had brought all kynge Edwardes busines in to a doubtfull difference: for kynge Edward in these hys last battayles was twise more then fortunate for that, that he at sondry and seuerall tymes (and not all at one tyme) was persecuted & inuaded of his enemyes: for surely, at the tyme when the erle of Warwycke with his pytched armye was comyng toward London, if quene Margarete with her companye had takẽ land (which enterprice she thryse in great ieopardy coragiously attempted) Then if she had set on behynd, whyle the erle of Warwycke gaue the onset before both at one moment, or if Edmond duke of Somerset had not geuen battayle at Tewkesburye, before Iasper erle of Penbroke was come with his trayne, or if bastard Fawconbridge had vexed the Londoners euen at ỹ tyme: One or the other of these. ii. thynges should consequently haue folowed, that kynge Edwarde must of necessitie once agayne flye out of the Realme, or els with shame and rebuke yelde hym selfe, either to slaughter or captiuitie: But as in all meane chaunces and small gaynes, good lucke is desyred and praysed, so much more in battayle, is good fortune and fortunate chaunce to be most made of, and chiefly to be auaunced.

Now to returne to bastard Faucõbridge, waueryng hither & thither in the doubtfull surges of the sea, as sure of hys lyfe on the water as on the lande, which either thinking that no man would se him, or that all men were blind, and coulde not espie hym (and especially in so secret a place) came into the open hauen of Southampton, and there toke lãde where he was not long vntaken, but shortlier behedded.

When Iasper erle of Pẽbroke was credibly asserteyned that quene Margarete had lost the battayle at Tewkesburye, and that there was no more trust of any comfort or releue to be had for the parte of poore kyng Henry, he with such men of warre as he was, bringyng to his cõfederates, returned back out of ỹ way to the towne of Chepstow, wher he taryeng, deploryng and lamentyng, that hast to much hasted, & that vnpurueied & blynd will had at the finall conclusiõ, not only destroyed and brought to nought al kyng Hẽryes estate, riches and preheminẽce, but further had left all his frendes redy to tosse the waues of fortune, & to seke their lyuyng where they might sauely get them, began to thinke and prouide what way was best to take.

Kyng Edward at this season, not beynge out of feare of the erle of Penbroke, sente priuely in too Wales, Roger Vaughan, a man there bothe stronge of people and of frendes, to the entent by some gyle or engyne sodayaly to trap and surprise the erle: but he hauyng intelligence of certayne frendes, how that watche was priuilie leyd for him, sodainly in the same towne, toke Roger Vaughan, and without delay stroke of hys hed, so Roger Vaughan, by Gods prouidẽce, receyued the death hym selfe, which he by deceipt prepared for the other.

The erle in good hast departed thence to Penbroke, whome incontinent Morgan Thomas, by

by kyng Edwardes cõmaundemẽt so strõgly beseged hym, and so enuyroned his Castell with a diche and a trenche, that he coulde not lightly flye or escape thence: but he was after eyghte dayes deliuered, and the seage raysed by hys faythfull and trusty frendes Dauid Thomas, brother to the foresayd Morgan, and from thẽce conueyed to Tynbye, a hauen towne in Wales, where he getting conuenient shyppes, for to transport hym and hys ouer the sea into Fraunce with hys nephew lord Henry erle of Rychemonde, and a few of hys familiers toke ship, and by fortunes leadyng, landed in Brytayne.

After hys arryuall, he fyrst went to duke Fraunces of Brytane, and hym reuerently saluted, expoundyng to him the cause, the cace, and the necessitie of their thether commyng, committing the lyfes, the goodes and all the chaunces both of hym and hys nephew, whole to the dukes discrecion and ordinaunce. The duke receyued bothe the erles, with all benignitie, and shewed to thẽ no lesse honor, fauor and humanitie, with suche entertainment, then if they had been his naturall brethren, and geuyng to theim his faithe, seriously made promise that beyng with hym, they should sustein no maner of wrong, nor no iniurie should be to them by any creature offred: assuring them, that they might within his dominions, at all tymes, and in all places, go in safe and good suretie.

When Kyng Edwarde had appeased, by the meanes afore rehersed, his kyngdome and people, to the intent that there should insurge hereafter, no newe commocion within the realme again: he made a iorney into Kente, and there sat in iudgement on suche, as in the last tumultеous busines, toke parte with bastarde Fauconbrige, where many wer (not vnworthy) streightly punished & raunsoned, which busines once perfourmed, to thintent that all men might se apparantly, that indubitate peace was come into the realme, and that all feare of exterior hostilitie, was banished and exiled for euer: Poore kyng Henry the sixte, a litle before depriued of his realme, and Imperiall Croune, was now in the Tower of London, spoyled of his life, and all worldly felicitie, by Richard duke of Gloucester (as the constant fame ranne) which, to thintent that king Edward his brother, should be clere out of all secret suspicion of sodain inuasion, murthered thesaid kyng with a dagger. But whosoeuer was the manqueller of this holy man, it shall appere, that bothe the murtherer and the consenter, had condigne and not vndeserued punishement, for their bloudy stroke, and butcherly act: and because they had now no enemies risen, on whom they might reuenge themself, as you shall hereafter perceiue, they exercised their crueltie, against their awne selfes: and with their proper bloud, embrued and polluted their awne handes and membres. Kyng Henry the sixte slain in the tower.

The ded corps of kyng Henry, with billes and glaues pompeously (if you call that a funerall pompe) was conueighed from the tower, to the Church of saincte Paule, and there laied on a beree, where it lay the space of one whole daie: and the nexte day, without Prieste or Clarke, Torche or Taper, syngyng or saiyng, it was conueighed to the Monasterie of Chertesey, beyng distant from London. xv. mile, and there was buried, but after he was remoued to Winsore, and there in a new vawte newly intumilate. This kyng Henry reigned full. xxxviii. yeres, and xvii. daies, and after that he had repossessed his kyngdom. vi. monethes he lued. iii. yeres, hauyng by his wife one onely sonne, called Edward Prince of Wales.

Kyng Henry was of stature goodly, of body slẽder, to which proporcion, al other mẽbers wer correspondent: his face beautifull, in the which continually was resident, the bountie of mynde, with whiche, he was inwardly endued. He did abhorre of his awne nature, all the vices, as well of the body as of the soule, and from his verie infancie, he was of honest conuersacion and pure integritie, no knower of euill, and a keper of all goodnes: a dispiser of all thynges, whiche bee wonte to cause, the myndes of mortall menne to slide, fall, or appaire. Beside this, pacience was so radicate in his harte, that of all the iniuries to him committed, (whiche were no small nombre) he neuer asked vengeaunce nor punishement, but for that, rendered to almightie God, his creator, hartie thankes, thinking that by this trouble, and aduersitie, his synnes were to him forgotten and forgeuen. What The discripsion of Kyng Henry the vi.

shall I saie, that this good, this gētle, this meke, this sober and wisman, did declare and affirme, that those mischefes and miseries, partly, came to hym for his awne offence, and partly, for the hepyng of synne vpon sinne, wretchedly by his aunceters and forfathers: wherefore, he litle or nothing estemed, or in anywise did turment or macerate hymself, what so euer dignitie, what honor, what state of life, what child, what frend he had lost, or missed, but if it did *but* sound an offence toward God, he loked on that, and not without repentaunce, both mourned and sorowed for it: these and other like offices of holynes, caused God to worke miracles for him in his life tyme, (as old menne saied) By reason whereof, kyng Henry the seuenth, not without cause, sued to Iuly Bushop of Rome, to haue him canonized, as other sainctes be: but the fees of canonizing of a King, wer of so great a quātitie at Rome (more then the canonisyng of a Bushoppe or a prelate, although he satte in saincte Peters Cheire) that thesaied king thought it more necessary, to kepe his money at home, for the profite of his realme and countrey, rather then to empouerish his kingdom, for the gaining of a newe holy day of sainct Henry: remitting to God, the iudgement of his will and intent. This kyng Henry, was of a liberall mynde, and especially, to such as loued good learning, and them whom he sawe profite, in any verteous science, he hartely fauored and embraced, wherfore he firste holpe his awne young scholers, to attein to discipline, and for them he founded a solempne schoole at Eton, a toune next vnto Wyndsore, in the whiche he hath stablished, an honest Colege of sad Priestes, with a greate nombre of children whiche bee there, of his coste frankeley and frely taught, the eruditamētes and rules of Grammer. Beside this, he edefied a Princely Colege, in the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, called the kynges Colege, for the further erudicion, of such as wer brought vp in Eton, whiche, at this daie so floriſheth, in all kyndes, as well of litterature, as of toungues, that aboue all other, it is worthy to bee called, the Prince of Coleges.

Canonising of sainctes is costly.

¶ THE. XI. YERE.

The. xi. yere.

NOw to returne to Kyng Edwarde, whiche was releued of the most part, of his prickyng feare, and inward suspicīō, to thintent that no print or shadowe, should remain of the aduerse faccion, in his realme. He diligently required and serched out, all the fragmentes and leuynges, of his enemies parte, intendyng to represse, and vtterly to extinguishe theim. And first to begyn with all, he sent George Neuell, brother to the erle of Warwicke, and Archbushoppe of Yorke, vnder strong conduite, to the Castle of Guysnes, there to be kept in extreme captiuitie, where he long continued, and at the laste, by frendship deliuered: whiche of very pensiuenes and grudge of mynd, shortely after deceassed, whom, Laurence Bathe, and after him Thomas Rotherham, in the sea of Yorke, did ordinarily succede. Beside this, Ihon Erle of Oxenford, whiche after Barnet feld, bothe manfully gat, and valiantly kept, sainct Mighels Moūt in Cornewal: either for lacke of aide, or perswaded by his frendes, gaue vp the mount, and yelded himself to kyng Edward, (his life only saued) whiche to hym was graunted: but be out of all doubtfull imaginacions, kyng Edward sent hym ouer the sea, to the Castle of Hammes, where by the space of. xii. yeres, he was in strong prison, miserably kept, and diligently looked to. Many other beside these, in diuerse partes of the realme, beyng very litle or nothing suspected: wer either committed to prison, or grieuously fined and taxed. Beside this, least his neighbors countrey, might be an harborough, or receptacle of his foes and aduersaries, he concluded a newe league, with Iames the. iii. king of Scottes, for the terme of. xx. yeres. And yet, whatsoeuer he thought in his Imaginacion, for all his besy deuises, and pollitique forcastynges: his mynd and phantesie, wer not clere exonerate and dispatched, of all feare and inward trouble: For tidings wer brought to hym, that the erles of Penbroke and Richemond, were arriued in Britayne: and there of the Duke, highly cherished, well fostered and entertained.

¶ THE

¶ THE. XII. YERE.

THis thyng nipped kyng Edwarde hardly at the verie stomacke, as though his mynd, casting some euill to come after: did signifie before, that the Erle of Richemond, should once attein to the Croune and diademe of the realme: which mischief, when he had wel digested, he secretly sent wise and close messengers, to the Duke of Brytayne, the which should not sticke, to promise the duke, great & sumpteous rewardes, (knowing that mede, many thynges corrupteth) so that he would deliuer, bothe therles into their handes and possession. The duke gladly hard them that were sent, but when he knewe, the twoo Erles to bee a praie, of suche a greate value, he determined not to deliuer theim, but rather to entertain theim with hym more diligently, then thei were accustomed. The duke answered the orators, that it stoode not with his honor, nor he would not deliuer the twoo Erles, to whom, he was bound and obliged, by his faithe and promise: but this he promised to dooe for the kynges pleasure, that they should be kept, and with suche vigilant persones, continually watched, that the kyng should haue no maner of cause, once to thynke, that they could or should attempt any thing, that might sound, either to his displeasure or preiudice. When the messengers sawe, that they could not obtein, that which thei desired, like wisemen held themselfes contented with that, whiche by the duke was offered, & so returned into England. The kyng wrote to the Duke of Britayne, louyngly requiryng him, to accomplishe with all spede, that, whiche he of his awne mocion offered, promisyng him not onely, menne and greate rewardes, but yerely to rewarde hym, with a full hand, and a well stuffed purse. The duke perceiuyng the swete gain, which rose to him, by the abode of the two English Erles, in his Countrey: least they for any cause, should abandon his dominions, and seke succors in some other foreign Region, caused the one, to be segregated from the other: and remoued from them suche Englishmen, as wer daily on them attendant and came with them into Britayn, and in their places appoynted Britons, to be their seruitors to minister, and continually to attend and waite on them. The. xii. yere.

When kyng Edward had thus pollitiquely, as he thought, compassed the Duke of Britayne: he thinking nothing lesse, then to take a damage at the duke of Burgoynes hand, yea, and such a damage, as by all similitude, was bothe like, continually to greue and vexe the realme of Englande: and farther to be an occasion, of a common stop, and putting backe of the commodities, growen within this realme, to be transported into outward partes North Estward, was yet eft sones, brought into a newe doubte and perplexitie. For the declaracion whereof, you muste vnderstande, that Lewes the Frenche kyng, had a brother called Charles, which was not the wisest, nor yet a man of the greatest experience: and of a certain curtesie, loued better to haue other men to rule him, then he to take vpō him to rule other. And although that the kyng at this tyme, had no soonne, nor other brother, but him, his open heire apparant: he litle fauored, and lesse loued him, nothyng geuyng hym of his good will, for his part and porciō, of his fathers landes, but that, to the which he was cōpelled by his counsaill, and that he gaue hym this moneth, in the next moneth, he would by flatery or by threteyng, by war or corrupcion of his brothers seruauntes, obtain & bring to his handes and possession again. For first he gaue him the Duchie of Berry, & after that whole Normandy, wherof in no long tyme, he bereft him the possession, regiment & title, without any cause geuē, on ȳ partie of yong Charles. And when thesaied Charles, had afterward departed, with the countreys of Brye & Champaigne, by a fraudulent feate: king Lewes caused hym to relinquishe thesame, & to take for his parētage, the duchie of Guyen, & so was called & named the duke of Guyen. This euil entreating of theduke of Guyen by the Frēch kyng his brother, caused diuerse other Princes, of no small puyssaunce, to fauor, aide, and succor thesaid Duke (of the whiche the chief wer, Charles Duke of Burgoyn, Fraunces duke of Britayn, & Lewes erle of sent Poll, Constable of Fraunce.) This

Duke of Guyen, by the sollicityng of his adherentes, sore labored to haue in mariage, the sole daughter and onely heire, of Charles duke of Burgoyne, by whom he hoped to be lorde and souereigne, of all duke Charles inheritaunce. To the furtheraunce of this mariage, holpe with all his power, the Duke of Britayn, as who saied, that it should be onely his acte. The Constable of Fraunce on the other parte, thought that he a lone, was able to compasse this mariage, and to haue soly the thankes, of the Duke of Guyen. The French king did all that he could, to let and stoppe this mariage: for if his brother had obteined, the young Lady with all her possessions, then he sawe well inough, that the Duke of Guyen, beyng ioyned with the Duke of Britayne, should be strong inough, or at the least of puissance inough, to encomber the Frenche kyng and his children. But kyng Edwarde of Englande, sore smoked, when he hard tell first of this mariage, and not without a cause: For he considered, that the Frēche kyng had no heire maile, but one weake boy and that the Duke of Guyen, was likely to were the Croune of Frāūce, after his brother or nephewe. And if this mariage should procede, all Burgoyn, Brabant, Holand, Zeland, Flaunders, and all the lowe countreys, where the Englishe men, for the most parte, made their martes, and vttered there their merchaundise, should be vnited and annexed, to the Croune of Fraunce, and in the handes of the old, and auncient enemies of the realme: For so had poore England, and litle Caleis, been cōtinually in the daunger of their enemies, almoste with theim enuironed rounde aboute. These thinges considered, kyng Edward and his counsail, tooke the matter in greate earnest, and seriously wrote to Duke Charles, that if he would conclude, any mariage in Fraunce, to the hurt and preiudice, of the realme of Englande: that he should knowe that he had, not onely broken his league and amitie, but also finde, that he had been better to haue dissimuled, with the best frende that he had, then priuily, without reason, to haue iuggeled with the realme of England. The Duke of Burgoyn made reasonable answeres, and honest excuses, but the Counsaill of Englande, in no wise would geue credite thereto: euer surmising that the mariage should take effect. And certainly at this season, the Englishemen had rather haue taken part, with the French king then with the Duke of Burgoyne: if it had not been onely, to empeche and stoppe this mariage, so muche the Englishemen disdained, to haue the house of Burgoyne, conioyned and vnite, to the Croune of Fraunce. But the Duke of Burgoyne dalied, and dissimuled with all parties, in this matter, geuyng them faire wordes, and makyng large promises, by the whiche he first deceiued other, & incōclusion himself. He promised his daughter to Nicholas Duke of Calaber, with whō, he had rather haue had her buried, then bedded. Duke Philbert of Sauoy, had an outward answere assuredly, when nothyng was so minded inwardly. Maximilian Duke of Austrice, and after kyng of Romaines, soonne to the Emperor Fredericke, could neuer obtein, during the life of duke Charles, but onely glosyng and painted promises: but all wordes, writynges and promises, what so euer they wer, clerely set a side, he was surely fixed and determined (as Argēton his counsailer doth write) that no mariage as long as he liued, should sort to any effecte, at the least by his consent.

Now lette vs leue the Duke of Burgoyne, aboute his affaires for a while, and returne to kyng Edward: which, in the xiii. yere of his reigne called his high Courte of Parliament, at his Palace of Westminster, in the whiche, all lawes and ordinaunces, made by hym before that daie were corroborated and confirmed: and suche Lawes made by hym, as kyng Henry the sixte, had caused to be abrogated and anichilated, he again reuiued and renouated. He made farther lawes, both for the confiscacion of the goodes of the rebelles, to his persone, as also for restoryng of suche, as fled out of the realme, for his querell and occasiō; which, by his aduersaries, as traitors to their Kyng and Countrey, a litle before, wer of high treason attainted, and to death cōdempned. Toward his charges of late susteined, a competent some of money was demaunded, and frankely graunted: and inconclusion, all inward grudges and open discordes, the which had of long continued, in the hartes of the nobilitie, whiche, now wer very fewe (the more part beyng consumed in the warres)

warres) he clerely extirped, and brought to vnitie and cõcorde. Kyng Edward holpe to this agrement, as much as in hym laie: And to the intent that other men, should forget iniuries to them done, and put away all rancor and malice: followyng his good and Godly example, he clerely pardoned almoste all offences, and all men then beyng within the Realme, he frankely discharged, although they had taken parte with his aduersaries against hym, of all high treasons and crimes.

¶ THE. XIII. YERE.

WHile kyng Edwarde was thus setting an ordre, and pacifiyng all thynges whiche were out of square: Charles duke of Burgoyn, whose spirite was neuer in quiet, whose ambicious mynde, was neuer satisfied, whose haute and high stomacke, could neuer be tamed, (till death it swaged and abated) desirynge aswell to amplify, and enlarge his territories and dominiõs, liyng on the side of the riuer of Ryne, toward high Burgoyn as also to recouer again Amias and other tounes, whiche the Frenche kyng, more by fraude then by feates of warre, had from hym wrongfully vsurped: and further aboue all thynges, couetyng to haue the Frẽche kyng, to haue some great shame, losse, or hinderaunce, could not inuent no one waie, so apt and mete for his imagined purpose, as to entice and perswade the kyng of Englande, by his ambassadors, to make warre vpon thesaid kyng and his countrey: for the recouerynge of his old right and auncient title in thesame by the French kyng & his father, against all right and equitie, with holden and deteigned. King Edward began a litle to harken on that side, not so much for to help the Duke of Burgoyne (to whom he was muche bounde, for his aide in the tyme of his exile, as you before haue harde) as for to be reuenged of kyng Lewes, whom, he reputed for his mortall enemie. Firste for aydyng the Erle of Warwicke and his complices, against him: secondarely, for the long maintcinyng, and fosteryng of Quene Margarete, and her soonne Prince Edwarde (whome for a farther affinitie, he had made Godfather to hys sonne Charles the Doulphyn) within his coũtreys & dominiõs. Whereupon, when he had consulted with the nobilitie and the chiefe and sage persons of the Realme (which in manner haue a certayn naturall inclination to make warre in Fraũce, either for hope of great spoyle and gayne, or of a certain priuie canker engendered in the hartes of their forefathers in tyme long past, and after by lyneall succession descended in to the stomackes of their nephewes) he aunswered the Dukes messenger that in the beginnyng of the yere, he would lande at Caleys with such a puyssant army, that the Frenche kyng should well perceyue that he lacked neither men, nor that hys men lacked stomackes, bothe for to reuenge their soueraygnes quarell, and also to recouer his right. And for a treugth at this season there was mortal war betwene kyng Lewes and the duke of Burgoyne. And more likely to fall betwene him and other, for kyng Lewes, of nature was hard of speche, and chorlish in aunswere, froward and vngentell aswell to hys frendes as to his foes. By reason whereof many great men within the realme of Fraunce, not content with his grosse rudenesse, and rude dissimulaciõ began to haue intelligens and to cleue to the duke of Burgoyn, emongest whom was Lewes of Luxenborough, erle of sainct Pol, and Constable of Fraunce which beyng confedered with the duke and other noble men, determined so to vex and scorge kyng Lewes with some plague, by the whiche other he should be transformed in to a man, clere altered from his olde qualities, or els should be in ieopardye, bothe of losse of lyue & realme, for it was determined that Fraunce should be set on & assaulted, both with outward enemyes, and inward dissimulers. All these thynges the duke of Borgoyne with kyng Edward, did communicate to the entent the soner to allure and prouoke him, to enterprise the warre, according to hys desyre. These thynges, as tokens of victorie, before animated kyng Edward, and enforced hym in maner to make warre on Fraunce and so with all expedicion prepared all thynges necessarie, both for water and lande. And because no small summe of money was sufficient for so great a charge, and that the money the yere before to him auaunced by the realme was consumed in hys houshold, and other necessarye affayres,

The. xiij. yere.

he conceyued a new deuice in hys imaginacion, by the which engine he might couertly perswade and entice hys ryche frendes, to geue and graunt him some conuenient summe of money, toward his inestable charges, and incredible costes, which thing if they did not willingly assent to, he then would impute to the greater ingratitude, and more vnkyndnes, wherupon he caused hys officers to bryng to him the most ryche persons one after another. And to them he explaned the cause, & the purpose, and the necessitie of the warre begon, and the faynt-nesse & leuenesse of his treasure, and the great & importune lacke of money hartely requyring them for their loue & affeccion, that always they had born to hym, beyng their natural Prince, of their awne gratuitie and frewill to geue to hym some ayde or money, for mayntenaunce of his warre and army: what should I say more: This inuencion came to this effect, that some calling to their remembraūce, the benefites of hym receyued, some with shame, some with feare moued and encouraged, gaue to hym liberally bothe of their substaūce and treasure, which without grudge he couldenot haue otherwise obteyned. But here I wil not let passe a prety conceyt, that happened in this gathering, in the which he shall not only note the humilitie of a kynge, but more the fantasie of a woman. Kyng Edward had called before him a wydow, muche aboundynge in substance, and no lesse growen in yeres, of whome he merely demanded what she gladly would geue him towarde his greate charges? By my treuth quod she, for thy louely countenance thou shalt haue euen. xx. l. the kyng lokyng scace for the halfe of that summe, thanked her, and louingly kyst her, whether the flauor of his brethe did so cōfort her stommacke, or she estemed the kysse of a kynge, so precious a iewel, she swore incontinently, that he should haue. xx. l. more, which she with thesame will payed that she offered it. The kyng willing to shew that this benefite was to hym much acceptable, and not worthy to be put in oblyuion called this graunt of money a beneuolence, not withstāding that many with grudge and maleuolēce gaue great summes toward that new foūde beneuolence: But the vsing of such getill fashions toward them, wyth frendly prayer of their assistance in his necessitie, so tempted theim that they could none otherwise do, but frankely and frely yelde & geue hym a reasonable reward.

THE. XIIII. YERE.

The. xiiii. yere. WHen all thynges conuenient for suche an enterprise were in a redynesse. Kynge Edwarde with his army remoued to Douer, where he found. v. C. shyppes and Hoyes redy to transport hym & hys army ouer the sea: And so he hym selfe w his nobilitie warlikely accōpaignied, passed ouer betwene Douer & Caleys, the iiij. daye of July, and landed at Caleys wyth great triumphe, his army horses and munycions of warre, scace passed ouer in. xx. dayes (whome the Frenchmen bragged, should haue ben taken if they had wel considered the chaūce before as they knew it after) When kyng Edward with all his army royall, was without any trouble landed, and in suertie he caused euery man, accordyng to his degre to be ordered & lodged. This armye, by the wrytinge of Argenton, was the fayrest and the strongest armye that passed out of Englande in to Fraunce many yeres before, for the men were so well armed, and so surely in all thynges appoynted & prouided, that the Frenche nacio were not onely amased to behold them but much more praysed them & there oder. In this army were. xv. C. men of armes well horsed, of the which the most parte were barded & rychely trapped, after the moste galiard fashion, hauyng many horses decked in one suyte. There were farther. xv. M. archers, beryng bowes & arrowes, of the whiche a greate parte were on horsebacke. There were also a great number of fighting men & other, aswell to set vp Tentes and Paulions (where of the Englishmē had great plenty) as to serue their Artilarie, and to enclose their campe, or otherwise to labor. And in all this army there was not one page.

The kyng of England was at his arryuall highly displeased wyth the duke of Borgoyn, which in the worde of a Prince, promised hym to mete hym at his landing with. ij. M. men of armes & light horsemē, besyde a great number of Lanceknightes & Halberders, & that he would haue be-

gonne the warre. iij. monethes before the kynges transportyng, the more to vex and greaue the Frēch kyng, & to cause him seke his wittes. The duke of Borgoyn at this season, lay at seage before the strōge towne of Nuyce, with a puissant armye, agaynst whome ware assembled the Emperor Frederike, and almost the whole Empire for to rescow of the towne, to whome the kyng of England sent the lord Scales in post, requyring him to leaue his voyd seage before the impregnable towne of Nuyce, and to retorne in all hast with his people and army to make warre in Fraunce, according to his promise and othe, declaring farther that the tyme passed, & the Somer woulde be lost, with this charge the lord Scales departed in all hast toward the duke, whome we wil leue, rydinge toward Nuyce for a whyle.

O Fraunce Fraūce, how much art thou bounde to laude & prayse the Sauior for the deliuerance, in the tyme of thy afflictiō. For if God had not permitted the cancard hart of the duke to be indurate, nor his weke brayne to be vexed, nor yet his ambicious affeccion to bee enflamed, so that he with all his power had ioyned with the army of England on ẏ one syde, hauyng on their syde the duke of Brytayn with his power. These thre princes had bene lyke to haue make Fraunce, either to bow or to breke, either to yelde or to suffer the chaunces of fortune, which she lyke a waueryng Goddes, had prouided for her punishment. Before kyng Edward departed from Douer, he sent to the Frenche kynge an officer of armes (whome Argenton vntrewly calleth Garter borne in Normandy, for the rome of Gartier was neuer geuen to no estraunger) which Herault deliuered to the French kynge with all dew reuerence a letter of diffiance, bothe for the stile & the pennyng excellently endited, which the Frenchmen would scant beleue to be framed by an Englishman. The letter requyred the Frēch king to render to the king of Englande, the realme of Fraunce to him of right, & by lyneall enheritaunce aperteyning & belonging to thentēt that he might put agayn ẏ church, the nobilitie, and the commons into their auncient estates, & liberties, & to disburdē & exonerate them of the great charges, trauayles & labors, that they now were in. And in case ẏ he did refuse so to do, then he dyd protest the harme that should ensue, in the forme & maner, that in suche a case is requisyte and accustomed to be done. Kyng Lewes red the letter secretly to him selfe, & after all alone in a great study withdrew him self into hys warderobe, & sending for the English Herault, said to hym, sir I know, and wel wot, ẏ the kyng of Englād your master is neither descended in these partes of his awne fre mocion, nor yet of vs requyred, but onely entised & prouoked by the duke of Borgoyn, and somewhat enforced by the cōmons of his Realme. But now you may se that ẏ season of the yere passeth, & the duke of Burgoyn is in poore estate, returning from Nuyce all most discōforted. The Cōstable also, with whome the kyng your souereygne lord, I am sure hath some intelligence for fauor that your master hath maried his nece, is not so sure a frende as he is taken for, & if all the world knew how I haue promoted him, & what I haue done for him they would littel thynk, that he would so vntrewly handle me as he dothe, for I assure you he is a depe dissimuler, & in continual dissimulacion, entendeth to lede his lyfe, entertayning all mē for his awn profit. And although ẏ kyng your master, be vnsure of all hys other promises, yet of one thing be shall be sure, that is, he shall be euer dissimuled with all, & therefore I say to you, and not to your master, ẏ he were better haue a peace with an old enemye, then the promises and familiaritie of a new dissimuling frēde, which peace most pleaseth God, and is the thinge that I most do desyre. When he had sayd, he gaue to the Herault. iij. C. crounes, promisinge hym a. M. crounes, if any good apoyntement came to passe. The Herault beyng more coueteous of the crounes, then secret, according to the ductie of his office, promised to do all thinges that in him lay, not doubting, but that the kyng his master would be conformable to any reasonable offer, aduisinge the Frenche kyng (after kyng Edward were once landed) to send to him an Herault, to fetche a saueconduyte & pasport, for such as should labor & trauayle in that treatie. And that the sayd Herault should first resort to the lord Stanley, or to the lord Haward, for the cōducting of him to the kinges presence, when the Herault should depart, the kynge gaue him a pece of Crymosen Veluet of xxx. yardes long, commaundinge & straygbtly chargyng, that no man should be so hardy,

once

once to cõmen with him, but to let hym passe in all gentel fashiõ. When the Herault was goue, kinge Lewes callyng to him. vii. or. viij. of his familiers, caused the letter too be red, of the whiche he was but a littel afrayd & lesse abashed, considering the English Herault had shewed him playnly, how to enter into ỹ port of the treatie, & in maner how to gayne & conquere the fortresse, of which enformacion he was not a littel ioyous, & wisely and secretly according to thesame, when he saw his tyme, he prosecuted his purpose. In this very season the lord Scales came to the duke of Burgoyn before Nuyce, accompting to him his message, as he was commaunded. The duke of Burgoyn, beyng so sore set to cõquere the town of Nuyce, aunswered the lord Scales that his honor was lost, and shame should be spoken of him thorough all Christendom, if he should rayse his feld and breke his seage, but he hoped shortly to gayne the towne, and then with triumphãt victory, to come to ayde kyng Edward with his whole army: with thys aunswere ỹ lord Scales departed, which onely answere was comen without any other augmentacion, to all such as kyng Edward sent, to haue the duke to kepe his promes. What a folye was this in duke Charles, to besege a towne impregnable, euen at thesame time when the Englishmen at his request had passed the sea, which thyng all the tyme of his regiment, he had bothe traueled in, and sore requyred, and neuer coulde compasse tyll this season, and also all thinges beyng well disposed for hys purpose, both in Brytayn and in other places, except he more regarded to conquere a new towne, then to defende all his olde possessions and seigniories. But shortly after by the Bishoppe of Romes authoritie, he left Nuyce vnconquered, but lesyng a great nũber of his people, and the remnaũt he sent into Lorayn and Barroys, there to lye and trouble duke Reyner of Lorayn, whiche a littel before had defied hym, lyeng before Nuyce. And he him self with a small company, came to kyng Edward before Caleys, with whom kyng Edward at the fyrst comming, began somewhat to be grieued, laiyng to his charge that at hys mocion, request and desyre, he with all hys army had passed the seas onely to the entent with mortal warre, to plague and scourge the proude realme of Fraunce. And that he leuyng all thynges (whiche should molest or trouble the Frenche kyng) a parte, applied hym selfe to matters of Lorayne, and externe nacions, more then to reuenge the open iniuries to him done by hys neyghbor the Frenche kynge. The duke excused hym selfe with ieoparding the losse of hys honor, if he had returned from Nuyce, and also that of necessitie, he was compelled too leue hys armye in Lorayne, to be reuenged ouer duke Reyner, whiche had hym before Nuyce with spytefull wordes and raylyng termes defied and detested: affirmyng farther, that now in the beginnynge with a small companye, a great enterprice myght be gayned. In profe wherof he deliuered to the kynge letters of credence, sent from the Constable of Fraunce, which willed the king to geue credite and perfait faith to the duke. In makyng relacion of suche secretes as were to hym geuen in charge to declare to the kynges awne person, fyrste he shewed that all though the Constable had promised to the kyng and the duke, to rẽder vp to them the towne of sainct Quintynes, yet it had not come to so good effect, if it had bene yelded, the duke beynge in Germany, as it now shall, the kynge and the duke beynge bothe personally presente, at the deliuerãce. Wherfore he exhorted the kyng to set forward, and to display hys banner, and set forth hys standard. And so by hys mocion, the kyng accompanied with the duke hys armye departed out of Caleys, and passed by Boleyne to Perone, where the Englishmen thought them selfes of the duke, more lyke enemyes then frendes to be entertayned, for at the gates entered but a few that were appoynted, the remnant lodged in the feldes, better purueyed of their awne, then of the dukes prouision.

The kyng of England, thinkyng surely, and fyrmely beleuyng that the Constable ment all treuthe, and the soner enduced to that credence because the Constable was great Vncle to the Quene his wyfe, where in very dede, he nothing lesse minded then trouthe, remoued his campe from Peron, the duke of Borgoyn beyng in his army, and marched toward saynct Quintynes: certayne Englishmen ran before the toune, agaynst whose commyng they thought that the belles should haue ben roug, and the gates set open. But whẽ they approched the

toune

toune the artillarie beganne to shote, and they of the toune came out both on fote and horsbacke, and skyrmished with the Englishmen, of whiche two or thre were slayne. This welcome semed very straunge to kyng Edward ponderynge together yestardayes promise, and two dayes doyng. The duke woulde not that the kyng should desist from hys purpose, because the toune was not yelded at the sight of a handfull of people, whyche thyng he sayd, although the Constable woulde gladly haue done, at the first, but yet he woulde haue a couler to do it, as thoughe it should appere that he did it by verye conpulsion and force: and therefore, if the kynge woulde make but semblance to besege the toune, he would warrant, that incontinent it should be rendered. The kynge of Englande, perceyuynge that he was deluded in his first enterprice, thought it more surer to heare the fayre wordes of the constable, and the duke, then to geue credit to theyr vntrew and disceatfull doynges. The Englishemen returned to theyr campe, very yll content, as I can not blame them murmeryng agaynst the Constable, callynge hym Traytor, periured & vntrew gentelman. Besyde this angre, ther came the next daye another corsey, that smarted a littell sorer, for duke Charles of Borgoyne, by whose meanes kynge Edward had taken vpon hym this warre, either perceyued that all the Constables promises were but fayre sunne shynyng, swetely spoken, and sowerly performed, or els he saw that he him selfe lacked mẽ or money, to procede farther with king Edward in his iorney: toke hys leue sodaynly of the kyng of Englande, saiynge that he must nedes visite, and se hys annoye in Berroys, promisinge shortly with all puissance to returne agayne to the great auantage and comoditie of them bothe, and so in hast departed.

This departyng was bothe displeasaunt and straunge to the king of Englande, considering that in hope to haue the duke hys continuall felow in armes, and too haue hys counsayll in the order of hys people (whiche of late had not frequented the warre of Fraunce, nor yet perfitly knewe the force, the agilitie and the maner of the Frenche nacion) had passed the seas, raysed his standard, and by dukes procurement entered into the lande of his enemyes, and nowe to be left alone withoute guyde or leder, without ayde or succor in the middel of hys foes, he could no lesse thynke, but that the duke neither vsed hym lyke a prince nor yet kept hys promes lyke a trewe man, whyche vnstable and dissimulyng workynge, caused, ye, and rather enforced kyng Edward, both to thynke that he neuer thought, and to do that he neuer entẽded to do. The Englishe men sore murmured against the Constable, and no lesse against the duke, sauyng thei determined, neuer to geue confidẽce to the Constables wordes, and greatly doubted, whether thei might geue any credite to the dukes promise. Thus laie thenglishmen in the feldes whẽ the cold nightes begã to waxe long, without any gain of cõquest, which caused the common people, which be not alwaies content with hardnes rather to desire to returne homewarde, then to procede any daies iorney forward. The French kyng whiche was bothe wily & wittie (and especially for his awne purpose) knewe by his espialls, & vntrue refusall made by the Constable, the vnfrendly departyng of the Duke of Burgoyne, and the daily murmuryng of thenglishemen, against them bothe, wherfore he thought nowe, that it was verie expedient, to folowe the counsaill of the Englishe Herault, in sendyng for a saueconduite, for metyng of Ambassadors, to common of a treatie, if it might be well compassed. But yet to auoyde all doubtes, he reised an armie, and the more he perceiued, the power of his enemies to encrease, the more he studied, how by power to resist them, and ouer that armie he made capitain, Monsire Robert de Estoteuile a valiaunt man, whom, he sent into Artoys, to defende the Frountiers there, against the kyng of Englandes entree and inuacions: and he himself taried still at Senlis. The Frenche kyng beyng thus priuilie desirous of peace, although he outwardly shewed the countenaunce of Mars: meanyng quietnes, and settyng furthe warre, caused a varlet to be subornated, in a cote armure of Fraũce (whiche for hast, was made of a trũpet banner) because king Lewes was not muche desirous, nor greatly passed on honor, and seldome had in his Courte, either officer of Armes or Trompet: which varlet was well animated, and no less instructed, how to do his message (whiche was deliuered to hym in writyng) bothe with a bolde countenaunce, and a sober demeanure. This coũterfeight Herault, although he was but a verlet in dede, was

bothe

bothe wittie and well spoken, and so rode in sad maner, nere to the Englishe army, and there put on his cote of Armes. The Englishe outskourers perceiuyng by his cote, that he was an officer of armes, gently saluted hym, and enquired of hym, whether his iorney laie: he sadly answered, that his message was from the French king, to the kyng of Englande. Then was he conueighed to the tent, where the Lorde Haward, and the Lorde Stanley, with other were at dinner, where he was highly entertaigned, and no lesse welcomed. And after dinner, he was brought before the kyng, in whose presence, with a bold audacitie, and no fearful speche, he declared first his credence, because he was an officer of armes (to whom, credite by the lawe of all nacions, ought to be geuen) and secondarely, he published the thynges, to hym geuen in charge and commaundement, saiyng: Right high & mightie prince right puyssaunt and noble kyng, if your excellent wisedō did perfectly knowe, or your high knowledge did apparantly perceiue: what inward affeccion, and feruent desire, the kyng my Master hath alwaies had, to haue a perfecte peace, a sure vnitie, and a fraternall concord, betwene your noble persone, and your Realme, and his honorable personage, and his Dominions, you would (and for truthes sake) should confesse and saie, that neuer Christian Prince, more thrusted for an amitie, nor yet no louer hath more sought, to attain to the fauor of his paramor, then he hath soughte to haue with you a perpetuall frendship, amitie, and alliance: to the intent that the subiectes of bothe the realmes, quietly liuyng vnder two princes confederate and combined together, in an indissoluble confederacie and league, maie mutually embrace eche other in their hartes, maie personally haue resort, and frequent eche others princes territories and dominions, with their Merchaundises and wares: And finally, the one to liue with the other, as frende with frende, brother with brother, compaignion with compaignion, in continuall loue, reste, and tranquilitie. And for his parte he dooth affirme and saie, that sithe he receiued firste the Crowne of his kingdom, and was annoynted with the holy Ampulle, he neuer attempted, nor yet once imagined, any warre or thyng preiudicial toward your royall persone, your realme, or your people. If you peraduenture will saie, that he supported, and maintained the Erle of Warwicke, against your maiestie, he surely that dooth and will denie: For he aided hym against the Duke of Burgoyne, whom, he knewe not onely to be his extreme enemie, but also to laie in waite, bothe by sea and land either to take hym, or vtterly to destroye hym. Whiche Duke of Burgoyne, onely for his awne cause, hath excited and sollicited your highnes, to come ouer the troubelous and tempestious seas, to the intent to cause (yea, in maner to compell) the kyng my Master, to condescende to suche treatie and appoyntment, as should be to his onely profite, and neither to your honor, nor yet to your gain. For if he and such other, as daily flatered hym for their peculier profites (as he had many in deede, that daily sucked at his elbowe) had once obteined the thyng, that thei breathed for, all your affaires wer put in oblioion, and lefte at large for them, or their assistence, euen as thei be at this daie. Hath not the Duke of Burgoyn caused you, first to come into Fraunce: after to set forward your armie, and incōclusion, for lake of his promise, to lese the faire season of the yere, and to lye in the feldes in Winter? Whiche warre, if it cōtinue, shall neither be profitable to you, nor yet your nobilitie, nor yet pleasaunte, but painfull to your commōnaltie: And finally to bothe the realmes, and especially to merchaunt menne, shall bryng bothe misery, pōuertie, and calamitie. Came the Duke of Burgoyne from Nuce to Caleis, onely to visite you? Rode he all that poste haste, onely to blynde you? Returned he backe into Lorayne again for any cause, but onely to leue you desolate, and to abandon you? Did he or the Constable kepe any one promise with you? Why do you then beleue & yet still trust them in whom, you neuer found faithe nor fidelitie? But if God will it so ordain, that you and my master, maie loye in a league and amitie, I dare bothe saie and swere, that the fine steie neuer cleued faster to the Adamant stone, then he will sticke and claspe with you, bothe in wealthe and woo, in prosperitie and aduersitie: And if it shall please you, to harken to any reasonable treatie, I beyng a poore man, shall on ieoperdie of my life (whiche is my chief treasure) vndertake, that this communicacion shall sorte and come to suche an effecte, that bothe you and

and your nobilitie shalbe glad and reioyse, and your commons, shalbe contented and pleased, and they that haue deceiued you, shalbe bothe abashed and ashamed: Moste humbly beseechyng your highnes, if your pleasure shal encline this waie, that I maie haue a sure saue conduite, for one hundred horses, for suche personages as the kyng my Master, shall send to you with farther intimacion of his mynd and purpose. And if your pleasure shalbe, to haue the communicatiō in any place, indifferent betwene bothe tharmies, then I shall warraunt you a like saueconduite for your men, as you do sende for oures. When he had accomplished his message and instruccions, the kyng of Englande and his counsaill, highly commended his audacitie, his toungue, and his sobernes, geuyng to him in reward, a faire gylte cuppe, with a hundred angelles: deliueryng hym a saueconduite, accordyng to his request and demaunde, with the whiche, he with spede departed, hauyng with him an English herault, to bryng a like saueconduite, from the Frenche kyng. After both the Princes had maturely consulted on this matter, and that the saueconduites, were deliuered on bothe partes: The ambassadors mette, at a village beside Amias, where were sent by the kyng of England, the Lorde Haward, sir Thomas Sentliger, Doctor Morton, after Chauncelor of England. For the Frenche kyng wer sent, the Bastarde of Burbon, Admirall of Fraunce, the Lorde of sainct Pierre, the Bushop of Eureux called Heberge. It maie of some be not a litle marueiled at, why the French king thus labored, and sought for peace, and did make so humble, and large offers as he did: But if thei considred in what case, the realme of Fraūce stode in, at that tyme hauyng the kyng of Englande, the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Britayne, their enemies, and all furnished to set vpon them at one instaunt: They maie saie, that the Frenche kyng was bothe wise and circumspecte, to humble hymself for auantage, or els if God had not holpen, the realme of Fraunce had been troubled, and tossed in greate ieoperdie, and daungerous extremitie. The Ambassadors met at the place appoynted, the Englishe menne demaunded, the whole realme of Fraunce, or at the least Normandy, and whole Aquitaine, the allegacions were well proued by the Englishmen, and pollituquely defended by the Frenche men, so that with argumentes, without conclusiō the daie passed, and the Commissioners departed, and made relacion to their Masters. The Frenche kyng and his counsaill, would in no wise consent, that the kyng of England, should haue any parte, or parcell of lande, within the realme of Fraunce: but rather fully determined, to put hymself and his whole realme, in hazard and aduenture: so lothe, ye more aferde, then lothe, he was to haue the Englishmen, to be his next neighbors. The commissioners at the next metyng, concluded and agreed certain articles, which were by bothe the Princes, accepted and allowed. It was first couenaūted and agreed, that the French kyng should paie to the kyng of England without delaie. lxxv. M. Crounes of the sunne, and yerely. l. M. crounes, to be paied at London, duryng kyng Edwardes life. And farther it was agreed, ỹ Charles the Dolphyn should mary the lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to kyng Edward, & thei twoo to haue for the mainteinaunce of their estates, thewhole Duchie of Guyen or els. l. M. crounes, yerely to be persolued & paied within the toure of London, by the space of. ix. yeres: and at the end of thesaied terme. The dolphin & his dolphines, peaceably to enioy the whole duchie of Guyen and of that charge the French kyng, against the kyng of England, then to be clerely exonerate. And further it was a greed & appointed, that the. ii. princes, bothe for thencreace of loue, & for the continuaunce of amitie should enteruew eche other, in some place moste expedient, & mete for so greate a purpose: & after their metyng, eche of thē to take a corporal othe in presence of thother. This peace to endure. ix. yeres betwene bothe the realmes, inuiolate to obserue & kepe al thynges cōcluded, agreed & appoynted, & on the kyng of Englandes part, wer cōprised as allies in the league, the dukes of Burgoyn & Britain, if thei would assent. And ỹ after ỹ whole some aforsaid, was to kyng Edward paied: he should league in hostage the lorde Haward, & sir Ihō Cheyney Master of his horses, til he with all his army, was passed ouer the sea. This peace much reioysed the French kyng, to whō, nothing could be either more pleasaunt, or more exceptable, then to haue thenglishmē in short space (how shortly he cared not) clerely

auoyded, & transported out of his realme: immaginyng euer that by their tariyng, thei would so like the holesome & swete aire of his fruitfull country, that a greate nomber would be cōtinually sicke & vexed till thei returned, & sought for their health in thesame delicious climate again, wherfore to rid the with all haste spēde, he borowed ỹ said some of lxxv. M. crounes, of euery man that might lend a porcion. King Edward likewise, although he was of puissance strong inough, to acheue a great enterprise on his enemies, & farther incoraged, because he was renomed for ỹ famous actes, by him before tyme perpetrated, & brought to passe, in so many battailes. Desiryng also, rather to haue war, with the Frēch nacion beyng the old & auncient enemie, to thenglishe name & bloud, yet when he called to his remembraunce, that the ciuill warre, had so exhausted and consumed his substaunce and treasure, that if vrgent necessitie should expostulate, he wer of scant abilitie, to conscribe and set furthe a newe armie: knowyng his treasorie at home, to be so voyde and faint, that it was not able, long to wage his souldiors, thought it both reasonable and profitable, to obeye to necessitie, and to abstein from battail seyng bothe honorable offers, to him obleted and agremēntes of auantage to hym mocioned. Consideryng chiefly beside all this, that neither the Duke of Burgoyne, nor the Constable of Fraunce, did, nor would observe or performe the promises by them made and sworne. Wherupō he and the moste of his counsaill, (and specially suche as loued better peace then warre, & their wifes soft bēddes, better then hard harnesse, or a stony lodgyng) agreed to this conclusion and concord. But the duke of Gloucester and other to whom the French nacion, was more odious then a tode, whose swordes thrusted for French bloud, detested, abhorred, and cried out on this peace, saiyng: that all their trauaill, pain, and expences, wer to their shame loste and employed, and nothyng gained but a continuall mocke, and daily derision of the Frēnche kyng, & all his minions: this imaginacion tooke effecte without delaie. For a gentle manne of the Frenche kynges chamber, after the peace was concluded, did demaunde of an Englishman how many battailes kyng Edward had vanquished, and he answered, nyne: wherein he hymself, personally had been. A greate honor, saied the Frenche man, but I praie you qᵗ he, smilyng: How many hath he lost, the Englishman perceiuyng what he ment, saied: one whiche you by pollicie, and by no strength haue caused hym to lese. Well said the Frenche manne, you may ponder in a paire of balāce, the gain of the nyne gotten battailes, and the rebuke of this one in this maner loste: for I tell you, that wee haue this saiyng, the force of England hath and doth, surmount the force of Fraunce: but the engenious witte of the Frenche men, excell the dull braynes of Englishmen. For in all battailes you haue been the gayners, but in leagues and treaties, our wittes haue made you losers: so that you may content your selfes, with the losse in treaties, for the spoyle that you gatte in warres and battailes. This cōmunicacion was reported to the French kyng, whiche priuily sent for the Englishman to supper, and not onely made him goode chere, but also gaue hym a thousande Crounes, to praise the peace and to helpe to maintain thesame: yet neuerthelesse, he beyng not a litle moued with these bragges, declared all the communicacion to the duke of Gloucester, which sware that he would neuer haue sette foote out of Englande, if he had not thought, to haue made the Frenchmen, once to assaied the strength and puyssaūce, of the Englishmen: but whatsoeuer he thought, all thynges wer transmuted, into another kynde, then he could imagin. The Duke of Burgoyne beyng enformed, that there was a peace entreatyng, betwene the two kynges: came in no small hast from Luxenborough, onely accompaignied by sixtene horses, into the kyng of Englādes lodgyng, wherof, the kyng beyng not a litle abashed seyng bothe his sodain commyng, and his fierse countenaunce, like one that would rather bite then whyne, demaunded of him the cause of his so sodain commyng. The Duke sharply answered, to knowe whether he had, either entered into any communicaciō, or onely had absolutely concluded a peace, betwene the Frenche kyng and him. Kyng Edward declared, how that for sondery, and diuerse greate and vrgent causes, touchyng aswell the vniuersall publique wealth, of the whole Christianitie as their awne priuate commoditie, and the quietnes of their realmes, he and the French kyng, had concluded a peace and amitie, for terme

of.

of. ix. yeres, in the whiche were comprised, as felowes and frendes, bothe he and the Duke of Britayne, requiryng him to condiscende, and agree to thesame. Oh Lorde, Oh sainct George, q^t the Duke of Burgoyne, haue you thus dooen in deede: Haue you passed the seas, entered into Fraunce and without killyng of a pore flie, or burnyng of a sely shepe cote, and haue taken a shamefull truce: Did your noble auncester, kyng Edward the thirde euer make armie into Fraunce (as he made many) in the which, he did not either gain victory in battail, or profite in conqueryng, cities, tounes, and countreys. That victorious prince, as nere kinne to me, as you to kyng Henry the fifth, I meane whose bloud, you haue, either rightefully or wrongfully, God knoweth, extirpate and destroyed, with a small puyssaunce entered into Fraūce, conquered whole Normādy, and not alonely cōquered it, but peaceably kept it, and neuer would either commen, or agree to any league, till he had the whole Realme of Fraunce offered hym, and was thereof made, Regent and heire apparāt and you without any thyng dooyng, or any honor or profite gainyng, haue condiscended to a peace, bothe as honorable, and as profitable to you, as a Pesecode, and not so wholesome as a Pomegranate: thynke you that I either moued you, or once entised you, to take this iorney for my peculier aduauntage, or cōmoditie (whiche of my power am able, to reuenge mine awne causes, without help of other) but onely to haue you recouer, your old rightes & possessions, whiche wer frō you, both torciously & wrongfully with holden. And to thintent that you shall knowe, that I haue no nede of your aide, I will neither enter into your league, nor take truce with the Frenche kyng, till you bee passed the sea, and haue been there three monethes. When Duke Charles had said, he furiously threwe doune his chayer, and would haue departed. But the kyng hym staied and saied: Brother Charles, sith you haue spoken at leaser, what you would, you muste and shall, heare again, what you would not: And first as concernyng our entery into Fraūce, no manne liuyng knoweth that occasion, neither so well, nor hath cause halfe so well, to remembre it as you: For if you haue not fully, put your greatest thynges, to be had in memorie, in your boxe of obliuion, you be not yet out of mynde, how the Frenche kyng, for all your power, tooke from you the faire toune of Amias, and the strong Pile of. S. Quintynes, with diuerse other tounes, which you neither durst, nor yet were able, either to rescowe or defende. Sith whiche tyme, how he hath plagued you, how he hath taken from you your frendes, yea, of your priuie chamber, and secrete counsaill (by whom all youre secretes, bee to hym reueled and made open) you knowe or haue better cause to remembre, and not to forget them. And when you determined, to besiege the toune of Nuce, you thought youre self, in a greate doubte, whether you should lease more at home, by your absence, (the Frenche kyng dremyng, and waityng like a Foxe for his praie) or els gain more in Germany, by your power and presence, and to kepe the wolfe from the folde, that is the Frenche kynge, from your Castels and dominions, was the chiefe and principall cause, why you so fayre prayed me, so sore laboured and entyced me to passe ouer the sea, promisynge mountaynes of golde, whiche turned into snowe, and wasted to water, boastynge and crakynge to sende horsemen and fotemen, and yet shewinge neither lackey nor page. If we hadde made our enterprice for oure selfe soly, and in our awne quarell thynke you that we wouldе haue expected your commynge. If the aduenture hadde bene for to haue recouered our ryghte, imagyn you ỹ we wouldе haue passed the sea so slenderly, as we did lokynge for your ayde? Nay, nay, you should haue well knowen, if we had intended a conquest, that we wouldе haue so strongly inuaded, & set on the Realme of Fraunce, ỹ what with sauor of burnynge of townes, and infeccion of the ayre, corrupted by the multitude of dead carcases of our slayne enemyes, youre countreys of Flaunders and Brabant should haue had causes inough to wonder at, trusting that, that which we had gotten, we would haue kept aswell as any of our auncetours haue done: but because the very occasion of the warre was yours, and that you wilfully (I will not saye cowardly) did not prosecute thesame, the Frenche kynge, whiche neuer offended me nor my subiectes (except in maynteininge the erle of Warwycke, for the displeasure that you bare hym agaynste me) offered me, beyng destitute of all your succour and ayde, bothe honorable and honest ouer-

tures of peace, which offers I was in maner enforced, by very reason to enclyne to and to accept & so haue concluded a truce, whiche God willyng I will bothe kepe & obserue. God sende you ioy quod the duke, & sodaynly toke his horse & rode agayn to Luxenborough. After this day the kyng and the duke, neuer loued, nor neuer saw eche other, such is the end of vntrustynes & promisbrekyng. If the duke of Burgoyn were angry when he hard how this peace was in communicaciō much more angry was the Constable of Fraunce, fearynge lest, that by that conclusion he might be reputed of the French kyng vntrew, as he had well deserued it. Wherfore he sent hys confessor to kynge Edward, with letters of credēce, requiring him hartely littell to regard ỹ Frēch kynges woordes, and lesse to trust to his promise, affermynge that the Frenche kynge woulde no lenger kepe promise, then kynge Edwarde were on that syde of the sea: and rather then he shoulde agree with the Frenche kyng, for a small summe of money, he offered to lende hym. l. thousand crounes, with many other fayre profers. The kynge of Englande made answere that the truce was concluded, and that he would nothing chaunge, concernyng the matter, & that if he had kept promise with hym, he would not haue made that apoyntement nor agrement. Then was the Constable in maner on all sydes in dispayre, but yet lie wrote to the French kyng by his messengers, besechyng him to geue no credite or belefe, to any tale tolde or fayned agaynste him, without hearyng his answere, affirming that the kynge had always knowen hys treuth and fidelitie, towarde the croune of Fraunce, and so shoulde he still fynde hym till his dyeng day, promising & warranting him, if that it should stand with his pleasure, that he woulde so cōpasse the duke of Burgoyn, that they two should vtterly destroy the kyng of Englande and his army or they returned.

The counsaylers of the French kyng made answere, that their Master and the kyng of England were ioyned and confedered in a sure amitie, wherfore they would in no wise know nor condiscēd to any thing that might be either preiudicially or once sounde to the detriment of the Englishmen: But they sayd, that the kyng their master muche trusted ỹ Constable, and that for his sake he would talke with them in his priuy chamber. The French kyng, before their entry into his chamber, caused the lord of Countay seruaunt to the Duke of Burgoyn, accōpanied with the lord of Argenton, one of his priuie counsayll, to stande secretly behynd a selyng or a hangyng in his chamber, and he him selfe sat in a chayre directly before that place, so that whatsoeuer were purposed to hym, they standing behynd the clothe, might easely se, & facile heare the same. Lewes de creuell and his felow entered into the kynges chamber of nothinge thinkinge lesse then of the sprytes enclosed: they declared what payne their master had taken for the French kynges sake, to send moue and entyce the duke of Burgoyn to leaue, and clerely to forsake ỹ kyng of England, which duke they founde in suche a rage and fury against the Englishmen that at their request, he was not onely vtterly determined, to forsake and refuse their amitie, but also would sende out aduenturers and Lanceknightes, to robbe & spoyle them in their retornyng. And in spekyng these wordes (thinking surely much to please the kyng) the sayd Lewes counterfeyted the fashion and gesture of the duke of Burgoyn, & began to stape with his fote on the groūd, and bete with his fyste on the table, sweryng by saincte George that the kyng of England was not extracted of no noble house, but was a yomans sonne, & that when he was not worth one halfpeny, he was restored to his kyngdome, and made kyng onely by his ayde, reprouyng and reuilyng hym with suche yll wordes, and so shamful termes, that all the herers abhorred it. The Frēch kyng fayning that he was thycke of hearyng, caused him to reiterate his saiyng agayn, which so cōterfeited the very gesture of the dukes angry countenaunce & roryng voyce, that no man hathe sene a better counterfaytor or player in any Comedie or Tragedie. The lord of Cōtay was sore displeased to se his master made a iestingstocke but he kepte all these thinges secret, tyll his retorne to his master. When the pagiaunt was played, the kyng bad the messengers of ỹ Cōstable, to haue him cōmended to his brother their master, and to declare to him that as newes rose and grew, he would therof aduertise him, & so gaue them licence to depart to their master,

who

who thought him selfe now to be in great suertye of hys estate, when in dede he was neuer so nere his falle and perdicion: Estemyng the duke of Burgoyn to be his assured frende, whiche hated hym more then a Panym, or a Turke, accomptyng also the French kyng to haue no yll suspicion in hym, whiche neither trusted nor yet beleued any worde, writyng or message that was either writen or sent from him: Such ende hath all dissimulacion, such frute springeth of double dealing & crafty cõueyeng: for if either ỹ Cõstable had bene faithfull to the kyng his master, as of bounden duetye & allegeaunce he ought to be, or els had kept his promes, made to ỹ king of England & duke of Burgeyn, and not dalied & dissimuled with thẽ, he had surely in his extremitie bene ayded, succored & cõforted of one of these thre at the lest, where now he was of al thre forsakẽ, & yet not forsaken, but sought for, looked for, & watched for, not for his profit or promocion, but for hys vndoing and destruccio: Now let vs leaue of the Cõstable, and returne to the cõclusion of the peace. When all thinges were appointed, wryten & established, the peace was proclaymed in bothe the campes, and the kyng of England, the soner to consumate the amitie by othe as it was agreed, came within bulfe a leage of Amyas, where the French kyng was, which to thentent to obteyne the more fauor of Thẽglishmen, sent into their army a. C. Cartes, loden with wyne, ỹ best that might be gotten. And farther, because the Englishmen resorted to the town of Amyas, both for their pastime & business, he ordeined at ỹ very entrie of the gate of the town two great & long tables, to be set on euery syde of the streat, where the Englishmen should passe, & euery table was abundantly furnished with all sortes of delicate viand, & especially of such as would prouoke an appetite to drynke, there lacked no wyne of no sorte, seruitours were redy to serue and minister al thinges necessary. And farther to accompany & familierly to entertayne the English naciõ at euery table were apoynted. v. or vj. gentelmen, of the beste compaignions of the whole cõtray, not only to se them serued without lackyn but also to drynke and make good chere, and kepe company with them, and euer as they entered into the towne, they were taken by the brydels and in maner enforced to drynke, wheresoeuer they came they payed no money, but were set scot free, which chere lasted. iii. or. iiii. dayes, to the French kynges cost, and in conclusion to his no small vnquietinge. For one day there entered into the towne of Amyas. ix.M. Englishmen, wel armed, so that no Frẽchmen durst once forbid them to entre, their occasion of enteryng into the toune was onely to refreshe them, and to bye thinges necessary for their businesses and affayres. When the Frenche kyng was therof enformed, he was somwhat vexed & more amased, fearing either the losse of his toune, or hurt of his people: He sent to Thenglish capitaynes, requiryng them to withdraw their souldiers to theyr Campe, the capitaynes performed the kynges desyre, as much as in thẽ lay, but if they sent out xx, ten came backe agayne, and brought more cõpany with them. The French kyng sent Monsier de Guye, Marshall of Fraũce, & other into the toune to se the Englishmẽs behaueour, they founde some drinkyng, some singing, & some slepyng, so that they might perceyue, that they meant neither disceat nor vntreuth: yet the Frenche kyng, which of his nature was very suspicious, & especially toward the Englishmen, came to the gate of Amyas, strongly accõpaiguied, & caused iij C. men of armes to be kept secretly in their capitaynes houses, & other cõpaigny he set on the portall, where ỹ Englishmẽ entered, a smal number God wot, to haue resisted the great company of Englishmen if they had either entẽded any thing toward ỹ French kyng or his toune. The kyng of England was priuilie enformed of ỹ Frẽch kinges, doubtfull imaginacion & vntrew suspicio, wherfore he sent worde to him that he should make a Proclamacion, that no Englishmã should entre into the toune vpon a peyne. The Frẽch kyng made answere, that it neither stode with his honor, nor yet with any princely humanitie, ỹ he should forbid his frendes (as he called them) to take their pleasure in his toune, but if it might please the kyng of Englãd, to apoint certain of the yomẽ of his Croune, to stand at the gate, & to apoynt, not onely who shoulde enter, but also the number of theim, he thought that this moderacion should be both suerty & pleasure to both the parties. Which request the kyng of

England

England with quicke spede, caused to be performed to ỹ great quietnes of the French kyng & his cousaill, casting farther periles then reason then required. You, haue still in your remẽbrãce, how an article of the treaty was, that the two Princes shoulde enterview, & mete in a place by both parties to be appoynted. The kyng of England appoynted the lord Haward, & syr Thomas Sentliger, & a Herault: for ỹ Frẽch kyng were assigned the lord Bouchace, & the lord of Argentõ. Whe they had vewed the Ryuer, they agreed the most conuenient & surest place to be at Pycquegnye, on the water of Some. iii. leagues frõ Amyas. The toune standeth lowe, and the Ryuer passeth thorough. On that side ỹ the French kyng should come, the coũtrey fayre & open, and so likewise the other parte was very pleasaunt: but towarde the Ryuer, ther was a Cawsey of. ii. arow shot in lẽgth, which was enuyroned with marshes surely it was a daungerous passage to conueye a Prince in a straunge Realme, by such a strayte, if the Frenche men had ment any fraude, but verely the kyng of England had so great trust & confidẽce in the honor & promise of the Frẽch kyng & his nobilitie, that he would vpon their assurance aduentured farther then this, if his will might haue ben performed. Then it was cõcluded by these. iiii. commissioners, that a large bridge should be made ouer the Ryuer of Some, in the middel of which bridge was made a great strõg grate of tymber, like to the grate where the Lyons bekept, the hole of which grate did extende into no longer quantitie, then that a man myght easely put thorough his arme, which bridge was made & couered with bordes, onely to kepe of the wether, so that vnder the couerture, there might stand. xii. persons on euery syde of the grate whiche extended from the one syde of the bridge, euen directly to the other, so ỹ there was no way for one Prince to come to the other (as was in the grate, where Ihon duke of Burgoyn was slayn) & ouer the Ryuer was only one fery bote. When the bridge & all other thynges necessary were ended & performed for so great a purpose, and well & diligently vewed on bothe the sydes, there were appointed. xii. noble personages, to be attendant on euery Prince to the barres, &. iiii. Englishmen were assigned to stand with the Frẽch men on the bridge, to se their doyng and behauoure, & likewyse. iiii. Frenchmẽ were limitted to ỹ Englishmen for that same cause and pollicie. At the day appoynted, which was the. xxxi. day of August, in the yere of Christes blessed incarnacion M.cccc.lxxv. eche kynge approched the Ryuer syde with his army, so ỹ eche army might se other. The Frenchmen say & write, that the army of the Englishmen, was greater and muche fayrer then their baitayll, but they excuse it (in this cace as they do in all other) saiyng that the fourth parte of their army was lacking, you may allow their excuse if it please you. When the token of meting by the shot of the Artilerie was knowen, the French kyng with. xii. noble men entered the bridge, & came to the closure, with whom was Ihon duke of Burbon, and the Cardinal hys brother, a prelate, mere mete for a ladyes carpet, then for an Ecclesiasticall pulpet & x. other emongest whome the lorde of Argenton was in like disguised apparell, as the Frẽch kyng ware, for so was his pleasure that day to haue hym adourned. The kynge of Englande came all alonge the causey that I haue spoken of well accõpaignied, that he semed well to be a kyng, & with him was his brother the duke of Clarẽce the erle of Northumberland, the bishop of Elye hys Chancelor, the lord Hastynges his Chamberlayn, &. viii. other lordes. Kyng Edward, &. iiii. other were appareled in clothe of golde frised, hauinge on his bonet of blacke velued a floure delyce of golde, set with very ryche and orient stones, he was a goodly fayre & a beautefull Prince, beginninge a littel to growe in flesh, and when he approched nere the grate, he toke of hys cappe, and made a low and solempne obeysance: the French kyng made to hym an humble reuerence, but after his fashion somwhat homely. Kyng Lewes embrased kyng Edward thorough the barriers saiynge: Cosyn you be right hartely welcome into these parties, assuring you ỹ there is no man in the world ỹ I haue more desired to se & speke with, thẽ with you, & now lauded be Almightie God, we be here mette together for a good & Godly purpose, wherof I doubte not, but ỹ we shall haue cause to reioyce. The kyng of England hym thanked and answered

swered to hys wordes so soberly, so gravely, and so princely, that the Frenchmē their at not a littell mused.

The Chaunceler of England made there a solempne oracion, in laude & prayse of peace, concluding on a prophecie, ỹ sayd that at Pycquegny should be concluded a peace, bothe honorable & profitable to the Realmes of Englād & Fraūce. Then the Chāceler opened the letters of both their agremētes to the treatie, demādyng of thē if they therewith were contented, they answered ye, then eche Prince layed his right hand on ỹ Missal, & his left hand on the holy Crosse, & toke there a solēpne othe, to observe and kepe the treatie of the truce for. ix. yeres cōcluded betwene them, with all their confederates and alies cōprised, mencioned and specefied in thesame, and farther to accōplishe the mariage of their chylderne, with all thinges theron depending, according as it was agreed & concluded betweue their Ambassadors, whē the othe was takē & sworne, the French kyng sayd merily to kyng Edward, brother, if you will take peyn to come to Parys you shall be feasted and entertayned with ladies, & I shall apoynt you the Cardinall of Burbon for your confessor, which shall gladly assoyle you of suche synnes, if any be committed. The kyng of England toke these wordes pleasauntly and thankefully, for he was enformed that the Cardinall was a good compaignion, & a Chaplayne mete for such a dalyeng pastyme. When thys communicacion was merily ended, the French kyng, entendynge to shew hym selfe lyke a Master emongest hys seruauntes, made all hys compaigny to draw backe from hym, meanyng to comon wyth the kyng of England secretly, the Englishmen withdrew them without any commaundemēt, then the two kynges commoned alone secretly, I thynke not to the profite of the Constable of Fraunce. The French kyng demaunded of kyng Edward, whether the duke of Burgoyn would accept the truce, Kynge Edwarde answered that he woulde once agayne make an offer, and then vpon the refusall, he would referre and report the treuth to them bothe. Then kyng Lewes began to speake of the duke of Britayn, whome he would fayne haue excepted out of the leage. To whom the kyng of England answered: Brother I requyre you to moue no warre to the duke of Britayne, for on my fidelitie, in the tyme of my nede and aduersitie, I neuer found a more frendlye sure and stedfast louer then he.

Then kyng Lewes called his cōpaignye again, & with most lowly & amiable commendacions, toke his leue of the kyng of Englād, speaking certayn frendly wordes to euery Englishmā. Kyng Edward doyng lykewise to the Frēchmē, then both at one time departed frō the barriers & mounted on horsebacke, and departed the French kyng to Amyas, & kyng Edward to his army, to whome was sent out of the French kynges house all thynges necessarie for a Prince, in so muche ỹ neither Torches nor Torchettes lacked vnsent. When the French kyng was departed from Picquegny, he called to him the lord of Argentō sayeng, by ỹ peace of God, the kyng of England is an amorous & a fayre prince, he at the first becke woulde gladly se Parys, where he might fortune to fynde such pleasaunt or talkatyue Dames, which with fayre woordes, and pleasaunt pastymes myght so alure hym to their fantasies, that it might brede an occasion in him to come ouer the sea agayne, whiche I would not gladly se, for his progenitors haue ben to long and too often bothe in Parys and Normandye (on this syde the sea) therfore I loue neither his sight nor his cōpany, but when he is at home, I loue hym as my brother, and take hym as my frende.

The Frenche kyng after this departyng, sore desirous to make warre on the Duke of Britayne, whiche he could not do, except he were left out of the treatie, wherfore he sent the lorde of Bouchage, and the lord of. S. Pierre, to the kyng of Englande, entreatyng hym by all waies and mocions possible, to leaue the duke of Britayn for his alie, and not to haue hym comprehended in the league: the kyng of England hearing thē so seriously and so feruently, speake against the Duke of Britayn, with an earnest countenaunce answered, saiyng: My Lordes I assure you, if I wer peaceably at home in my realme, yet for the defence of the Duke of Britayn and his countrey, I would passe the seas again, against all thē that either would do him iniurie, or make warre vpon hym: the Frenche Lordes nothyng farther saiyng, muche marueiled why the kyng of Englande, so surely claue

to the Duke of Britaynes partie. But they knew not (or els at the least remembred not) that Henry Erle of Richemonde, was within the power and dominion, of the Duke of Britayne, whom kyng Edwardes phanteasie euer gaue hym, would make once a title to the Croune of England, as next heire to the house of Lancastre: For he knewe well, that if the Duke of Britayne, would transporte hym into England, where he had bothe kynsfolke and frendes, with neuer so small an aide (yea, although it wer but a shadow of an army) then were he enforced, newly to begin again a conquest, as though he had neuer wonne the Croune, nor obteigned the possession of the Realme, which was the verie cause, why he stacke so sore, on the Duke of Britaynes part. Thesame night the lordes returned to Amias, and reported to their Master kyng Edwardes answere, which therwith, was not the best pleased, but pleasure or displeasure, there was no remedy, but to dissimule the matter. This same night also, there came the lorde Haward, and twoo other of the kyng of Englades counsaill, which had been coadiutors toward the peace, to the Frenche kyng to supper. The lorde Haward said to the Frenche kyng, secretly in his eare, that if it stoode with his pleasure, he could perswade the kyng of Englande, to come to Amias, yea, peraeuenture as farre as Paris, familierly and frendly, to solace hymself with hym, as his trustie frende and faithfull brother. The Frenche kyng, to whom this mocion was nothyng pleasaunt, callyng for water, washed and rose without any answere makyng: but he saied to one of his counsaill, that he imagined in his awne conceipt, that this request would bee made: the Englishe-menne began again, to common of that matter, the Frenche men politiquely brake their communicacion, saiyng: that the kyng with all celeritie, must marche forward, against the duke of Burgoyn. Although this mocion semed, onely for to encrease loue, and continuall amitie betwene the Princes, yet the Frenchmen hauyng, in their perfecte remembraunce, the innumerable damages and hartes, whiche they of late daies, had susteined by the Englishe nacion: whereby, continual hatred encreased, against them in Fraunce, thought by pollicy and wisedom, with faire woordes, and frendly countinaunce, to put by this request, and to mocion them rather, to departe homeward, then to pricke them forward to Paris, where peraduenture, they might so be entertained at this tyme, that they would at another come thether, bothe vndesired and vnwelcomed. This peace was said to be made, onely by the holy ghoste, because that on the daie of metyng, a white Doue satte on the very toppe, of the kyng of Englandes tent: whether she sat there to drie her, or came thether as a token, geuen by God, I referre it to your iudgemente. At this treatie and metyng, was not the Duke of Gloucester, nor other lordes, which were not content with this truce, but the Duke came afterwarde to Amias, with diuerse other Lordes of Englande, to the Frenche kyng, whiche, bothe highly feasted them, and also presented them with plate and horses, well garnished. Kyng Lewes considerying, what gain the Englishemen had gotten, by makyng warre in Fraunce, and what miserie, what calamitie, and what pouertie, the French naciō had suffered, and many yeres susteined, by reason of the said warres, determined clerely, rather to pacifie and entertain the Englishe nacion, by faire wordes, and great rewardes (although it wer to his great charge) then by to muche hardines, to put hymself, his nobilitie and realme in a hasard, by geuyng them battaill, as his predecessors, had vnwisely doen at Potiers, and at Agyncourt, wherfore, to bye peace, he graūted to kyng Edwarde, for a yerely tribute. L. M. Crounes, to be paied at London, whiche, accoumptyng a croune at. iiii. s. amounteth to. x. M. L. And to haue the fauor and good will, of his chief counsailers, he gaue greate pencions, amountyng to the some of. xvi. M. Crounes a yere, that is to saie: to his Chauncellor, to the Lorde Hastynges, his chief Chamberlein, a man of no lesse witte then vertue, and of greate auctho-ritie with his Master, and that not without a cause: for he had aswell in tyme of aduersitie, as in the faire flatering worlde, well and truely serued hym, and to the Lorde Hawarde, to sir Thomas Mountgomerie, to sir Thomas Sedliger, to sir Thon Cheiney, Master of the kynges horses, to the Marques Dorset, sonne to the Quene, and diuerse other, he gaue

great & liberal rewardes, to thintent to kepe hymself, in amitie with England while he wanne and obteined his purpose and desire in other places.

These persones had geuen to them great giftes, beside yerely pencions: For Argenton his counsailer affirmeth of his awne knowledge, that the lorde Haward, had in lesse then the terme of twoo yeres, for rewarde in money and plate. xxiiii. M. Crounes, and at the tyme of this metyng, he gaue to the Lorde Hastynges, the kynges chief Chamberlain, as Frenchmen write, a hundered markes of siluer, made in plate, whereof euery marke iv. viii. ounces sterlyng, but thenglish writers affirme, that he gaue thesaid Lorde Hastynges, xxiiii. doosen boulles, that is to saie, xii. dosen gilte, and. xii. dosen vngilte, euery cuppe waiyng. xvii. nobles, whiche gifte, either betokened in hym, a greate liberall nature, or els a greate and especiall confidence, that he had in thesaid Lorde Chamberlain. Beside this, he gaue hym yerely, twoo thousand Crounes penciō, the whiche some he sent to hym, by Piers Cleret, one of the Masters of his house, geuyng hym in charge, to receiue of hym an acquitaunce, for the receipt of the same pencion, to thintent that it should appere, in tyme to come, that the Chauncellor, Chamberlain, Admirall, Masters of the horses, to the kyng of Englande, and many other of his Counsaill, had been in fee and pencionaries, of the French kyng, whose yerely acquitaunces (the lorde Hastynges onely except) remain of recorde to be shewed, in the Chamber of accomptes, in the palaice of Paris. Whē Piers Cleret had paied the pencion, to the lorde Hastynges, he gently demaūded of hym an acquitaunce, for his discharge, whiche request when he denied, he then onely required of hym, a letter of three lines, to bee directed to the kyng, testifiyng the receipte of the pencion, to the intent that the kyng your Master, should not thinke, the pēcio to be imbesiled. The lorde Hastynges although he knewe, that Piers demaunded nothyng but reason, answered him: sir this gift cōneth onely, of the liberall pleasure of the kyng your Master, and not of my request: if it be his determinate will, that I shall haue it, then putte you it into my sleue, and if not, I praie you render to him his gifte again: For neither he nor you, shall haue either letter, acquitaunce, or scrowe, signed with my hande, of the receipte of any pencion to thintent to bragge another day, that the kynges Chamberlain of Englande, hath been pencionary, with the Frenche kyng, and shewe his acquitaunce, in the Chamber of accomptes, to his dishonor. Piers left his money behynd, and made relacion of all thinges to his Master, which, although that he had not his will, yet he much more praised the wisedom, and pollicie of the Lorde Hastynges, then of the other pencionaries, commaundyng hym yerely to bee paied, without any discharge demaundyng.

When the kyng of Englande, had receiued his tribute, and his nobilitie their rewardes, of the Frenche kyng: he trussed vp his tentes, and laded all his bagage, and departed toward Caleis, but or he came there, he remembering the craftie dissimulacion, and the vntrue dealyng, of Lewes Erle of. S. Pole, high Constable of Fraunce, entending to declare hym, to the French kyng, in his verie true likenes and portrature: sent vnto hym twoo letters of credence, written by thesaied Constable, with the true report, of all suche woordes and messages, as had been to hym sent, and declared by thesaied Constable and his Ambassadours, whiche letters, the Frenche kyng gladly receiued, and thankfully accepted, as the chief instrument, to bryng the Constable to his death: which he escaped no long season after, suche is the ende of dissimulers.

When kyng Edward was come to Caleis, and had set all thynges in an ordre, he toke shippe, and sailed with a prosperous wynde, into Englande, and was receiued by the Maior of London, and the Magistrates clad in scarlet, and. v. C. cōmoners, appareled in Murrey, the. xxviii. daie of Septembre, in the. xiiii. yere of his reigne, vpon Blacke Heathe, and so conueighed with greate triumph, through the citie of Westminster, where after his long labor, he reposed hymself a while: euery daie almoste, talkyng with the Quene his wife, of the mariage of his daughter, whom, he caused to be called Dolphenesse: thynkyng nothyng surer, then that mariage to take effecte, accordyng to the treatie. The

hope of whiche mariage, caused lym to dissimule, and do thynges, whiche afterward chaunsed, greatly to the Frenche kynges profite, & smally to his.

When kyng Edwarde was arriued in Englande, the Frenche Kyng, thynkyng by no meane possible, to haue his will on the Constable, but onely by the Duke of Burgoyne, determined to conclude a truce, for. ix. yeres, vpon couenaunt, euery man to haue his awne: but the Ambassadours, would not haue the truce proclaimed, thynkyng thereby, to saue the Duke from periurie, whiche had sworne, neuer to conclude a peace, till the kyng of Englande had been three monethes in his realme, after his returne from Caleis. The kyng of Englande, was of all these dooynges, asserteined by his frendes: wherefore, in all hast he sent, sir Thomas Moungomerie, a wise and a sage knight, to the Frenche kyng beyng then at Vernyns, concludyng with the duke of Burgoyns Ambassadors, requiryng him, to take none other truce, with Duke Charles, then that, whiche was by theim concluded, desiryng hym farther, in no wise to, departe with sainct Quintines to the duke: Offeryng that if he would any longer continue the warre, against thesaied Duke, that he would for his pleasure, and the dukes displeasure, passe the seas again, the nexte Sommer: so that the Frenche kyng, should paie to hym fiftie thousand crounes, for the losse whiche he should sustein, in his Custome by reason that the wolles at Caleis, because of the warre, could haue no vent, nor be vttred, and also paie halfe the charges, and halfe the wages of his souldiers, and men of warre.

The Frenche kyng, most hartely thanked, the kyng of England, of his kynde offre, and faithfull frendshippe, excusyng hym, that the peace was al ready assented to: how be it, it was the verie same peace, that was betwene theim concluded, sauyng onely, that the duke would bee a contractor in the league, and not comprehēded in thesame, as another princes alie. This matter was thus answered, and faintly excused, and with thesame, sir Thomas Mountgomerie dispatched, which was with plate conueniently rewarded: and with hym returned, the lorde Haward, and sir Ihon Cheiney, which were hostages with the Frenche kyng, til kyng Edwarde were returned into Englande. The Frenche kyng marueiled not a litle, at kyng Edwardes offres, and thought it perilous to cause the Englishemenne to passe the sea again, and to ioyne with the Frenchmen, whom they neuer loued: coniecturyng farther, that the Englishemenne and the Burgonyons, would sone agre, by reason of their old acquaintaunce and familiaritie, and by chaunce, bothe become enemies to the Frenche men: wherefore, in auoydyng of all ambiguites, he determined to conclude the truce.

THE. XV. YERE.

The. xv. yere.

WHen Kyng Edwarde had after this maner established, as well his affaires of outwarde warres, as his priuate and perticuler busines at home, notwithstandyng, that he beyng the moste valiaunt, and fortunate victor, of such, and so many terrible and bloudy battailes, might thynke to leade his life, in perfect quietnes, and sure sauetie: Yet considerynge that Henry the young erle of Richemond, one of the ofsprynges, of the bloud of kyng Henry the sixte, was yet liuyng and in good health, he iudged hymself, to be farre from his purpose, and that that onely thyng did so vexe and trouble his ioye and felicitie, that he thought hymself, neuer to bee in a sure estate, voyde of trouble or feare. Wherfore, he determined yet once again, to sollicite and moue, Fraūces Duke of Britayne, either for giftes, promises or praiers, to deliuer the Erle into his handes, whō he supposed (after the faccion and bande, of kyng Henries parte, by hym extincted, and clerely defeated) to bryng to his lure, and to rule at his awne myndе and pleasure. Wherfore, he sent Doctor Stillyngton, and twoo other, his Ambassadors, well laden with no small some of golde, with all hast to the Duke of Britayn: And to the intent that their desire should appere more honest, in the open face of the world, he willed them to declare to the Duke, that their request,

request, to haue the Erle deliuered to them, was onely for this purpose, to ioyne with him aliance by mariage and so to extirpate and plucke vp, all the degrees and leuynges of the aduerse part, and contrary faccion. Whiche enterprise (what soeuer thei saied) was not onely by affinitie, but by the onely death, of the innocent erle Henry, to be acheued and brought to passe. The Duke gently heard the Orators, and firste he began to deny, & after to excuse, why he might nor ought not agree to their request, but inconclusion, what with prayers requiryng, and monnyes sollicityng, the Duke beyng wearied and ouercome, deliuered the erle to the Ambassadors, whom, in his letters he highly commended, to kyng Edwarde, nōt thynkyng that he deliuered, the shepe to the wolfe, but the sonne to the father, beleuyng surely, without scruple or doubt, that kyng Edward would geue in mariage to him lady Elizabeth his eldest daughter, whom in deede he maried, after hir fathers death, of you hereafter shall heare. Whē thambassadors had the praie, that thei so muche desired, they departed to the toune of. S. Malo, standyng on the sea side, where, they rekened to haue taken shipping, and so to haue sailed into Englande. The erle of Richemond knowing, that he was going toward his death, for very pensiuenes, and inwarde thought, fell into a feruent & a sore agewe. In this very season, one Iho Cheulet, so estemed emong the Princes of Britayne, as fewe were in all the countrey, and in muche credite, and wel accepted with the duke, was when these thynges were thus concluded, for his solace in the countrey, but beyng thereof certified, beyng chafed with the abhominacion of the fact: resorted to the Courte and familierly came to the Dukes presence, and there stode so sadly, and so paly, without any worde speakyng, that the Duke was muche abashed, and sodainly marueiled, at his sad and frownyng cōtenaunce, & demaunded of him what should signifie, that dumpishenes of mynde, and inward sighyng, the whiche by his countenaunce, manifestly appered and was euident: he modestly answered, moste noble and redoubted lorde, this palenes of visage, and dedly loke doth prognosticate ỹ time of my death, to approche & be at hand, which if it had chaunced to me, before this day, I assure you, it had much lesse hurted me. For thē had I not been preserued, to fele the dolorous pāges and sorowfull sighynges: whiche a fact by you doen (that I thought impossible to be obteined) hath imprinted in my stomacke, and in my hart depely grauen: so that I well perceiue, that either I shall lese my life, or els liue in perpetuall distresse and continuall misery. For you my synguler good lord, by your verteous actes, and noble feates haue gotten to you, in maner an immortall fame: whiche in euery mans mouth, is extolled and eleuated, aboue the high Cloudes, but alas me semeth (I pray you pardon me my rudenes) that now that you haue obteined, so high a laude and glory, you nothyng lesse regarde then to kepe and preserue the same inuiolate, consideryng, that you forgettyng your faith and faithfull promise, made to Henry Erle of Richemōd, hath deliuered the moste innocent young gentelman, to the cruell turmenters, to bee afflicted, rente in peces, and slain: wherefore, all suche as loue you, of the whiche nomber I am one cannot chose but lament and be sory, whē they se openly, the fame and glory of your moste renoumed name by suche a disloialtie, and vntruthe against promise, to be both blotted and stained with a perpetuall note, of slaunder and infamie. Peace myne awne good Ihon, q^{d} the Duke, I praie thee, beleue me there is no suche thyng like to happen to therle of Richemond: for kyng Edward hath sent for hym, to make of hym, beyng his suspect enemie, his good & faire sōne in lawe. Well, well, q^{d} Ihon, my redoubted lorde, geue credence to me therle Hēry is at the very brynke to perishe, whom, if you permitte once to set but one foote, out of your power and dominion, there is no mortall creature able hereafter, to deliuer hym from death. The duke beyng moued, with the perswasions of Ihon Cheynet, whiche either litle beleued, or smally suspected kyng Edward, to desire the erle, for any fraude or deceipte, or els seduced by blynde auarice and loue of money, more then honestie, fidelitie, or wisedom would require, did not consider, what he vnaduisedly did, or what he aduisedly, should haue done. Wherfore, with all diligence, he sent furthe Peter Landoyse, his chief Threasorer, commaundyng hym to intercept and staie,

the Erle of Richemond, in all hast possible. Peter not sloggyng, nor dreamyng his busines: came to the Englishe Ambassadors to. S. Malos, there abiding the wynde. And firste he inuented a cause of his commyng, and kepte with theim a long communicacion, to pertracte the tyme, till his men in the meane season, had conueighed therle (almoste halfe ded) into a sure Sanctuary, within the toune, whiche in nowise might bee violated: where he beyng deliuered from the continual feare of dredful death, recouered hys health, and in good plight was brought to the duke.

Here a man may euidently perceyue the olde Greke prouerbe to bee very trew, which is that a man, to a man shall sometyme be as a God, for the yong erle Henry without desert deliuered to his death, sodaynly by the labor of Thon Cheulet, and the fauor of the good Prince, was preserued, saued and deliuered. God graunt that such examples may be a doctrine and myrror to such as be rulers aboue other, lackyng counsaylers to monish and warne them of their duetie and office. That thei remembryng thys good acte, may learne to take into the counsayl and familie, such as wil well and truly admonishe and warne them, and they likewise with good mynde and glad entent to be folowers of the same.

The English oratours complayned and murmured that they were both spoyled of their money & marchandise requyring Peter Landoyse that they in no wise should returne, so deluded without pray or penney. The treasorer effectiously promised them that the Erle either should be surely kept in the Sentuary, into the which he escaped (by their negligence as he layed to their charge) or els should be agayn in the dukes house put in prison, so that they shoulde not nede no more to feare hym then hys shadow. And so the kyng of England for hys money, purchased the keping of his enemye by the space of. iii. dayes, and no more.

Kyng Edward in the meane season, sore longyng to know what effect hys Ambassade toke with the duke of Britayne, and therefore was euery houre troubled and vnquieted with narkenyng & lokynge, was at the last certefied from thence, howe the erle of Rychemont was deliuered, and at a poynt to be brought home to hym as a prisoner in captiuitie: but that he escaped. First, he lamented his purpose, not to haue more prosperously succeded, but after beyng somwhat molified and apeased, when he hard that he should be surely kept in prison, determined clerely hereafter to banishe that care out of hys mynd and fantasye, and to employe all hys whole study and diligence for the kepynge of hys house, after a more bountifull fashion and liberall proporcion, then before was accustomed. And when he had sufficiently stored his cheste with treasure, remembryng hys honor, lest, he praeduenture should be noted with the spot of Nygardshyp, he shewed hymselfe lyke a liberall and beneficiall Prince to hys commons, and lyke a good and profitable kynge to the cõmon wealth, & the poore people of hys Realme and dominion.

THE. XVI. YERE.

The. xvi. yere.

EVen as kyng Edward sought, inuented and studied dayly and howerly to bryng hym selfe to quietnesse & rest, and hys Realme to a continual amitie, and a perpetual peace, lykewyse at thesame tyme Charles duke of Burgoyn, whose wit neuer loued peace, nor yet was wery or abhorred trouble, whose intollerable paynes in warres were to hym pleasure, and especially where he thought any new seignorie to obteine, or els to be reuenged of auncient enemyes, for olde greues and displeasures to him done. So ỹ desyre of rule mixt with hatred, and malice cõbined with auarice kyndeled, prouoked and excited so hys courage thys yere (whose bragging audacitie had more nede of a brydell to be refrayned, then of a spurre to be pricked forward) that he partly to be reuenged of ỹ duke of Lorayne and ỹ Swytchers, and partly for ỹ couetous desyre that he had to certayn lãdes, lyeng betwene his lowe countreys of Brabant & Flaũders and hys duchie of haut Burgoyn, assembled a great army & a mighty puyssance, and beseged a towne called Granson in Lorayn, which when he had re-

ceyued

ceyued, without mercy, lyke a tyrant he caused all the Inhabitātes cruelly to be put to death, wherof heryng the Switchers mafully encoūtered with hym, and discomfited hys whole armye, where the duke lost bothe honor, prayse, and such abundaunce of ryches, that few Princes in hys tyme were able to shew such Iuels, and so many, & of suche high price and value. And after not cōtent with these chaūces, but euer in hope of reuēging he fought with the Switchers agayne at Morat, wherof xviij. M. good mē of warre, he lost. x. M. besyde them that were wounded and hurt: yet this fierce & couragious Capitayne, more coragious then circūspect, gathered agayn a new army, and contrary to the myndes of his whole counsaill, in the depth of Wynter, beseged the toune of Nancy, belongyng to the duke of Lorayn, where he was encoūtered with the sayd duke and the Switchers, and there by thē agayne ouercome, discomfited, and slayne.

Thus in one yere he lost iij. great battayles, the fyrste at Grantson, where he lost honor, and all hys ryches: The second at Morat, where he lost honor, & almost all hys men: The thyrd at Nancy, where he loste lyfe, honor, ryches, men, and all worldely felicitie, on the Vigile of the Epiphany, in the yere of our lord, after some writers. M. cccc. lxxvi. and after other. M. cccc. lxxvij.

Thys ende had the valiant hart, and stout courage of duke Charles of Burgoyn, who in hys tyme could neuer agre with peace & cōcord, tyll death more puyssant then lyfe may resiste, broughte hys bodye to quietnes and perpetual tranquilite, which body is entered in ỹ church of sainct George in Nancy, leuyng behynd him one sole doughter, lawfully begotten to be his heyre which afterward was maryed to Maximiliaen Archeduke of Austrice.

At this battayl were taken Anthony and Bauldwyn, bastarde bretherne to duke Charles, whome the French kyng bought of the duke of Loravne, to the entent that they shoulde not withstande hys pretensed purpose in Flaunders. Yf any man were sory of the duke of Burgoyns death, you may be sure that he was not so inwardly sory, as the French kyng was in hart ioyous and glad: for now hauyng peace with Englande, he knew no creature that was able to matche with him in earnest or in game, & because he would lese no tyme, he vnder couler that wonē benot able to enioy any thyng, that is or hath ben, apertevnynge to the Croune of Fraunce, toke of the yong Damosel of Burgoyn the tounes of Moundedier, Perone, Abbeuyle, Monstreul, Roy and all the tounes on the ryuer of Some: Beside thys, he with no great payne obteyned Hesdyng, Arras, and the toune of Bulleyn with the countye of Bullonoys, whiche kynge Charles hys father had before engaged, and empledged to duke Philip of Burgoyn, as before is mencioned. But this wyly and wytty kyng Lewes, comyng to the toune of Bulleyn, perceyued that if it were fortefied with a garrison, it should not onely be an yl neyghbor to the tounes of Caleys and Guysnes, but also a port necessarie and conuenient for all hys subiectes, when they should be, either by enemyes assayled, or by stormy tempestious wether driue on the narrow seas, wherfore to cast a sure Ancker, knowynge the lord Bartrame de la Toure, erle of Auluerie, to be the very trew and vndubitate heyre of ỹ sayd toune and countie; He fyrst obteyned of him his righte and title in thesame, rewarding him with a greater summe, & a more yerely value of reuenewes, in the countye of Forest and other places. And after to the entent to haue a port euer open vpō Englād, he annexed thesame toune of Bulleyne, and the countie of Bullonoys, with the parties adiacent, to the croune and regalitie of Fraunce. And because, the fornamed towne and countye were holden of the erledom of Artoys, he chaunged the tenure, and solemply auowed to holde thesame toune & cōtie of our Lady of Bulleyn, and therof did homage to the Image in ỹ great Church called our Lady church in Bulleyn, offring there a hart of gold, weiyng. ii. M. Crounes, ordenyng farther that all his heyres and successors, at their entrie into the estate and dignitie royal, by them self, or their deputie should offer a hart of lyke weight and value, as a releue & homage done, or made for thesame toune and countie. You maye be sure that the kyng of England would not haue suffered the French kyng to haue edefied such a conert nest, so nere his toune of Caleis, and the territories of the same, except his leage had

had bound hym, or that he had to much affyance in the French kyng, whose hart was doble, & whose wit euer incōstāt, but surely the hope of the preferm̄et of his daughter, both brought hym to blyndnes and dotage. Let these doynges ouer passe & se how politikely the French kyng wrought for his aduauntage. Duryng these gaynes in the lowe partes, he caused the duke of Lorayn to enter into hygh Burgoyn with a great army, which by pollicie & promises brought the whole Duchie vnder obedience of the French kyng, which then claymed to haue the order and mariage of the yonge lady, as a pupille, ward and orphane, aperteyning to the croune of Fraunce, for the which title after rose no smal mischief, and troble in Flaunders, and the coūtreys thereaboute. Let vs leaue a whyle to speake of outward busines, and retourne to our awne.

¶ THE. XVII. YERE.

The. xvii. yere.

IN ŷ. xvij. yere of kyng Edward, there fel a sparcle of priuy malice, betwene the king & his brother the duke of Clarēce whether it rose of olde grudges before time passed, or were it newly kyndeled and set a fyre by the Quene, or her bloud which were euer mistrusting and priuely barkynge at the kynges lignage, or were he desirous to reigne after his brother: to men that haue thereof made large inquisicion, of suche as were of no small authoritie in those dayes, the certayntie therof was hyd, and coulde not truely be disclosed, but by conjectures, which as often deceyue the imaginacions of fantastical folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusion. The fame was that the king or the Quene, or bothe sore troubled with a folysh Prophesye, and by reason therof begā to stomacke & greuously to grudge agaynst the duke. The effect of which was, after king Edward should reigne, one whose first letter of hys name shoulde be a G. and because the deuel is wōt with such wytcheraftes, to wrappe and illaqueat the myndes of men, which delyte in such deuelyshe fantasyes they sayd afterward that that Prophesie lost not hys effect, when after kyng Edward, Glocester vsurped his kyngdome.

Other allege this to be the cause of his death: That of late, ŷ olde rācor betwene them beyng newly reuiued (The which betwene no creatures can be more vehement then betwene bretherne, especially when it is fernely radicate) the duke beyng destitute of a wyfe, by the meanes of lady Margaret duches of Burgoyn, hys syster, procured to haue the lady Marye, doughter and heyre to duke Charles her husband, to bee geuen to hym in matrimony: which mariage kynge Edward (enuyenge the felicitie of his brother) bothe agayne sayed and disturbed. Thys priuy displeasure was openly appeased, but not inwardly forgotte, nor outwardly forgeven, for that, not withstandyng a seruaunt of the Dukes was sodainly accused (I can not say of treuth, or vntruely suspected by the Dukes enemies) of poysonyng, sorcery, or inchauntment, & therof condempned, and put to taste the paynes of death. The duke, whiche myght not suffer the wrongfull condemnacion of his man (as he in his conscience adiudged) nor yet forbere, nor paciently suffer the vniust hādelyng of his trusty seruaunt, dayly dyd oppugne, and wyth yll woordes murmur at the doyng thereof. The king much greued and troubled with hys brothers dayly querimonye, and contynuall exclamacion,

George duke of Clarence, drouned in a But of Malmesey in the Towre.

caused hym to be apprehended, and cast into the Towre, where he beyng taken and adiudged for a Traytor, was priuely drouned in a But of Maluesey.

But sure it is that although kyng Edward were consentyng to his death and destruccion, yet he much dyd bothe lamente his infortunate chaunce, and repent hys sodayne execucion. Insamuche, that when any person sued to hym for Pardon or remission, of any malefactor condempned to the punishment of death, he woulde accustomably saye, & openly speke, O infortunate brother, for whose lyfe not one creature would make intercession, openly spekyng, and apparantly meanynge, that by the meanes of some of the nobilitie, he was circumuented, and brought to hys confusion.

Thys duke left behynd hym two yonge infantes, engendered of the body of the daughter

to

to Richard, late erle of Warwycke, whiche chylderne by destinye, or by their awne merites, folowynge the steppes of theyr auncetours, succeded them in lyke misfortune, and semblable yll chaūce. For Edward hys heyre, whome kyng Edward had created erle of Warwycke was thre and twenty yeres after in the tyme of kynge Henry the. vij attaynted of treason, and on Towre hyl behedded. Margarete his sole daughter was maryed to sir Rychарde Pole knyghte, beyng much bounde to kynge Henry the. vij. for her auaūcemente in mariage, besyde manifolde benefites, by her of hym receyued: But most of all obliged to that excellent prince kynge Henry the eight, for restoring her aswell to the name and title of countesse of Salisbury, as to the possessions of thesame: she forgetting ỹ miserable chaunce of her father, and lesse remembryng the kyndnes and kyndred of her sayd souereygne lord, committed agaynst hys Maiestye, and hys Realme, abhominable and detestable treason, for the whiche she was in open Parliament adiudged and attaynted, and two and sixty yeres after her father was put to death in the Towre, she on the grene within the same place, with an Axe suffered execucion. In whose person died the very surname of Plantagenet, which from Geofrey Plātagenet so longe in the blood Royall of this realme, had florished and contynued. After the death of thys duke, by reason of great hete and vntemperate ayer, happened so fierce and so quycke a Pestilence that. xv. yeres warre paste, consumed not the thyrd parte of the people, that onely foure monethes miserably and pitifully dispatched, and brought to their sepulture.

THE. XVIII. YERE.

YOu haue harde not longe before how the Frenche kynge not onely claymed the rule, gouernaunce, and mariage of the yonge Princes and Damosell of Burgoyne, but also how he, what wyth policie, and what with force had plucked from her the fayrest feathers of her tayle, that is too meane whole haut Burgoyne, and the stronge roūes of Pycardye which in tyme to come mygbt (as they were very lyke) happen to proue yll neyghbors to the English nacion. All these thynges were pollitikely pondered, & maturely digested by the wise coūsaylers of England, which first considered the olde amitie, betwene the house of Englande and Flaunders, and the quotidiane entercourse, traffycke and commutacion, which no smal season had ben practised, frequented & exercised mutually and freudly betwene the subiectes, and all nacions bauynge resort to either of the sayd countreys, saw it open before their eyes, that if the Frenche kynge, either by force or by coniunccion of mariage to Charles erle of Angulesme (to whome he promised hys good wyll, for the obteynyng of the yonge Priaces) should get the vpper hande of the Damosel or of her seignories and dominions, that then damage might ensue to the whole Realme of Englande, bothe for vterynge of their commodities in those partes, and also for the impedyment or stoppe of their course and recourse, besyde new imposicions and gabels, to be set within the sayde countreys, vpon the Marchauntes, their goodes and wares. Wherfore the whole nobilitie and sage fathers made humble request, to kynge Edwarde to helpe, and ayde the yonge ladye and Prynces of Burgoyne, allegynge that as farre as they coulde perceyue, the mariage of hys doughter with the Dolphyne, was but dissimuled and fayned for in ỹ treaty cōcluded at Picquegnye, betwene him and kyng Lewes, it was apoynted, agreed, and openly sworne, that the Frenche kynge, within a yere folowynge, shoulde sende for the Ladye Elizabeth, entiteled Dolphynesse of Vyen, to be conueyed into Fraunce whiche yere with foure more were passed and gone without any worde speking of her sendynge for, or goynge into Fraunce.

The. xviii. yere.

The Quene of Englande also had wryten in this season too the lady Margaret, Duchesse of Burgoyne, for the preferemente of her brother Anthony erle Ryuers, to the mariage of the yonge Damosell, but the counsayll of Flaunders, consyderinge that he was but a erle of a meane estate, and she the greatest enheritrice of all Christendom at that tyme, gaue but deafe hearynge to soo vnmete a request: the whiche desyre, if the Flemynges had but geuen good eare to, or wyth gentell wordes delayed the suyte, she had bothe bene succored and defended

fended with a good number, and not susteyned soo greate losse as she dyd. Whether kynge Edwarde were not content wyth thys refusall, or that he trusted more the Frenche kynges promyse, then all hys counsayll coulde se cause, or that he was lothe to lese hys yerely tribute of fifty thousande Crounes, he woulde in no wyse consent to sende any army into Flaunders, agaynst the Frenche kynge: But he sent Ambassadours to kynge Lewes with loyunge and gentle letters, requyrynge hym to conclude some reasonable peace, or els at the least to take a certayne truce wyth her at hys request.

The Ambassadours of England, wer highly receiued, bountefully fested, and liberally rewarded: But answere to their desire, had they none but ỻ shortly the Frenche kyng would sende Ambassadors, hostages, & pledges, to the kyng of England, their master, for the concludyng and performaunce of all thynges, dependyng betwene theim twoo: So that their souereigne lorde and thei, should haue good cause, to be contented and pleased. All these faire wordes wer onely delaies to protracte time, and in the meane season, to wynne tounes and coũtreys, from the damosell, or any aide or succor, could be to her administred.

And beside this, to staie kyng Edward, from takyng part with her. He wrote to hym, that if he would ioyne with him in aide, or personally make warre in any parte of the Ladies territories, or dominions: that then kyng Edward, should haue and enioye, to hym and his heires, the whole County and Countrey of Flaunders, discharged of all homage, superioritie, and resorte to be claimed by the French kyng, and his heires and successors: and farther, he should haue the whole duchie of Brabant, whereof the Frenche kyng offered at his awne charge and coste, to conquere foure, the chief and strongest tounes, within thesaied Duchie, and theim in quiet possession, to deliuer to the Kyng of Englande grauntyng farther to paie to hym, tenne thousande Angels, toward his charges: besides municions of warre and artilerie, which he promised to lende hym, with men and cariage, for the conueighaunce of thesame.

A greate offer made by the French king to Kyng Edward the iiij.

The kyng of Englande answered, that the tounes of Flaunders, were of no small strengthe, nor of no litle quantie, very vneasie to bee kepte, when thei wer conquered: and of no lesse force was the duchie of Brabant, with whom, his subiectes were bothe lothe, and not verie willyng to haue warre there, considerynge, that thether was one of their common trafficques and ventes, of all their Merchaundice: But if the Frenche kyng would make hym partener, of his conquest in Picardy, rendering to hym parte of the tounes, all ready gotten and gained, as Boleigne Mounstrel, and Abbeuile, then he would surely take his parte, and aide hym with men, at his awne costes and charges. While this matter was in answeryng, and repliyng again, the Frenche kyng spoyled the yong Princes, of tounes and Regions, and of the best Capitaines that her father lefte, as the Lorde Gordes and other: wherefore for pure necessitie of aide and strengthe, she maried with Maximilian, sonne to Frederike the Emperor, whiche to his power, sore resisted the Frenche Kyng, for makyng any inuasions into Flaunders, or other his wifes landes and seigniories. This princes conceiued of her husbande in the firste yere of her mariage, a faire lady called Margaret, whom king Lewes so phantesied, either to haue a publique peace, with Maximilia her father, by the whiche, he might staie all warre, and hostilitie betwene thẽ and so by that meane, peaceably to enioy the countreys and tounes by hym stollen and faintly conquered, or els imagenyng by that onely damosell, in conclusion to conioyne, the whole countrey of Flanders, and the other dominions, therunto apperteinyng, to the croune of Fraunce, (as he had no fewe tymes before attempted and assaied). That he clerely forgettyng, his promes made, written, and sworne to the kyng of Englande, for the mariage of his daughter, solicited priuily the Lordes of Flanders, to haue thesaied lady Margarete, to be conioyned in matrimonie, with the Dolphin his sonne, writynge and sendyng to the Kyng of Englande, faire promises and flatteryng letters, when his purpose was clerely vanished out of Englande, and fixed in Flanders, as you shall hereafter well vnderstande.

¶ THE

¶ THE. XIX. YERE.

KYng Edward in the. xix. yere of his reigne, forgettyng aswell all exterior inuasions, as ciuill warre, and intestine trouble: whiche before that time he had abundantly tasted, and more then he was willyng, had both felte, and had in continuall experience, begaune firste more then he was before accustomed, to serche out the penall offences, aswell of the chief of his nobilitie, as of other gentlemen, beyng propritaries of great possessions, or aboundantly furnished in goodes, beside merchauntes, and other inferior persones. By the reason wherof, it was of all men adiudged, more then doubted, consideryng his newe fame of riches, and his gready appetite of money and treasure, that he would proue hereafter, a sore and an extreme Prince, emongest his subiectes, and this immaginacion in especiall, wandred through the heddes of all men, that after his brother the Duke of Clarence, was put to death, he should saie, that all men should stande, and liue in feare of hym, and be to be vnbrideled, and in doubte of no man. But his newe inuented practise, and auaricious inuencion, what for other forein and outwarde affaires, and what for the abbreuiatyng of his daies, in this transitorie world (whiche wer within twoo yeres after consumed) toke some but no greate effecte. How be it experience teacheth, that prosperitie ofte tymes is as greate a trouble, as a greate mischief, and as vnquiet a profite, to the possessioners of riches, and suche as haue the fruicion of thesame: as pouertie and aduersitie, are profitable and laudable, in other persones whiche can, with pacient stomacke, and meke harte, beare and suffre the stormes and surges, of euill fortune, and peruerse mischaunce. The. xix. yere.

¶ THE. XX. YERE.

AFter this, kyng Edward hauyng all thynges brought to that effect, whiche he had long desired, except the mariage of his daughter, with Charles the dolphyn, muche studied and no lesse desired to haue this affinitie, accordyng to the appoyntmēt made and concluded, to be accomplished and solempnized, and therfore, not onely wrote, but sent diuerse messengers to the Frenche kyng, for the performaunce of thesame. The Frenche kyng whiche neuer intended, to haue that mariage take effecte, consideryng that the Dolphin, was muche younger, then the lady Elizabeth, and for other causes, sent Ambassadors to the kyng of England with faire woordes and friuolous delaies, makyng his excuse, that he had not sent for the kynges daughter to be maried to his sonne the dolphin, accordyng to the league and treatie concluded, by the occasion of his great troubles, and busy warres, enterprised in high Burgoin, and the lowe countreys, so that he was disgarnished, aswell of his nobilitie, as of other menne of honor, to receiue her into his realme, accordyng to her estate and degree: promising faithfully, shortly to sende for her, and to conueigh her with suche a pompe and royall traine, that it should be to bothe their honors and laudes, and to the high contentacion of the Kyng of Englande and his Quene, whiche, no lesse then her husbande desired, & sore longed to se the conclusion, of thesaied mariage take effect. The. xx. yere.

These Ambassadors were well feasted, and likewise rewarded, and so toke their leaue: And within a conuenient season after, he sent other Orators, whiche, were neuer in Englande before, to the intent that if their predecessors beyng Ambassadors, had saied or concluded any thyng, (al though thei wer authorised so to do) yet if it might turne, to the Frenche kynges preiudice or damage, thei might without blame, excuse themselfes by ignoraunce, of that matter: affirmyng that thei had no commissiō to common, or els once to enterprise, to medle with that matter. Or if he perceiued that any thyng was like to be concluded whiche sounded not to his pleasure or profite, he would sende for his Ambas-

sador, in greate haste, and after sende another with newe instruccions, nothyng dependyng on the olde.

This fashion kyng Lewes, vsed with all Princes, to whom he sente any ambassadors, by the whiche he cõpassed many thynges, to his purpose, and to their losse: but moste of all he thus dalied with the kyng of Englande, concernyng this mariage, onely to the intent, to kepe hym still in amitie, aboue all other Princes. And for a truthe the Kyng of Englande, beyng of no suspicious nature, so muche trusted, and gaue to hym so much confidence, that he thought the Sunne, would soner haue fallen from his circle, then that kyng Lewes, either would haue dissimuled, or broken his promise with hym.

But who soner breaketh promes, then he that is mooste trusted, or who soner deceiueth, then he to whom moste credence is attributed. And on the other part, who is so sone begiled, as he that least mistrusteth, and who soner falleth, then he that casteth no perill, but as in nothyng, mistrustyng, is no smal lightnes, so into muche trustyng, is to muche foly: wherfore, if kyng Edward had either not to muche trusted, or mistrusted the Frenche Kynges faire promises (as I would he had dooen in decde) the croune of Fraunce, had not so increased in possessions and dominions, to the great glory, and strength of the realme: nor the Princes of Burgoyne, had not so been plucked, hared, and spoyled of her faire tounes and Castles as she was, whiche chaunce, she beyng destitute of frendes, and without comforte of defenders, by pacience perforce, was compelled to suffre and sustein.

This is the profite that all nacions get, by the faire promises, of the Frēchmen. Thus is the league made with Lewes the Frēch kyng, fraudulently glosed and dissimuled. Thus is the oth made, and sworne vpō the holy Euangelistes violated, and contrary to the woorde, and honor of a Prince, broken and falcefied: by which vntrue dealyng, and couert dissimulyng, with his especiall and trustie frend, all men may facilie se, and more apparauntly then in a myrror perceiue, that the verie natural condicion of the Frenche nacion, is pleasauntly to flatter, plentifully to reward, and gloriously to glose, til thei haue once obteined, their pretensed purpose, and haue their ambicious desire accomplished and satisfied and that gain once gotten on their side, neither othe holdeth, nor friendship continueth, nor yet humanitie and kyndnes before shewed, is once regarded, or of them remembred: wherefore, myne aduise is, let all men trust them as thei fynde them.

THE. XXI. YERE.

The. xxi. yere.

IN this verie season, Iames the. iii. of that name, kyng of Scottes, sent into England a solempne ambassage, for to haue the Lady Cicile, kyng Edwardes. ii. daughter, to be maried to his eldest sonne, Iames Prince of Scotlande, Duke of Rothesay, & erle of Caricke. Kyng Edward & his counsaill, thinkyng that this affinitie, should be aswell honorable as profitable to the realme, did not only graunt, to his desire and demaūd but also before hande disbursed, certain sommes of money, to the onely intent, that the mariage should herafter, neither be interrupted nor broken, vpon this condicion, that thesaied Matrimony, by any accedentall meane, should in tyme to come, take no successe nor perfeccion: or that kyng Edward would notifie, to the kyng of Scottes, or his counsaill, that his pleasure was determined, to haue thesaid mariage, to be infringed and dissolued: Then the Prouost and merchauntes of the toune of Edenborough, should be bound for the repaiment, of thesaied some again. All which thynges wer, with great deliberacion concluded & sealed, in hope of cōtinual peace and infringible amitie. But this king Iames beyng a man of a sharpe wit, more wedded to his awne opiniō then reason would scace bere, would neither here nor geue credite to theim, that spake contrary to his awne phantesie, or this imagined opinion: And to thintēt that no man should find fault, with his doynges, or reprehēd his actes, he promoted and made counsailers, menne of base liguage, and lowe bloud; and in especiall, Cochrane and his compaignie, by whose euill aduise, and mischeuous instigacion, he so punished and greued

greued his nobilitie, bothe with emprisonment, exaccious, and death, that some of their voluntarie will, went into Exile, and other fainyng cause to departe, fled into other landes and straunge countreys. For the Duke of Albanie, called Alexander, brother to kyng Iames, was exiled into Fraunce, but passyng through England, he taried with kyng Edward as you shall heare. Therle of Mar, a wise pollitique counsailer, was in Edenborough beehedded: And beside this, he forgettyng his othe, promise, and affinitie concluded with kyng Edward, caused armies to be made into England, spoyling, burnyng and killyng, the kynges faithfull subiectes: at the whiche vnprincely dooyng, the kyng of Englande beyng, not a litle moued and chafed, determined to be reuenged on him by battaill, and dent of sworde. Yet notwithstandyng, because kyng Iames craftely excusyng himself, alleging the mischief late cõmitted, to be attempted, doen, & perpetrated, without his concent, knowledge or counsail, this matter had been lightly pacified, and blowen ouer, if the Duke of Albanie, beyng with kyng Edward, had not incẽsed, entised, and prouoked hym, to make warre on the Scottishe kyng, his brother, bothe to reuenge the iniuries of late, to thesaid king doen, contrary to all lawes of armes, and Princely demeanure, and also to help to restore thesaied duke, to his possessiõs, and dominions again: out of the whiche, he was by the kyng his brother, dispossessed, and reiected, promisyng to kyng Edwarde, greate aide and assistence, when his armie was once entered, into the confines of Scotlande.

Kyng Edward beyng thus perswaded by the Duke, and trustyng on his aide, was somwhat agreable to this, but the inward remembraunce how that kyng Iames, had supported against hym, with men and money, his olde enemie kyng Henry the sixt: and also trustyng, that if Alexander duke of Albanie, by his aide should vanquishe his brother, and obtain the croune of Scotland, he would be alwaies to hym, sure, faithfull, & trustie: whiche did so enflame his corage, & set his harte so on fire, that he determined with al diligence, with an armie royall, to inuade the countrey of Scotlande, and make the kyng to knowe, that he had neither honorably, nor truly kept his league and promise: Wherfore, al the winter season, he mustred his souldiers, prepared his ordinaunce, rigged his shippes, and left nothyng apperteignyng to the warre, vnpurueyed or vnloked for: so that in the beginnyng of the yere, al thynges wer prepared, and nothyng was missed.

THE. XXII. YERE.

The. xxii. yere.

WHen all thynges apperteignyng, to the furniture of suche an enterprise, were put in a readines, and ready to bee sette forward: kyng Edward appoynted, to be cheuetain of his hooste, and Lieuetenaunt generall, his brother Richarde Duke of Gloucester, and to him associated, Henry, the. iiij. Erle of Northumberlande, Thomas Lord Stanley, Lorde Steward of his houshold, the lorde Louell, and the lorde Greystocke, and diuerse other noble men and knightes. These valiaũt capitaines, set forward in Maie, and made suche diligence, with polletique cõueighaunce of their souldiers: beside the trobelous cariage, of their ordinaunce, that they came to the toune of Alnewike, in Northumberlande, about the beginnyng of Iuly, where they firste encamped theimselfes, and Marshalled their hoste. The forward was led, by therle of Northumberland, vnder whose standerd were, the lorde Scrope of Bolton, sir Ihon Middelton, sir Ihon Dichfeld, and diuerse other Knightes, Esquiers and souldiers to the nombre of sixe thousande, and seuen. C. men. In the middel ward was the Duke of Gloucester, and with hym the Duke of Albany, the lorde Louell, the lorde Greystocke, sir Edwarde Woduile and other, to the nombre of fiue thousande, and eight. C. menne. The Lorde Neuell was appoynted to folowe, accompaignied with. iii. M. men. The lorde Stanley, led the wyng on the right hande, of the Dukes battaill, with. iiij. M. men of Lancasbire and Chesshire: The lefte wyng was guyded by the lorde Fitz Hewe, sir Willyam a Parre, sir Iames Harrynton, with the nombre of. ii. M. men, and beside all these, there was a thousãd men appoynted, to geue attendance on the ordinaunce. This royall

armie, not intending to slepe, but to geue the Scottes knowlege, of their arriuall in those parties, came sodainly by the water side, to the toune of Berwicke, and there, what with force, and what with feare of so great an armie, toke and entered the toune: but therle Bothwell, beyng Capitain of the Castle, would in no wise deliuer it, neither for flattering wordes, nor for manacyng bragges, wherefore, the capitaines deliberately consultyng together, planted a strong siege, and enuironed it rounde aboute. When this siege was thus laied, the twoo Dukes, and all the other souldiers, except the lord Stanley, sir Thon Elryngton, threasorer of the kynges house, sir Willyam a Parre, and iiij. M. men, that were lefte behinde, to kepe the siege before the Castle, departed frō Berwicke, toward Edenborough: And in marchyng thetherward, he brent and destroyed, these tounes folowyng.

Edryngton.
Paxton. Fishewike.
Brandike.
Hooton.
Heton Hall.
Mordyngton and the Bastile.
Plome Horne and the toune.
Broweshed and the Steple.
Brome hill and the Bastile.
Edram.
Estrusbet.
Blakater and the Branke won.
Kallow, and Kamorgan.
Whitsonelawes.
Brynlenyn and Ryselaw.
Elbanke.
Hockas.
Betroside.
Erneslaw and the Bastill won.
Hilton and Whitsome.
Mykyll Swynton and the Bastile.
Litle Swynton and the bastill.
Somprone and Harden.
Croffirge and Whitside.
Edyngham. Whitmere.
Newtowne.

Duryng whiche tyme, the erle of Northūberland, brent these tounes.

Yatham and Yatham.
Brymsed and the Bastell.
Low houses and the bastell.
Cheritrees and Hoyepe.
Cliffton, Coto, and Hawmon.
Hawmon Grawnge and Hawdon.
Marbotel and the bastile.
Lynton with the Bastile.
Part of Cawarden brent.
Chedworthe and Craylam and the Bastill.
Neskot, Neskett, and olde Rokesborough.
Ednam, and the bastill wonne.
Ednam isle, Benlaw.
Ousnam, Long Puolo deliuered.
Crake, Ashewes, Mydpropes, and the Bastell.
Cossemaynes and the bastell won.
Weddon and the bastell.

While these thynges were in doyng, kyng Iames of Scotlande, hauyng small cōfidence in his commonaltie, and lesse trust in his nobilitie, did voluntarely incarcerate & enclose hym selfe in the strong Castell of Maydens in Edenborough, perfitly trustyng there to be out of all doubtes & daunger, except famyn or treason, caused hym violently to opē the portes or gates, wherof the duke of Glocester entered into the toune and at the especiall request & desire of the duke of Albany, saued ỹ toune and thenhabitantes of thesame, from fier, bloud & spoyle, takynge onely such presentes as the merchātes gentelly offered him & his capitaynes: Causing Gartier, principal kyng at armes, to make a publique Proclamacion at the high Crosse in the market place of Edenboroughe, in the which he warned & admonished Iames kyng of Scottes, to kepe, obserue & performe all suche promises, cōpactes, couenantes & agremēntes as he had concluded & sealed to, with the high and mighty prince Edward, by the grace of God, kyng of England. &c. And also to make cōdigne and sufficient recompence to his subiectes, for the great tyrannye, spoyle and crueltye, that he and his people had perpetrate & committed cōtrary to his league, within the marches and territories of his realme of Englande, before the firste daye of August nexte ensuynge. And farther without delay to restore the high and mightie Prince Alexander, duke of Albanie, his naturall brother to his estate, & all his offices, possessions and authorities, in as ample and liberall maner as he before occupied and enioyed thesame: or the high and valiaunte prince Rychard duke of Glocester,

Glocester, leuetenaunt generall, and chiefetayne for ỹ kyng of England, was redy at hand to destroy him, his people and coūtrey with slaughter, flame & famyn.

Kyng Iames would make no aunswere, neither by worde nor by writing, knowing that his power now fayled, either to performe the request demaunded, or to defend his countrey with such a puissant armye inuaded. The lordes of Scotland, lyeng at Hadyngton with a great puyssaunce, hearynge the kynge of Englandes reasonable desyre, determined firste to practise wyth the Duke of Glocester for a peace, and so to haue the Castell of Berwycke to their part, and after by some meanes to allure the duke of Albanye, from the English amitie, & vpon this mocion, the. ij. day of August they wrote to the duke of Glocester, that the mariage betwene the prince of England shoulde be accomplished in all poyntes, according to the couenantes agreed, and the instrumentes therof engrosed, requiring farther that a peace from thensforth might be louyngly concluded betwene bothe the Realmes. The duke of Glocester wisely and circumspectly certefied thē agayn, that as touching the article of mariage, to take effect betwene their prince and the lady Cicilie of England, he knew not the determinat pleasure of ỹ king his master and brother, either for the affirmaunce or deniāce of thesame but he desired full restitucion of all such summes of money, as for the sayd mariage before time had ben disbursed, or prested out in lone. And where the sayd lordes desyred to haue a peace, concluded from thensfurth, betwene both the sayd realmes. He first required to haue the Castell of Barwycke to him deliuered, or at the lest, if he did agre to ỹ sayd peace, that then his siege, lyeng about the sayd Castel, should be hereafter in any wise, neither troubled, vexed, nor molested, nor ỹ king of Scottes, nor none of his subiectes, nor any other by his procurement or prouoking, should ayde, comfort or assist with victayle, ordinaūce, or other wise the Capitayne, Constable, or souldiers of the sayd Castel, durynge the siege.

The Lordes, Prelates, Barons, and estates of the realme of Scotlande, perceyuing & wel pondering, bothe the answer & the demaundes of the duke of Glocester, sent to him sufficiently enstructed with these conclusions, the reuerend father Andrew, elect of Murray, and the lord Ihon Dernele, which thus answered, that where the sayd duke desyred repayment of ỹ summes of money, delyuered in part of payment, for the contract of mariage, to be made betwene the prince of Scotland and ỹ kynges daughter of England: the tyme of lawfull contract of mariage is not yet come, because of the minoritie of the said prince and princesse. And the faute hereof is, that no day was apoynted for the money, to be payed before the contract began. And if the king your brother woulde demaunde farther assurance, either for the contract to be made, or for ỹ payment of the money, they promised therunto, accordinge to reason to agre. Secondarely as touching thē Castel of Berwike, they sayd al we know wel ynough, that it is the olde enheritance of the croune of Scotlande, of many hundred yeres past, and that our souereigne lorde hath right thereunto. And if it be alleged, that it belonged to the realme of England by conquest, it is well knowen that it standeth in Scotland, & ouer the Scottish ground. The duke, not withstandinge their saiynges, would cōdiscend to no peace, without the Castel of Barwycke were rendered to the kyng of England, and so ỹ messengers departed, and on thesame day the Archebishop of sainct Andrewes, the bishop of Dūkelle Colyn, erle of Argyle, lord Cambell and lorde Andrew, lorde Auandale, Chauncelor of Scotlande, wrote vnto the duke of Albanye a solempne and autenticall instrumēt, signed and sealed with their seales, binding their bodies, landes and goodes to the sayd duke, that if he would hereafter be obedient to the kyng of Scottes, and kepe & obserue his faith and promise to be made to the sayd lordes, that he shoulde not onely be restored to all his landes, hereditamentes, offices & possessions, whiche he enioyed at the day of his departure out of Scotland, but also should haue and enioy to him, & his seruauntes & familiers a fre and a general Pardon, which restitucion and pardon, thei likewise promised to be ratefied & approued by the kyng and the. iii. estates assembled at the next Parliament. The duke beyng glad to be restored agayne to his olde estate & possessions, & especially in his awne natiue countrey, receyued their offer, which

was

was truly performed, & so toke his leue of the duke of Glocester thankyng hym (as he was no lesse bounde) for the greate labour, trauevll & peyne, that he had taken in hys awne person for his restitucion. And promised bothe by word & by writyng of his awne hande to do & performe all such thinges, as he before that tyme had sworne & promised to kyng Edwarde, notwithstanding any agremēt, now made or to be made with the lordes of Scotland: and for the performance of thiffect of the sayde Scedule, he agayne toke a corporall othe before ỹ duke of Glocester, and sealed the writyng the thyrd day of August in ỹ English Cāpe at Leuyngton, besydes Hadyngton, anno. M.cccc.lxxxii. and departed to hys awne possessions. After he was thus restored & reconciled, the lordes of Scotland proclaymed hym great lieutenaūt of Scotland, & in the kynges name made Proclamacion, ỹ all mē shoulde be redy, vpon peyn of death within viii. daies at Craushaues, both to rayse the siege before the Castell, and for the recoueringe agayne of the towne of Barwyke. The duke of Albanye wrote all thys preparaciō to the duke of Glocester, hūbly requiryng hym to haue no mistrust in hym promising to kepe his othe & promise, made to kyng Edward & to hym. The duke of Glocester wrote to hym agayne, that it shoulde neither be honorable nor commendable in hym, too helpe, to raise the siege, at the layeng wherof he was counsayler & partener, nor yet to reward ỹ king of England, with such a displeasure for his kyndnes costes and expēses to hym in hys extreme necessitie, louingly shewed and liberally exhibited. But he assured hym in the woord of a Prince, that if he & all the power of Scotland attempted to come to rayse the siege, planted before ỹ Castell of Barwyke, that he hym selfe with hys armye wouīde defende the besiegers, or els dye in the quarell.

The counsayl of Scotlande sagely & politiquely sawe before, that if they should come to reyse the siege, that the duke of Glocester wouīde with them shortly encounter, and then if they loste the felde, both ỹ strēgth of the Realme was brought to an imbecilitie, the nobles sore minished, and the castel lost and taken. And on the other side, if they obtayned victorie, nothyng was gotten but the pore towne of Barwyke, and they were likely sone to be inuaded with a greater power shortly agaī, wherfore they sent Lyon kyng at Armes to the duke of Glocester, offering to hym as they thought, two offers very reasonable, the one was, that if he would promise on his honor to subuerte and cast doune the toune walles of Barwycke, they would likewise race, and clerely deface the walles Towres and portes of the Castell, or els the duke of Glocester to put in a capitayn and a garrison of men of warre into the towne, and the duke of Albanye, likewise to do with the Castell, for the Tuycion of thesame. And farther the forsayd Lyon desired an abstinēce of warre to be takē, tyll the two dukes might haue cōmunicacion of grauous matters, concernyng the welthes of bothe the Realmes. The duke of Glocester refused bothe the offers saiyng, that he had long maintēined the siege before the Castell of Barwyke, to no small waste and exhaustyng of hys brothers treasure and riches, and to the great trauayle and payne of the Lordes, Gentilmen, and men of warre, that continually made their abode and dayly resident at the sayd siege: wherfore he sayd, that he in this poynt was fermely resolued, not to departe till the Castel were yelded by apoyntement, or taken by force, or els hys siege were by the power of Scotland reysed, or he and hys armye vanquished: wherfore he would by no meane harken to the peticion of the Scottishe lordes, concernyng the abstinence of warre, tyll he were either vanquished or possessed of the Castell of Barwyke. With which answere the Herault departed, and thereof made relacion to the lordes and counseyll of Scotland. Whē the dukes answere was of them well digested, they euidētly perceyuing that the castel of Barwyke was the onely maker of ỹ peace and that the not deliuery of thesame, should be the norice and continuer of warre and hostilitie: consideringe farther, that the nobilitie nor commons of Scotland, dyd not draw together by one lyne, nor were sorted in one leuell, electyng and chosyng the better parte, and reiectinge and auoydynge the worse, agreed and determined to deliuer the Castell of Barwyke to the English partie, so that their should be truce or abstinence of warre taken and concluded for

a determinate season. And thervpō they sent to the duke of Glocester a league indicted, which was dated the. xxiiii. day of August, in the yere of our lorde a. M.cccc.lxxxii. in the which it was contracted and agreed betwene the duke of Glocester, lieuctenaūt general for the kyng of Englande, and Allexander duke of Albanye, lieuetenaūt for lames kyng of Scottes, that an especiall abstinence of warre should be kept and obserued betwixte the Realmes of England and Scotland, and the people of thesame, aswell by sea as by lāde, to begyn the. viii. day of September next ensuyng, and to endure tyll the. iiii. day of Nouember next folowyng. And in the meane season, the towne and castel of Barwyke, to be occupyed, and be in ỹ reall possession of suche as by the kyng of Englandes deputie, should be appointed and assigned with all and singuler such boundes, limites and territories as the English nacion, last vsed and possessed, when the castell & towne were in the subieccion of the Englishmen. And all other marches and boundes, beyng in difference betwene the sayd Realmes, to stande and to be holden in lyke case and condicion, as they were before the last truce concluded. The duke of Glocester, which well perceyued that the Scottes more graunted to hys demaūdes, for relieue of their awne necessitie, then to gratefie hym or the kyng hys brother in any poynt: like a wise counseyler, toke hys aduauntage when it was offered, and especially because these thynges made for hys longe desyred purpose.

Fyrst the deliuery of the Castell of Barwyke, he voluntarely without counsayl (as a praye priuely gotten) both accepted and alowed, and for that onely cause he dyd not refuse the abstinence of warre, but too that gentely agreed. As touching the possession, to be kept in the landes dependyng in variance betwene the Realmes (comonly called the batable grounde) he woulde not, nor durst not conclude with the duke of Albanye, without hauyng farther intelligence of the kyng hys souereigne lordes pleasure and counsaill, meanynge thereby euer to kepe theim as sueters to him, & he no farther to seke on theim, and in the meane season to let that matter be in suspence. Whē he had sealed to the fyrst two Articles, and that they were sent agayne to the lordes of Scotlande, they them gladly receyued, and with good will embrased, and likewise truly performed thesame: for the castell of Barwyke was incontinent deliuered to the lord Stanley, and other thereto appoynted, whiche therein put bothe Englishmen and artilerie, sufficiente for the defence of all Scotland for. vi. monethes. By this meanes as you haue harde, the Englishmen repossessed agayn the towne & castell of Barwyke, whiche. xxi. yeres before by kyng Hēry the. vi. was to the Scottes as you haue hard geuen vp and deliuered. And lest peraduenture the duke of Glocester might thynke that the duke of Albanye dyd not in all thynges set forward, prefer and auaunce hys fyrst requestes and demaundes, made and requyred of the lordes of Scotland, and in especial one which was for the assurance to be made for the repayment to the kyng of England, of all suche summes of money, as he had beforehand prested & disbursed to the kynge of Scottes for the mariage to be solempnised & consummate betwene their chyldern, as before is rehersed: Therfore ỹ sayd duke of Albanye, caused the Prouost and Burgesses of Edenborough to make a sufficient instrument obligatorie, to kynge Edward, for the trew satisfaccion and contentaciō of thesame money, whiche he also sent by thesaied Prouost to the Duke of Glocester to Alnewyke: The very Copy hereafter foloweth.

" Be it knowē to all men by these present letters, vs Walter Bartraham, Prouost of the towne of Edēborough in Scotland, and the whole felowship, marchaūtes, burgesses, and communaltye of the same towne, to be bounde and oblished by their presentes, vnto the most excellent & most mighty prynce Edward, by the grace of God, kyng of Englande. That where it was commoned and agreed, betwene hys excellencie on the to parte, and the right high and mighty prince our souereigne lord, Iames king of Scottes on the other parte, that mariage and matrimonie should haue ben solempnised, and had betwixt a mightye and excellent pryuce, Iames the first begotten sonne and heyre apparant to our soueraigne lord foresayd, and the right noble princes Ciciiie daughter, to the sayd Edward kyng of Englād, and for the sayd mariage to haue ben performed certayne and diuers great summes of money ben payed and contented by the most excellent prince, vnto oure

oure soueraigne lorde forsayd, as by certayne wrytynges betwixt the sayde princes, thereupon made more at large playnly appeares: That if it be the pleasure of the sayd Edward kyng of England, to haue the sayd mariage to be performed and completed, accordynge to the said communication in writing, that then it shall be well and truely, without fraude, disceyte or collusion, obserued, keped, and accomplished on the partie of our soureigne lord foresayd, and the nobles spirituall and temporall of the Realme of Scotland. And if it be not the pleasure of the sayd excellent prince Edward kyng of England, to haue the sayd mariage performed and completed: That then we Walter Prouost, burgesses, marchantes, and cõmons of the abouenamed towne of Edenboroughe, or any of vs shall pay and content to the kyng of Englande foresayde, all the summes of money that was payed for the sayd mariage, at syke lyke termes and dayes, immediately ensuen, after the refusall of the sayd mariage, and in syke like maner and forme, as the sayde summes were afore deliuered, contented and payed, that than this obligacion and bond to be voyd, & of no strẽgth. Provided alwayes, that the sayd Edward kynge of England, shall geue knowledge of his pleasure and eleccion in the premisses in taking or refusing of ỹ said mariage, or of repaymẽt of the said summes of money, to our sayd soureygne lord, or lordes of his counsayll, or to vs the said Prouost, merchaũtes, or any of vs, within the realme of Scotland, beyng for the tyme, betwixt this and the feaste of Alhallowes next to come. To the whiche payment well and truly to be made, we bynde and oblisne vs, and euery of vs, our heyres, succession, executors and all our goodes, merchaundises, and thynges whatsoeuer they bee, where so euer, or in what place, by water or by lande, on this syde ỹ sea, or beyond, we shall happen to be founden, any leage, truse or sauegard made or to be made, notwithstanding. In wytnes wherof to this oure present writyng, & letters of bonde. We, the sayde Prouost, Burgesses, Merchauntes and commontye, haue set our common seale of the sayde towne of Edenborough, the fourth daye of August, the yere of God. M.cccc. lxxxii. Geuen in the presence of the right mighty Prince Richarde duke of Gloucester, Alexander duke of Albanye, a reuerende father in God, James bishop of Dunkeld, and the ryght noble lord Henry erle of Northumberlande, Colyn erle of Argile, Thomas lorde Stanley, Master Alexander English and other, &c."

When the duke of Glocester had thus obteyned hys purpose, and receyued writynges signed and sealed for the performance of thesame, he sent the instrumentes to kyng Edward hys brother, whiche muche cõmended bothe his valiaunt manhode, and also his prudent pollicie, in conueyng hys busines, bothe to hys awne purpose, and also to the profit of the Realme. Kyng Edward, not a littel mused, and much more debated wyth hys counsayl, whether it were more profitable and honorable to hym and hys Realme, to suffer the sayde mencioned mariage, to take effect, and procede to a conclusion, or els to requyre a repaymẽt, and redelyuery of the summes of money, appromptied and layde out for thesame purpose. After long consultacion had, and it was considered in what case the realme & ỹ kyng of Scottes stode in, for it was *well knowen that* he and hys nobiltie were at great discord as you before haue hearde: it was considered farther, that if the nobilitie preuayled, and gat the souerayntie, the lyne and succession of Iames the thyrde, were likely to be totally extirpate, & disinherited for euer: it was also alledged that the prince of Scotlande, neuer condiscended nor as he hymselfe sayd, woulde agre to thys mocioned mariage. These thynges thus debated, the kyng by great aduice, refused and reuoked all thynges to be done, for the more forwardnes of the sayde matrimony, and elected and chose the repayment of all suche summes of money, as for the occasion of the sayde betrusted mariage was payd, and before hand contented & deliuered. And accordynge to the woordes of obligacion, made by the towne of Edenborough, he sent Gartier, hys principal kyng of Armes and Northumberland Herault, to declare and intimate to the Prouost and burgesses of Edenborough, the determinate refusall of the future matrimony, and the eleccion and choyse of the repayment of the money and duetye. And for the farther ouerture of the whole conclusion. Gartier was instructed by writyng, what he should saye and declare: and so by conuenient

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iorneys came to the towne of Edenborough viii. dayes befors the feast of all saynts, where he openly sayde as foloweth: I gartier kinge of armes seruaunt, proctour and messenger vnto the most hygh and mighty prince, my most dreadsoueraygne lord Edward by the grace of God, kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, and lorde of Irelande, by vertue of certain letters of procuracie here redy to be shewed to me, by my sayd souereygne lord made and geuen, make notyce and geue knowledge vnto you Prouost, Burgesses marchauntes and communaltie of the towne of Edenborough in Scotlande, that where as it was sometyme commoned and agreed, betwene my sayde soueraygne lorde on the one partie, and the righte hygh and mighty prince Iames kyng of Scottes, on the other partie, y mariage & matrimony should haue been solempnised, and had betwene Iames the first begotten sonne of the said kyng of Scottes, and lady Cicilie, daughter to my sayd souereygne lord the kyng of Englad. And for the sayde mariage to haue been performed, certayne and dyuers greate summes of money, ben payed and contented by my sayde soureigne lord, whiche summes of money, in cace of refusall of the sayde mariage, by my sayde souereygne lorde to be made and declared, ye the sayd Prouost, Burgesses, marchauntes and communaltie, and euery one of you are bounde and obliged by your letters vnder youre comon seale of your toune of Edeborough, to repaye vnto hys hyghnes vnder lyke forme, and at suche termes as they were fyrst payed. So that the kyng my souereygne lorde woulde make notice and knowledge of his pleasure, and eleccion in takyng or refusynge of the sayde marriage, of the repayment of the sayde summes of money, before the feast of Alhalowes nexte to come, lyke as in your sayde letters, bearynge date at Edenboroughe the fourthe day of August last past, it was conteyned all at large. The pleasure and eleccion of my sayd soueregne lord, for dyuers causes and consideracions hym mouynge is to refuse the accomplishement of the sayde mariage, and to haue the repayment of all suche summes of money, as by occasion of the sayde betrusted mariage, hys hyghnes had payed. The sayd repaymente to be had of you Prouoste, Burgesses, merchauntes and communaltie, and euery of you, youre heyres and successors, accordynge to your bonde and obligacion afore rehersed. And therefore I geue you notice and knowledge by thys writynge, whiche I deliuer too you, within the terme in your sayde letters lymitted and expressed to all ententes and effectes, which therof maye ensue.

When Gartier had thus declared all thinges, geuen to him in charge, the Prouost or other Burgesses made aunswere, that they now knowynge the kynges determinate pleasure, wouldē accordynge to their bonde, prepare for the repayment of the sayde summes, and gentelly entertcynyng Gartier conueyghed him to Barwyke, from whēce he departed to new Castell, to the duke of Glocester, makyng relacion to hym of all his doynges, whiche duke with all spede returned too Shrythuton, and there abode. Shortly after Gartiers departynge, the duke of Albanye, thyakyng to obteyne agayne the hygh fauoure of the kynge hys brother, deliuered hym out of captiuitie and pryson, wherin he had a certaine space continued (not withoute the dukes assente, whiche besieged hym in the Castell of Edenborough a litell before) & set him at large, of whome vtwardly he receyued great thankes, when inwardly nothynge but renengyng and confusion was in the kynges stomacke incorporate, so that shortly after in the kynges presence, he was in ieopardye of hys lyfe, and all improuided for dread of death, coacted to take a small balynger, and to sayle into Fraunce, where shortly after rydynge by the men of armes, which encontered at the tylt, by Lewes then duke of Orliaunce, after Frenche kyng, he was with mischarging of a speare by fortunes peruerce countenaunce pytyfullye slayne and broughte to death, leauyng after hym one onely sonne, named Ihon, whiche beynge banished Scotland, enbabited and maried in Fraunce, and there died. How dolorous, how sorrowful is it to wryte, and muche more pencifull to remember the chaunces, & infortunites that happened within twoo yere in Englande and Scotlande, betwene naturall bretherne. For kyng Edward set on by suche as enuied the estate of the duke of Clarence, forgettyng nature, and fraternall amitie, consented to the deathe of hys

sayde brother. Iames kynge of Scottes, puttynge in oblyuion that Alexander hys brother was the onely Organe and instrument, by whome he obteyned libertie and fredome, seduced and led by Vyle and malicious persons, whiche maligned at the glorie and indifferent iustice of the duke of Albanye, imagened and compassed hys deathe, and exiled him for euer? what a pernicious serpent, what a venemous tode, & what a pestiferous Scorpion is that deuelishe whelpe, called priuye enuye? Against it no fortres can defend, no caue can hyde, no wood can shadow, no foule can escape, nor no beaste can auoyde, her poyson is so stronge, that neuer man in authoritie coulde escape from the bytyng of her tethe, scrachyng of her pawes, blastyng of her breath, defoulynge of her tayle.

Wherefore, let euery indifferent persone, serche Histories, rede Chronicles, looke on aucthores, aswell holy as prophane, and they shall apparauntly perceiue, that neither open warre, daily famine, or accustomed mortalitie, is not so muche an enemie, nor so greate a malle to destroye, and suppeditate high power and nobilitie, as is roted malice, inwarde grudge, and dissimuled hatred. Although that kyng Edwarde wer glad and ioyous, of all the prosperous successe, of all enterprises in the realme of Scotlande, yet euen now his Feuer tercian, of the whiche he had languished sore, sithe his voyage royall into Fraunce, was sodainly turned into a vncurable quartain: For where he was before tossed, betwene hope and despaire, sometyme hote, sometyme colde, that the Matrimonie of his daughter, and Charles the dolphin, should come to the solempnizacion, according to the leage, betwene him and the Frēche kyng, concluded at Picquegnie: Now was he cast into an indissoluble Melancoly, and a continuall cold: For the lorde Hawarde, whiche was returned out of Fraunce, with many faire wordes, and painted promises but without tribute, or conclusiō of the marige, certified the kyng of his awne *knowledge*: how that he beyng present, sawe the lady Margarete of Austrice, daughter to Duke Maximilian, sonne to the Emperor Fredericke, receiued into Fraunce, with pompe more then Emperiall, by the Duke of Borbon, the lorde Dalbret, and many other lordes and magistrates of the realme, and so with greate triumphe, conueighed to Amboyse, where the Dolphin laie, and there was to hym contracted and espoused. Kyng Edwarde now beyng certain, how the Frenche kyng had with pleasaunt language, and colourable answeres, foded hym furthe, and allured hym to geue credence, to hys dissimulyng woordes, neither meanyng as he saied, nor shewyng what he meante: Determined with hymself, no longer to suffre so apparaunt wrong, nor so intollerable an iniurie. Wherfore, he called his nobilitie together, and declared to them the manifold wrong, whiche he had receiued of late, at the handes of the Frenche kyng, and how he vntruly, and vnprincely, had broken the league and amitie, bothe in denyyng the paiment of the tribute, as also, in refusing the accomplishmēt of the mariage of his daughter, accordyng as in the treatie was concluded. Requiryng them therefore to study, how to reuenge and punishe, so greate a shame, and so opprobrious a taunt, offered to their native Countrey. The nobilitie not a litle glad of this mocion, answered: that their whole desire was, to fight with the Frenche men, whom they so oftē times had vanquished, & profligated in battail, and that for the dignitie, and fame of their Countrey, they would let nothyng be vnattempted, offeryng hym in an instant, to be ready in harnes to fulfill his mynde and desire. When he knewe the toward myndes of his subiectes, of the Temporaltie, he moued the Spiritualtie (because by the Ecclesiasticall lawes, they be prohibited to weare armure) to aide hym with money, for mainteinaunce of his warres, and suppressyng of his enemies.

THE. XXIII. YERE.

The. xxiii. yere. BEholde, while he was intentiue, and employed his whole labor, diligence, and industrie, to furnishe and setforward this warre, whiche he newly had attempted and begonne: whether it was with the melencoly, and anger that he toke with the Frenche kyng, for his

vntrdthe and vnkyndnes, or were it by any superfluous surfet (to the whiche he was muche geuen) he sodainly fell sicke, and was with a greuous maledy taken, yea, so greuously taken, that his vitall spirites, began to faile and waxe feble, whiche debilitie when he perceiued, he called together all his nobles, whiche, that tyme were aboute London, vpon one daie (as he did diuerse tymes commen with them) and thus in effect, to theim saied: My welbeloued, and no lesse betrusted frendes, counsailers, and alies, if wee mortall men would daily and hourely, with our self reuolue, and intētiuely in our hartes engraue, or in our mindes grauously pōder, the fraile and fadyng imbecilitie, of our humain nature, and the caduke fragilitie of thesame: wee should apparauntly perceiue, that we beyng called reasonable creatures, and in that predicament, compared and ioyned with Angelles, bee more worthy to be numcupate, and demed persones vnreasonable, and rather to bee associate in that name with brute beastes, called vnreasonable (of whose life and death, no creature speaketh) rather then in that poynt, to bee resembled to the Angelicall societie, and reasonable compaignie. For while health in vs florisheth, or prosperitie abundeth, or the glosyng worlde laugheth, whiche is he, so reasonable of vs all, that can saie (if he will not erre from the truthe) that he once in a weke remēbred his fatall ende, or the prescribed terme of his endurynge: or once prouided by labor, study, or otherwise, to set a stedfast and a sure ordre, for the securitie, and profite, continuaunce either of his possessions and dominions, or of his sequele and posteritie, whiche after hym shall naturally succede: suche is the blyndnes, of our fraile and fragile nature, euer geuen to carnal concupiscence, and mundain delectacion, daily obfuscate and seduced, with that lothargious, and deceiable serpent, called hope of long life, that all we put in obliuion, our duetie present, and lesse remembre the pollitique purueighaunce, for thynges to come: For blyndly we walke in this fraile life, till we fall groueling with our iyes, sodainly vpon death. The vanities of this worlde, bee to vs so agreable, that when we begin to liue, wee esteme our life, a whole worlde, whiche once ouerpassed, it sheweth no better but dust, driuen away with a puffe of wynde: I speake this to you of my self, and for your selfes to you, sore lamentyng, and inwardly bewailyng, that I did not performe and finally cōsumate, suche pollitique diuises, and good and Godly ordinaunces, in my long life and paciffique prosperitie, whiche, then I fully determined to haue begonne, set forward, and completly to haue finished. Whiche, now for the extreme paines, and tortures of my angvie maladie, and for the small terme of my naturall life, I can neither performe, neither yet liue to see, either to take effect, or to sort to take any conclusion. For God I call to record, my harte was fully sette, and my mynde deliberatly determined: so to haue decorated this realme, with wholesome Lawes, statutes, and ordinaunces, so to haue educated and brought vp myne enfantes and children, in vertue, learnyng, actiuitie, and pollicie. That, what with their royall puyssaunce, and your frendly assistence, the proudest Prince of Europe, durste not once attempte, to moue any hostilitie, against them, you, or this realme: But oh Lorde, all thynges that I of long tyme, haue in my mynde reuolued, and immagined, that stelyng thief death, goeth about to subuerte, and in the momēt of an houre, clerely to suppeditate, wherefore (as men saie) I now beyng driuen to the verie hard wall: hauyng perfect confidence, and sure hope in the approbate fidelitie, and constaunt integritie, whiche I haue euer experimented, and knowen to be radicate and planted, in the hartes of your louyng bodies, toward me and myne. So that I maie saie and aduowe, that neuer Prince bearyng scepter and Croune, ouer realmes and regions, hath found or proued, more faithfuller counsailers, nor trewer subiectes, then I haue doen of you, nor neuer Potentate nor gouernor, put more affiaunce and truste, in his vassals and seruauntes, then I, sith the adepcion of the Croune, fermely haue fixed, in your circumspect wisedomes, and sober discresions. And now of verie force compelled, liyng in a dubious hope, betwene liuyng and diyng, betwene remembraunce and obliuion, do require you and instauntly moue you, that as I haue found you, faithfull, obediēt, and to all my requestes and desires, (while I was here in healthe, conuersant with you) diligent and intentiue: So after my death, my

hope is with a sure anchor grounded, and myne inwarde conceipte vndubitatly resolued, that the especiall confidence, and inwarde fidelitie, whiche, so long hath continued betwene vs, beyng together liuyng, shall not totally by my death, bee extincte and vanished like smoke. For what auaileth frendshippe in life, when trust deceiueth after death: What profiteth amitie in apparaunt presence, when confidence is fraudulently beguiled in absence. What loue groweth, by coniunccion of Matrimonie, if the ofspryng after dooe not agree and concorde: Or what profiteth Princes, to auaunce and promote their subiectes, if after their death, the bountifulnes by theim shewed, be of the receiuers of thesame and their sequele, neither regarded nor yet remembered: The parties make the mariage for an indissoluble amitie, Princes promote sometyme for fauoure, sometyme for deserte, and sometyme for pleasure: yet (if you will consider) the verie pricke, to the whiche all giftes of promocions, do finally tend, it is to haue loue, fauor, faithfull coũsaill, and diligent seruice, of suche as be by them, promoted and exalted, not onely in their awne lifes, beyng but brief and transitorie: But also, that thei and their progeny, callyng to remembraunce, the fauor, estimacion, and auauncement, which, they of so liberal and munificent a prince had receiued and obteined: should with spere and sheilde, toungue and wit, hande and penne, continually studie to defende, counsaill and prefer not onely hym duryng his life, but also to serue, assist, and maintain his sequele, and lineall succession, as the verie Images, and carnall portratures, of his stirpe, line and stemme, naturally discẽded. In this case am I, whom you knowe, not without ineffable trouble, and moste daungerous warr, to haue obteined the scepter, and diademe of this realme and Empire, duryng whiche reigne, I haue had either litle peace, or small tranquilitie: And now when I thought my self, sure of a quiet life, and worldly rest, death hath blowen his terrible trompet, calling and somonyng me (as I truste) to perpetuall tranquilitie, and eternall quietnes: therefore now for the perfecte, and vnmoueable confidence, that I haue euer had in you, and for the vnfained loue, that you haue euer shewed vnto me, I commende and deliuer into your gouernaũce, bothe this noble realme, and my naturall children, and your kynsmen. My children by your diligent ouersight, and pollitique prouision, to bee taught, enformed, and instructed, not onely in the sciẽces liberall, verteous morall and good literature: but also to be practised in trickes of marciall actiuitie, and diligent exercise of prudent pollicie: For I haue hard clarkes saie, although I am vnlettered, that fortunate is that Realme, where Philosophiers reigne, or where kynges bee Philosophiers, and louers of wisedome. In this tendre age, you maie writhe and turne theim, into euery forme and fashio: If you bryng them vp in vertue, you shall haue verteous Princes: if you set them to learnyng, your gouernors shalbee men of knowledge, if you teache them actiuitie, you shall haue valiaunte capitaines, if thei practice pollicie, you shall haue bothe pollitique, and prudent rulers. On the other side, if by your negligence, thei fall to vice (as youth is to all euill, prone and ready) not onely their honor, but also your honestie, shalbe spotted and appalled: If thei bee slogardes and geuen to slothe, the publique wealth of this realme, must shortly decaye. If thei be vnlearned, thei maie by flattery sone bee blinded, & by adulacion often deceiued. If thei lacke actiuitie, euery creature be he neuer so base of birthe, shall foyle and ouerthrowe theim, like domme beastes and beastly dastardes. Therfore I desire you, and in Goddes name adiure you, rather to studie to make theim riche, in Godly knowledge, and verteous qualities, then to take pain to glorifie theim, with abundance of worldely treasure, and mundain superfluitie. And certainly, whẽ thei come to maturitie of age, and shall peraduenture considre, that by your omission and negligent educaciõ, thei haue not suche graces, nor are endued with suche notable qualities, as thei might haue been, if you had performed the truste to you, by me committed: Thei shall not onely deplore, and lament their vngarnished estate, and naked condicion, but al so it maie fortune, that thei shall conceiue inwardly against you, suche a negligent vntruthe, that the sequele thereof, maie rather turne to displeasure then thanke, and soner to an vngratitude, then to a rewarde.

My

My kyngdom also, I leue in your gouernaunce, duryng the minoritie of my children, chargyng you on your honors, othes, and fidelitie, made and sworne to me, so indifferently to ordre and gouerne, the subiectes of thesame, bothe with iustice and mercie, that the willes of malefactors, haue not to large a scope, nor the hartes of the good people, by to muche extremitie, bee neither sorofully daunted, nor vnkyndly kept vnder: Oh I am so slepie, that I muste make an ende, and now before you all I commende my soule to almightie God, my sauior and redemer: my body to the wormes of the yearth, my kyngdom to the Prince my sonne, and to you my louyng frendes my harte, my trust, and my whole confidence. And euen with that, he fell on slepe: After diuerse suche charitable monicions and exhortacions (as the pangues and fittes of his sickenes would permit hym) sometyme to his nobilitie, sometyme to his familier frendes, made and declared: His maladie sodainly encreased, and grewe to so painfull an extremitie, that short death was soner of him required, then longer life desired, wishyng rather departyng out of this worlde, then to abide the painfull smarte, of his dolorous pangues. Wherfore Attrapos hauyng compassion, of his continuall languishyng, and daily agony, dirupted and brake the threde, of his naturall life, the. ix. daie of Aprill, in the yere of our Lorde, M. CCCC. lxxxiii. and in the fiftie yere of his bodily age, when he had reigned ouer this realme, more in trouble then perfecte quietnes. xxii. yeres, one monethe and eight daies: whose corps was with funerall pompe, accordyng to the royall estate of a kyng, conueighed to the Colege of Winsore, to the which, he had been a greate benefactor, and there on the right hand, of the high aulter, princely enterred and intumilate, whose death was asmuche lamented of his subiectes, as his life desired. He begat of the Quene Elizabeth his wife, tenne children, whereof he left liuyng twoo soonnes, Edward Prince of Wales, and Richard duke of Yorke, and a bastard sonne called Arthur, whiche, after was Vicount Lisle, and came to good profe: beside these he left fiue daughters, Elizabeth, Cicilie, Anne, Katherine, and Briget: all these wer maried, except lady Briget, which was a Nonne professed.

This kyng Edward was a manne, of a goodly personage, of stature high, and excedyng all other in countenaunce, welfauored and comly, of iye quicke and pleasaunt, brode brested, and well set, all other members doune to his fete, kept iust proporcion with the bulke of his body: of wit he was quicke and pregnant, of stomacke stoute and bold, & of courage haute and high, of memorie moste perfecte, and especially of suche thynges, as he had trauailed in, in greate affaires & weightie causes quicke and diligent, in perelles and aduentures bolde and hardie, against his enemies, fierce and terrible, to his frendes and to straungers bountifull and liberal, hauyng in warres moste prosperous lucke, and happie successe: From the pleasure of the body, to the whiche he was prone, & much geuen, he did muche abstein and forbere, for whiche cause, and also for the greate humanitie and lowlines, that in hym was by nature moste abundantly engendered, he vsed himself emong meane persones, more familier, then his degree, dignitie, or maiestie required, whiche was the cause, that some suspected hym, to haue died of poyson. And it was said, he that all the daies of his life, had muche vsed liberalitie, was towarde his latter ende, geuen to auarice and loue of money. And although he founde his kyngdome, greatly impouerished, and almoste emptie, bothe of men of warre and money, yet after that he had pacified, and finished the ciuill discencion, he left his realme, of all thynges riche and abundaunt. The spirituall promocions, he gaue euer to the moste famous and excellent Clerkes, and men of the best liuing: Other of meane qualities, whom he muche fauored, he did not preferre to greate dignitie and high promocios but with money rewarded theim, whiche thyng many Princes (regarding not their honors) do not consider nor obserue: with all whiche notable vertues, he ioyned to hym so surely the hartes of his people, that after his death, his life again was daily wished, and effecteously emong his Subiectes desired, but wishyng serued not, nor yet their desire tooke none effecte.

¶ The ende of the prosperous reigne of Kyng Edward the fourthe.

THE

THE PITIFULL LIFE OF KYNG EDWARD THE. V.

This kynges tyme wyth some parte of kyng Richard ỹ. iij. as shall apere by a note made at that place, was writtē by syr Thomas More.

THE eternall God callynge to his merci the noble prince Kynge Edward ỹ. iiij. of that name, Edward his eldest sonne (prince of Wales) beganne his reygne the ninthe daye of April, in the yere of oure lord a thousande foure hundred fourscore & thre, and iii the. xxiij. yere of Lewes the leuenthe then Frenche kynge: Whiche younge prince reigneda small space & litle season ouer this realme, either in pleasure or libertie. For his vncle Richard duke of Gloucester, within thre monethes depriued hym not onely of his croune and regalitee, but also vnnaturally bereft hym of his naturall life: and for the declaracion by what craftie engine he firste attempted his vngraciouse purpose & by what false colourable and vntrue allegacions he set furth openly his pretensed enterprise, and finally, by what shamefull, cruell and detestable act he perfourmed the same: Ye muste first considre of whom he and his brother dessended, their natures, condicions and inclinacions, and then you shall easely perceiue, that there coulde not bee a more crueller tiraunt apoincted to acheue a more abhominable entreprise.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke.

Their father was Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, whiche began not by warre, but by lawe to calenge the crowne of Englande, puttyng his claime in the parliament, holden the thirty yere of kyng Henry the sixt, where either for righte or for fauoure, his cause was so set furthe and auaunced, that the bloude of the saied kynge Henry, although he had a goodly sonne, was clerely abiected, and the crowne of ỹ realme (by auctoritie of parliamente) entayled to the duke of Yorke and his heires after the decease of the sayed kynge Henry the syxte. But the duke not entendynge so long too tary, but mindyng vnder the pretexte of discension growen and arisen within the realme, and of couenauntes made in the parliament, not kepte, but broken, to preuent the tyme and to take vpon hym the gouernaunce in kynge Henries life was by to muche hardinesse slaine at the battaill of Wakefelde, leuyng behinde hym thre sonnes, Edwarde, George, and Richarde. All these three as thei were greate estates of birthe, so were they greate and stately of stomacke, gredy of promocions and impaciente parteners of rule and autoritee.

The. iij. sōnes of Richard duke of Yorke, described.

This Edward reuenged his fathers death and deposed kyng Henry the sixt, and attained the crowne and scepter of the realme.

George duke of Clarence was a goodly and well feautured prince, in all thynges fortunate, if either his owne ambicion had not set hym against his brother or thenuy of his enemies had not set his brother againste hym: for were it by the quene or nobles of her blud, whiche highly maligned the kynges kynred (as women commēly, not of malice but of nature, hate suche as their husbandes loue) or wer it a proud appetite of the duke hym selfe, entendynge to bee kynge, at the leaste wise, heinous treason was laied to his charge, and finally were he in faulte or wer he faultelesse, attainted was he by parliament and iudged to death, and there vpon hastely drowned in a butte of malmesey within the towre of London. Whose death kynge Edwarde (although he commaunded it) when he wiste it was doen piteously he bewayled and sorowfully repented it.

George duke of Clarence drowned in a but of Malmesey.

The description of Richard the. iij.

Richard duke of Gloucester the third sonne (of whiche I must moste entreate) was in witte and courage egall with the other, but in beautee and liniamētes of nature far vndereth bothe, for he was litle of stature, ciuill featured of limmes, croke backed, the left shulder

muche

muche higher than the righte, harde fauoured of visage, such as in estates is called a warlike visage, and emonge commen persones a crabbed face. He was malicious, wrothfull and enuious, and as it is reported, his mother the duches had muche a doe in her trauaill, that she could not be deliuered of hym vncut, and that he came into the worlde the fete forwarde, as menne bee borne outwarde, and as the fame ranne, not vntothed: whether that meane of hatred reported aboue the truthe, or that nature chaunged his course in his beginnynge, whiche in his life many tymes vnnaturally committed, this I leue to God his iudgemente. He was none euill capitain in warre, as to y whyche, his disposicion was more enclined too, then to peace. Sondry victories he had and some ouerthrowes, but neuer for defaute of his owne persone, either for lacke of hardinesse or politique order. Free he was of his dispences and somwhat aboue his power liberall, with large giftes he gatte hym vnstedfaste frendship: for whiche cause he was fain to borowe, pill and extort in other places, whiche gat hym stedfaste hatred. He was close and secrete, a depe dissimuler, lowlye of countenaunce, arrogante of herte, outwardely familier where he inwardely hated, not leftynge to kisse whom he thought to kill, despiteous and cruell, not alwaie for eiuill will, but ofter for ambicion and too seme his purpose, frende and foe were all indifferent, where his auauntage grewe, he spared no mannes deathe whose life withstode his purpose. He slewe in the towre kynge Henry the sixte, saiynge now is there no heire male of kynge Edwarde the thirde, but wee of the house of Yorke: whiche murder was doen without kyng Edward his assente, which woulde haue appointed that bocherly office too some other, rather then to his owne brother. Some wise menne also wene, that his drifte lacked not in helpynge furth his owne brother of Clarence to his death, which thyng in all apparaunce he resisted, although he inwardly mynded it. And the cause therof was, as men notyng his doynges and procedynges did marke (because that he longe in kynge Edwarde his tyme thought to obtaine the crowne in case that the kynge his brother, whose life he loked that eiuil diet woulde sone shorten) shoulde happen to diseace, as he did in dede, his chyldren beynge younge. And then if the duke of Clarence had liued, his pretenced purpose had been far hyndered. For yf the duke of Clarence had kepte hymselfe trewe to his nephewe the younge king, or would haue taken vpon hym too bee kynge, euery one of these castes had been a troumpe in the duke of Gloucesters waye: but when he was sure that his brother of Clarence was ded, then he knewe that he might worke without that ieoperdy. But of these poinctes there is no certentie, and whosoeuer diuineth or coniecture th, may as wel shote to fer as to shorte, but this coniecture afterwarde toke place (as fewe doue) as you shall perceiue hereafter.

Kynge Henry ye vi. slayn in the towar- by Richard ye iii.

But afore I declare too you howe this Richarde duke of Gloucester began his mischeuous imagined and pretenced enterprice as apparātly shalbee opened, I muste a litle put you in remembraunce of a louyng & charitable acte, no lesse profitable then amicable to the whole comminaltie, if it had been so inwardely thought as it was outwardly dissimuled which kynge Edwarde did lyng on his deathe bedde not longe before he died. For in his life, although that the diuision emongest his frendes somewhat greued and irked hym, yet in his helthe he lesse regarded & tooke hede to it, by reason that he thougte that he was hable in al thynges to rule bothe parties, wer thei neuer so obstinate: But in his last sickenes (whiche continued longer then false and fantasticall tales haue vntruely and falsely surmi-ed, as I my selfe that wrote this pamphlet truly knewe) when he perceiued his naturall strength was gone, and hoped litle of recouery by the hartes of all his phicisians whiche he perceiued onely to prolong his life Then he began to consider the youthe of his children, howe bee it, he nothyng lesse mistrusted then that that happened, yet he wisely forseyng and considerynge that many armes might ensue by the debate of his nobles while the youth of his children should lacke discrecion and good counsaill of their frendes, for he knewe well that euery parte wouldde woorke for their owne commodite, and rather by pleasaunte aduise to wynne theim selues fauour, then by profitable aduertisement to doue the chyldren good: wherefore kynge on his deathe bed at Westminster, he called to hym suche lordes as then were aboute hym, whome he knewe to bee at variaunce, in especiall the lorde Marques Dorset sonne to the

the queene and the lord Hastynges, againste whome the queene especially grudged for the fauoure that the kīg bare tym, and also she thoughte hym familier with the kynge in wanton compaignie: her kynne bare hym sore, aswel for that the kyng made hym capitain of Calei, which office the lord Riuers brother to the quene claimed of the kyng his former promise, as of diuerse other giftes whiche he receiued that they loked for. And when these lordes with diuerse other of bothe parties were come vnto the kynge his presence, he caused hym self to bee raised vp with pillowes, & as I can gesse, saied thus or muche like in sentence to theim.

An exhortatiō of kynge Edward the. iiij. in his deathe bedde.

My lordes, my dere kynsmen and alies, in what plight I now lye you se, and I perfightly fele by the whiche I loke the lesse while to liue with you, therfore the more depely I am moued to care in what case I leaue you, for such as I leaue you suche are my children like to finde you, whiche yf they should find at variaunce (as God forbid) they theim selfes mighte hap to fall at warre or their discrecion woulde serue to set you at peace: you se their youthe, of whiche I reken the onely surety to reste in your concorde. For it suffiseth not all you to loue theim, yf eche of you hate other: if they were men your faithfulnesse might hap to suffice, but childhod muste bee maiutained by mennes autoritie, and slipper youthe vnderprompted with elder counsaill, whiche they can neuer haue excepte you geue it, nor you geue it, excepte you agree, for where eche laboureth to breake that the other maketh, and for hatered eche impugneth others counsaill: there muste nedes bee a longe tracte or any good conclusiō came forewarde. And farther, while eache partie laboureth too bee chiefe flatterer, adulacion shall then haue more place then plaine and faithefull aduise, of wiche muste nedes ensue the euill bryngynge vp of the prince whose mynde in tender youth infecte shall redely fall to mischiefe and riote and drawe downe this noble realme to ruine: But yf grace turne hym to wisedome (whiche God send hym) then they whiche by euill meanes pleased hym beste, shall after fall fardest out of fauoure, so that at the lengthe euill driftes drine to naught, and good plain waies prospere and florishe. Greate variaunce hath been betwene you, not alwaies for great causes: Some tyme a thynge righte well entended and misconstrued hath been turned to the worse, or a small displeasure doen to you, either by youre owne affection, either by instigacion of euill tongues hath ben sore aggrauate. But this I wote well, you had neuer so greate cause of hatred as you haue of loue because we bee all menne and that we bee all Christen menne. This I will leaue to preachers to tell you and yet I wote not whether any prechers woordes ought more too moue you, then I that is goyng by and by to the place that they all preche of. But this shal I desire you to remembre, that the one parte of you beyng of my bloude, the other of my alies, and eche of you with other either of kynred or affinitee whiche is the very spirituall affinitee and kinred in Christe, as all partakers of the sacramentes of Christe his churche. The weightie of whiche consanguinitie yf we did beare as woulde to God we did, then shoulde we more bee moued to spirituall charite then to fleshely consanguinitee. Our Lorde forbid that you loue the worse together for the selfe same cause that you ought to loue the better, and yet that often happeneth, for no where finde we so dedly debate as emongest theim whiche by nature and lawe moste ought to agre together. Suche a serpente is ambicion and desire of vainglory and soureigntie, which emongest estates when he is once entred he crepith furth so far, till with deuision and variaūce he turneth all to mischiefe. Firste longynge to be next to the beste, afterwarde egall with the beste, and at the laste chief and aboue the beste. Of whiche immoderate appetite of worship and the debate and discencion that grewe there by, what losse, what sorowe, what trouble hath within these fewe yeres growen within this realme, I pray God as well to forget as we well remembre, whiche thyng if I coulde as well haue forsene as I haue with my more pain then pleasure proued, by God his blessed lady (that was his common othe) I would neuer haue won the curtesies of mennes knees with the losse of so many heddes. But sith thynges passed cannot be called agayne, muche more ought wee to bee ware, by what occasion wee haue taken so greate hurte before, that wee eftsones fall not into that occa-

sion again. Now bee these greues passed and al is quiet, thanked bee God, and likely well too prospere in welthfull peace, vnder your cosins my children, yf God sende theim life, and you loue and concorde. Of whiche two thynges the lesse losse were thei by whom although God did his pleasure, yet shoulde this realme alwayes fynde kynges, and paraduenture as good kynges as thei. But yf you emongest your selfes in a chyldes reigne fall at debate, many a good manne shall innocently perishe, and happely he and you also, or this land finde peace and quiet agayne: wherefore in these laste woordes that euer I looke to speake to you, I exhorte and require you all, for the loue that you haue borne too me, and for the loue that I haue borne to you, and for the loue that oure Lorde beareth to vs all: From this tyme forward all greues forgotten, eche of you loue other, which I verely trust you will, yf you any thynge regarde God or your kynges affinitee or kynrede, this realme, your owne countree, or your owne surety & wealth. And there with all, the kynge for faintenesse no longer enduryng too sitte vp, layed hym downe on his righte side, his face toward them. And there was none presente that coulde forbeare weepynge, but the Lordes confortynge hym with as good wordes as thei coulde, and answerynge for the tyme, as they thoughte shoulde stande with his pleasure. And there in his presence (as by their woordes apeared) eche forgaue other, and ioyned their handes together, when as it after appeared by their dedes their hartes were far a sunder. And so within a fewe daies, this noble prince disceased at Westminster the nynth daye of Aprill, in the yere of our lorde. M. cccc. lxxxiij. after that he had reigned. xxii. yeres one moneth and eight daies, and was with great funerall pompe conueighed to Windsore, leuynge behynde hym two sonnes, Edward the prince (of whom this story entreateth) a chylde of xiij. yeres of age, Richard duke of Yorke two yeres younger then the prince, & fiue daughters, Elizabeth, whiche by God his grace was maried to kynge Henry the seuenthe and mother to kynge Henry the eighte, Cicile not so fortunate as faire, firste wedded to the viscounte Welles, after to one Kyne and liued not in greate wealthe. Bridget professed her selfe a close Nonne at Sion, Anne was married to lorde Thomas Hauwarde after erle of Surry and duke of Northfolke, katherine the yongest daughter was maried to lorde William Courtney, sonne to therle of Deuonshire, whiche long tyme tossed in ether fortune, somtyme in wealth, after in aduersite, till the benignitee of her nephewe kyng Henry the eighte broughte her into a sure estate accordynge to her degre and progeny.

This kynge Edwarde was suche a prince of gouernaunce and behaueoure in ỹ tyme of peace (for in ỹ tyme of warre eche must bee others enemie) ỹ ther was neuer any kyng in this realme attainyng the croune by warre and battaill, so hertely beloued with the more substaunce of his people, nor he hym self so specially fauoured in any parte of his life, as at the tyme of his deathe: whiche fauour and affection yet after his deathe, by the crueltee, mischiefe and trouble of the tempestious world that folowed, highly towardes hym more encreased. At suche tyme as he died, the displeasure of those that bare him grudge for kyng Henry the sixte sake (whom he deposed) was well assuaged and in effecte quenched within the space of. xxii. yeres, whiche is a greate parte of a mannes life, and some were reconsiled and growen into his fauoure, of the whiche he was neuer straunge, when it was with true herte demaunded. He was goodley of personage and princely to beholde, of harte courageous, politique in counsaill, and in aduersitce nothynge abashed, in prosperite rather ioyfull then proude, in peace iuste and mercifull, in warre sharpe and fearce, in the felde bolde and hardy, and yet neuerthelesse no ferther, then reason and policye would aduenture, whose warres whosoeuer circumspectely and aduisedly considereth he shall no lesse commend his wisedome and policie where he aduoided them, then his manhod where he vanquished them. He was of visage full faced & louely, of body mightie, strong and cleane made: with ouer liberall and wanton diet, he waxed somewhat corpulent and bourly, but neuerthelesse not vncomely. He was in youth greatly geuen to fleshely wantonnes, from the whiche healthe of

The discription of King Edward the. iiij.

body in great prosperitee and fortune without an especiall grace hardely refraineth. This fault litle greued his people, for neither coulde any one mannes pleasure stretche or extend to the displeasure of very many, nor a multitude bee greued by a priuate mannes fantesy or voluptuousnesse, when it was dooen without violence. And in his latter daies he left all wild daliaunce, & fell to grauitee, so that he brought his realme into a wealthie and prosperous estate, all feare of outwarde enemies were clerely extinguished, and no warre was in hande nor none towarde, but suche as no manne looked for. The people were towarde their prince not in a constrained feare, but in a true louyng and wilfull obedience emongeste theim selfe, and the commons were in good peace. The lordes whom he knewe at variaunce, he in his deathe bedde (as he thought) brought too good concorde, loue and amitee. And a litle before his deathe, he had left gatherying of money of his subjectes, which is the onely thyng that draweth the hartes of Englishe menne from their kinges and princes: nor nothyng he either enterprised nor tooke in hande, by the whiche he shoulde bee driuen there vnto. For his tribute out of Fraunce he had a litle before recouered and obteined. And the yere before he died, he recouered agayn the towne of Berwike against the kyng of Scottes. And albeit that all the tyme of his reigne, he was so benigne courteous and familier, that no parte of his vertues was estemed more then those highe humilitees: Yet that condicion in theude of his last daies decaied not, in the whiche many princes by a longe continued soueraigntie, decline to a proud porte and behauioure from their condicions accustomed at their begynnynge. Yet lowlinesse and gentlenesse so far furth in hym encreased that the sommer before he died, he beeynge at the haueryage at the bower, sente for the maire and aldermen of London thether onely to bunte & make pastyme, where he made theim not so bertye but so familiare and frendly chere, and sent also to their wiues suche plenty of venison, that no one thyng in many daies before gatte hym either mo hartes or more bertie fauour emongest the comon people, which oftentymes more esteme and take for greate kyndenesse a litle courtesie then a greate profite or benefite.

And so this noble prince deceased, as you haue hearde in that tyme when his life was moste desired, and when his people moste desired to kepe hym: Whiche loue of his people and their entiere affection towarde hym, had been to hys noble chyldren (hauynge in theim selues also as many giftes of nature, as many princely vertues, as much good towardenesse as their age coulde receyue) a merueilous fortresse and a sure armoure, yf the diuision and dissencion of their frendes had not vnarmed theim and left theim destitute, and the execrable desire of soueraingtie prouoked hym to their destruccion, whiche yf either kynde or kyndnesse had holden place moste nedes haue been their chiefe defence. For Richard duke of Gloucester, by nature their vncle, by office their protectoure, to their father greately beholden and too theim by othe and allegiaunce bounden, all the bandes broken and violated whiche bynde man and man together, without any respecte of God or the worlde, vnnaturally contriued too bereue theim, not onely of their dignitee and prehe*minence*, but also of their natural*l* lines and worldely felicitee.

And first to shewe you, that by coniecture he pretended this thyng in his brothers life, ye shall vnderstande for a truth that the same nighte that kynge Edwarde died, one called Mistelbrooke, longe ere the daye sprog, came to ỹ house of one Pottier dwellyng in Redcrosse strete without Creple gate of London, & when he was with hasty rappyng quickely let in, the saied Mistlebroke shewed vnto Pottier that kyng Edward was that night deceased: by my truth quod Pottier, then will my master the duke of Gloucester bee kyng and that I warrant thee. What cause he had so too thynke, harde it is to saie, whether he beeyng his seruaunte knewe any such thyng pretensed or otherwise had any ynkelyng therof but of all likelihod he spake it not of naught.

But now too returne to the trewe historie, wer it that the duke of Gloucester had of old sore practised this conclusion, or was before tyme moued there vnto and putte in hope by the tender age of the young princes his nephewes, as oportunitee and likely of spede putteth a manne in courage of that that he neuer intended. Certain it is, that he beeynge in the

the Northe parties, for the good gouernaunce of the countrye, beynge aduertised of his brothers deathe contriued the destruccion of his nephewes with the vsurpacion of the royall dignitee and croune. And for asmuche as he well wiste, and had holpe to maintain, a long continued grudge and harte burning betwene the quenes kynred and the kynges bloude, either parte enuiyng others autoritee, he now thought, as it was in deede, a furtherly begionynge to the pursute of his entente, and a sure grounde and situacion of his vnnaturall buyldynge, yf he mighte vnder the pretence of reuengynge of olde displeasures, abuse the ignoraūce and anger of the one partie to the destruccion of the other, and then to wyn to his purpose as many as he coulde: and suche as coulde not bee wonne, mighte be loste or they loked therefore. But of one thynge he was certain, that if his entent were once perceiued, he should haue made peace betwene bothe parties with his owne bloud: but all his entente he kept secrete till he knewe his frendes, of the whiche Henry the duke of Buckyngham was the firste that sente to him after his brothers death a trusty seruaunte of his called Persiuall to the citee of Yorke, where the duke of Gloucester kepte the kynge his brothers funeralles. This Persiuall came to Ihon Warde a secrete chamberer to the duke of Gloucester, desirynge that he in close and couerte maner mighte speake with the duke his master: where vpon in the dead of the nighte, the duke sente for Persiuall (all other beyng auoyded) whiche shewed to the duke of Gloucester, that the duke of Buckyngham his master in this newe worlde woulde take suche parte as he woulde, and woulde farther wayte vpon hym with a thousande good felowes yf nede were. The duke sente backe the messanger with greate thankes and diuerse priuey instruccions by mouthe, whiche Persiuall did somuche by his trauaill that he came to the duke of Buckyngham his master into the marches of Wales, and eftsones with newe instruccions met with the duke of Gloucester at Notyngham, whiche was come oūt of the Northecountree with many knightes and gentlemen to the numbre of sixe hundred horse and more, in his iourney towarde London. And after secrete metynge and communicacion had betwene hym and the duke of Gloucester, he returned with such spede that he brought the duke of Buckyngham his master to mete with the duke of Gloucester not far from Northampton with thre hundred horsses, and so they twoo came together to Northampton where thei first began their vnhappy enterprice, and so the duke of Buckyngham contynued still with the duke of Gloucester til he was crouned kyng, as ye shal plaily perceiue herafter.

The younge kynge at the deathe of his father kepte houshoulde at Ludlowe, for his father had sente hym thether for Iustice to be dooen in the Marches of Wales, to the ende that by the autoritee of his presence, the wilde Welshemenne and euell disposed personnes should refrain from their accustomed murthers and outrages. The gouernaūce of this younge Prince was committed too lord Antony Wooduile erle Ryuers and lorde Scales, brother to the quene, a wise, hardy and honourable personage, as valiaunte of handes as polliique of counsaill and with hym were associate other of the same partie, and in effect euery one as he was nerer of kynne vnto the quene, so was he planted nexte aboute the prince. That drift by the quene semed to be diuised, whereby her bloudde mighte of righte in tender youthe bee so planted in the princes fauoure, that afterwarde it shoulde hardely bee eradicated out of the same.

The duke of Gloucester turned all this to their distruction, and vpō that grounde set the foundacion of his vnhappy buyldyng: For whom soeuer he perceiued too bee at variaunce with theim, or to beare toward hym selfe any fauoure, he brake vnto theim, some by mouthe, some by writynge and secrete messengers, that it was neither reason nor yet to be suffered that the younge kynge their master and kynsman shoulde bee in the handes and custody of his mothers kynrede, sequestered in maner from their compaignie and attendaunce, of whiche euery one oughte hym as faithefull seruice as they, and many of theim of farre more honorable parte of kynne then his mothers side, whose bloud quod the duke of Gloucester souyng the kyng his pleasure, was farre vnmete to bee matched with his, which now to bee remoued from the kyng and the leaste noble to bee lefte aboute hym, is quod he

neither honourable to his maiestie nor too vs, and also too hym lesse suretie, to haue the nobles and mightiest of his frendes from hym, & to vs all no litle ieopardie to suffre, and specially our well proued euill willers too growe into greate autoritee with the kynge in youthe, namely whiche is lighte of belefe and soone perswaded.

Ye remembre that kyng Edward hym self, albeit he was bothe of age and discrecion, yet was he ruled in many thynges by that bende, more then stode either with his honour or our profite, or with the comoditee of anye man els, excepte onely the immoderate auauncemente of theim selues, which whether they thirsted sore after their owne weale or no, it were harde I thynke to gesse. And yf some folkes frendeshipe had not holden better place with the kynge then any respecte of kynrede, they might, paraduenture, easely haue trapped and brought to confusion some of vs or this: and why not as easely as thei haue dooen other or this as nere of the blud royall, but our lorde hath wroughte his will, and thanked bee his grace that perell is paste: howebeit as greate is growyng if we suffre this young kyng in his enemies handes, whiche, without his wittyng might abuse the name of his commaundemente to any of our vndoyng, whiche thinges God and good prouision forbid, of whiche good prouision none of vs hath any thynge the lesse nede for the late attonemēte made, in whiche ỹ kyng his pleasure had more place then the parties hertes or willes, nor none of vs is so vnwise or somuch ouersene as to trust a newefred made of an old foo, or to thinke that any owely kindenesse so sodenly contracted in an houre, continued scantly yet a fourtnight, should bee deper set in our stomackes, then a longe accustomed malice many yeres rooted.

With these perswasions and writinges, the duke of Gloucester sette a fire theim whiche were easie to kyndle, and in especial twain, Henry duke of Buckyngham, and Willyam lord Hastynges, and lord Chamberlain, bothe menne of honoure and of greate power, the one by longe succession from his aunceters, thother by his offices and the kynge his fauoure. These two not bearynge eache to other so much loue, as hatred both to ỹ quenes blould, accorded together with the duke of Gloucester that thei would remoue from the kyng all his mothers frendes, vnder the name of their enemies.

Where vpon the duke of Gloucester beynge aduertised that the lordes aboute the kynge entended to brynge hym to London to his coronacion, accompaigned with suche a number of their frendes that it shoulde be harde for hym to brynge his purpose to passe without the assemblyng and gatheryng of people & in maner of open warre, wherof the ende he wyst was doubtfull, and in the which the kyng beyng on the other syde, his parte shoulde haue the name and face of rebellion.

He secretely therefore by diuerse meanes caused the quene to be perswaded that it was neither nede & should also be ieoperdeous for ỹ kyng to come vp so strong, for as now euery lord loued other and none other thyng studied for, but the triumphe of his coronacion & honoure of the kyng. And the lordes about the kyng, should assemble in the kynges names muche people, thei should geue ỹ lordes betwixt whom & them ther had beue some tyme debate, an occasion to feare and suspecte least they should gather this people, not for the kynges sane guard, whom no man impugned, but for their destruction, hauyng more regarde to their olde variaunce then to their new attonement, for the which cause they on the other parte might assemble men also for their defence, whose powres she wyst well farre stretched, and thus should all the realme fal in a roare, & of the mischiefe that therof should ensue (whiche was likely to be not a litle) ỹ moste harme was like to fal where she least woulde, & then all the world would put her & her kynred in the blame, saiyng that they had vnwysely and vntruely broken the amytie and peace whiche the kynge her husband had so prudently made betwene her kynred and his, whiche amyte his kynne had alwaies obserued.

The quene beyng thus perswaded, sent worde to the kyng and to her brother, that there was no cause nor nede to assemble any people, & also the duke of Gloucester and other lordes of his bend, wrote vnto ỹ kyng so reuerently and to the quenes frendes there so lou-

yngly

yngly, that they nothinge yearthly mistrustyng, brought the young kynge towarde London with a sober compaignie in great haste (but not in good spede) til he came to Northampton, and from thence he remoued to Stony stratford. On whiche day, the two dukes and their bende came to Northampton, fainyng that Stony stratford could not lodge them al, where thei foūd the erle Riuers, entendynge the nexte mornynge to haue folowed the kynge, and to be with him earely in the mornyng. So that night, the dukes made to the erle Ryuers frendly chere, but assone as they were departed very familier with greate curtesie in open sight & therle Ryuers lodged: the two dukes with a fewe of their priuy frendes fel to councel, wherin they spent a great parte of the night, and in the dawnynge of the daye they sent aboute priuely to their seruauntes in their lodgynges to-hast to horsebacke for their lordes were in maner redy to ryde, whervpō all their seruauntes were ready or the lorde Ryuers seruauntes were awake. Nowe had the dukes taken the keyes of the ynne into their possession, so that none shoulde yssue out withoute their consent. And ouer this in the high way towarde Stony stratford, they set certayne of their folkes that should cause and cōpell to retourne againe all persons that were passyng from Northampton to Stony stratforde, saiyng that the dukes them selfs would be the fyrst that should come to the kyng from Northampton: thus they bare folkes in hand. But when the earle Ryuers vnderstode the gates closed and the wayes on euery syde beset, neither his seruauntes, neither him selfe suffered to go out, perceyuinge so great a thynge without his knowledge, not begon for noughte, comparynge this present doyng with the laste nightes chere, in so fewe houres so greate a chaunge, marueilously myslyked it. Howebeit, sythe he coulde not get awaye, he determined not to kepe him selfe close, least he should seme to hyde him selfe for some secret feare of his owne faute, wherof he saw no such cause in him selfe, wherfore on the suretie of his owne conscience he determined to goo to them and to inquire what this matter might meane: Whom assone as they sawe, they beganne to quarel with him, affirmyng that he pretended to set distaunce betwene the kyng and them to brynge them to confusion, whiche shoulde not lye in hys powre, and when he beganne as he was an eloquente and well spoken manne in goodlywyse to excuse hym selfe, they woulde not heare his aunswere but toke hym by force and put hym in ward. And then they mounted on horsbacke and came in haste to Stony stratforde, where the kynge was goyng to horsebacke, because he would leaue the lodgyng for them, for it was to straight for bothe the cōpaignies. And when thei came to his presence, they alighted and their compaignie aboute them, and on their knees saluted hym, and he them gentely receiued, nothing yerthly knowyng ner mistrustyng as yet. The duke of Buckyngham said aloude, on afore gentlemen, and yomen kepe your roumes, and therwith in ỹ kynges presence they picked a quarel to the lord Richard Grey the quenes sonne, and brother to the lord Marques & halfe brother to the king saiyng that he and the Marques his brother and the lord Ryuers his vncle had compassed to rule the kyng and the realme and set variaunce betwene thestates, & to subdue and destroy the noble bloode of the realme. And towarde thacomplishemente of the same, they sayde, the lord Marques had entred into the towre of London, and thence had taken out treasure and sent men to the sea, which thynges these dukes knewe well wer done for a good purpose and as very necessary, appointed by the whole counsaill at London, but somewhat they muste saye: vnto the whiche woordes the kynge answered, what my brother Marques hath done I cannot saye, but in good faythe I dare well answere for mine vncle Riuers and my brother here, that they be innocente of suche mattiers. Yee my liege quod the duke of Buckyngham, they haue kept the dealyng of these matters farre from the knowledge of youre good grace. And furthwith they arrested the lorde Rychard and sir Thomas Vaugham & sir Richard Hawte knyghtes, in the kynges presence, & broughte the kyng and all back to Northampton, where they toke further counsaill in their affaires. And there they sent from the kyng whom it pleased them, & set aboute him such seruauntes as better pleased them then him. At which dealyng he wepte and was not content, but it booted not. And at dynner, the duke of Glocester sent a dyshe from his owne table to the lord Ryuers, praiyng him to bee of good chere and all shoulde be

well,

well, he thanked him & prayed the messenger to beare it to his nephiewe the lorde Richard with like wordes, whom he knewe to haue nede of cõfort, as one to whom such aduersite was straunge, but he hym selfe had bene all his daies ennured therwith, and therfore could beare it the better. But for al this message, the duke of Gloucester sent ỹ lorde Ryuers, the lord Richard and sir Thomas Vaugham and sir Richarde Hawte into the Northparties into diuerse prisons, but at last, al came to Põufret where they all foure were beheaded without iudgement.

In this maner as you haue hard, the duke of Gloucester toke on him the gouernaunce of the yonge kyng, whom with much reuerence he conueied towardes London. These tidynges came hastely to the quene before mydnighte, by a very sore reporte that the kynge her sonne was taken and that her brother and her other sonne and other her frendes were arrested, and sent, no man wyste whether. With this heauy tidynges the quene bewayled her chyldes ruyne, her frendes mischaunce, and her owne infortune, curssyng the tyme that euer she was perswaded to leaue the gatherynge of people to brynge vp the kynge with a greate powre, but that was passed, and therefore nowe she toke her younger sonne the duke of Yorke and her doughters and went out of the palays of Westminster into the sanctuary, and there lodged in the abbotes place, and she and all her children and compaignie were regestred for sanctuarye persons. The same night there came to doctor Rotheram Archebyshop of Yorke and lorde Chauncelour, a messenger from the lord Chambrelayne to Yorke place besyde Westminster: the messenger was brought to the bishoppes bedsyde and declared to him that the dukes were gone backe with the young kyng to Northampton, and declared further, that the lorde Hastynges his maister sent him worde that he shoulde feare nothyng for all should be well. (Wel quod the archebishop) be it as wel as it wyl, it wyll neuer be so wel as we haue sene it, and then the messenger departed. Wherupon the bishop called vp all his seruauntes and toke with hym the great seale and came before day to the quene, about whom he found much heauynesse, rumble, haste, businesse, conueighaunce and cariage of hir stuffe into sanctuarye, euery man was busye to carye, beare and conueigh stuffe, chestes & fardelles, no man was vnoccupied, and some caried more then they were commaunded to another place. The quene sat alone belowe on the rushes all desolate & dismayde, whõ the Archebishoppe comforted in the best maner that he coulde, shewyng her that the matter was nothyng so sore as she tooke it for, and that he was putte in good hope and out of feare by the message sente to hym from the lorde Hastynges. A wo worth him quod the quene, for it is he that goeth about to destroy me and my blodde. Madame quod he, be of good comforte and I assure you, yf they crowne any other kynge then your sonne whom they nowe haue, we shal on the morow croune his brother whom you haue here with you. And here is the great seale, which in lykewise as your noble husband deliuered it to me, so I deliuer it to you to the vse of your sonne and therwith deliuered her the greate seale, and departed home in the dawning of the day. And when he opened his wyndowes and loked on the Temys, he might see the riuer full of boates, of the duke of Gloucester his seruauntes watching, that no person should go to sanctuary, nor none should passe vnserched.

Then was there great rumoure and commotion in the cites and in other places, the people diuersely diuined vpon this dealynge. And diuerse lordes, knightes and gentilmen, either for fauoure of the quene or for feare of them selfes, assembled compaignies and wente flockyng together in harneis. And many also, for that they recompted this demeanour attempted, not so specially against other lordes as against the kynge hym selfe in the dysturbaunce of his coronatyon, therefore they assembled by and by together to common of this matter at London. The Archebishoppe of Yorke fearinge that it woulde be ascribed (as it was in dede,) to ouermuch lightnes, that he so sodeinly had yelded vp the great seale to the quene, to whõ the custody therof nothing apperteigned without especial commaundemente of the kynge, secretly sente for the seale againe and brought it with him after the accustomed maner to mete with the lordes.

At

At this metynge, the lord Hastynges, whose trueth towarde the kyng no man doubted, nor neded not to doubte, persuaded the lordes to beleue, that the duke of Gloucester was faithefull and sure towardes his prince, and that the lorde Ryuers, the lord Richard and other knightes apprehended, were for matters attempted by them against the dukes of Gloucester and Buckyngham put vnder arest, for their suretie, and not for the kings ieopardie, and that they were also in sauegarde there to remayne, tyll the matter were (not by the dukes onely) but also by all the other lordes of the kynges councell indifferently examined, and by their discrecions ordred and either iudged or appesed. And one thynge he auised them to beware of, that they iudged not the matter to farfurthe or they knewe the trueth, nor turnynge their priuate grudges into the common hurte, irritynge and prouokynge men vnto angre, and disturbyng the kynges coronacion, toward which the dukes were commynge, for that, then mighte paraduenture bryuge the matter so farre oute of ioynte, that it shoulde neuer be brought in frame againe, whiche yf it should happe as it were likely to come to a felde, though al parties wer in al other thinges egual, yet shoulde the authorytee bee on that syde, where the kynge is hym selfe, with these persuasions of the lorde Hastynges, whereof parte he him selfe beleued, and of parte he wyst well the cōtrary, these commocions were some what appeased. But in especiall, because the dukes of Buckyngham and Gloucester were so nere and came on so shortely with the kynge, in none other maner, nor none other voice or sembleaunce then to his coronaciō, causing the fame to be blowen about that such persons as were apprehended had contrived the distruction of the dukes of Gloucester and of Buckyngham and other of the noble bloude of this realme, to the entente that they alone woulde rule and gouerne the kynge. And for the coloure thereof, suche of the dukes seruauntes as rode with the cartes of their stuffe whiche were taken, among the whiche stuffe no marueyle though some were harneys whiche at the breakynge vp of suche an housholde muste be broughte awaye or caste awaye, they shewed to the people, and as they went, sayd: lo here be the barrelles of harneyes that these traitours had priuely conueighed in their cariages to destroye the noble lordes withal. This diuerse, (although it made the matter to wise men more vnlikely) wel perceiuyng that thentendours of suche a purpose woulde rather haue had their harneyes on their backes, then to haue bound them vp in barelles, yet muche parte of the common people were therewith right well satisfied.

When the kynge approched nere the cytee, Edmonde Shawe Goldesmythe then Mayre of the cytie with the Aldermenne and shreues in skarlet, and fyue hundreth commoners in murraye receyued his grace reuerently at Harnesay Parke, and so conueighed him to the cytee, where he entred the fourth day of May, in the fyrst and last yere of his reigne, and was lodged in the bishoppe of Londons Palayce: but ỹ duke of Gloucester bare him in open sight so reuerently, saying to all mē as he rode behold your prince and soureigne lord, and made such sembleaunce of lowlynes to his prince, that from the great obloquy that he was in so late beforē he was sodenly fallen in so great trust that at the councel next assembled he was made the onely chiefe ruler, and thought most mete to be protectoure of the king and his realme: so that, were it destiny or were it foly, the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to kepe. At whiche councell the Archebishop of Yorke was sore blamed for deliuering the great sealc to the quene, and the seale taken from him and deliuered to doctor Thon Russel bishop of Lyncolne, a wyse mā and a good and of much experience, and diuerse lordes and knyghtes were appointed to diuerse roumes, the lord Chamberlayne and some other kept the roumes that they wer in before, but not many.

Edmonde Shaw mayer of London.

Now were it so that the protectour (which alwayes you must take for the duke of Gloucester) sore thristed for the atcheuynge of his pretensed enterpryse and thought euery daye a yere tyll it were performed, yet durste he no further attempt as long as he had but half his pray in his hand, well witting that yf he deposed the one brother, all the realme woulde fall to the other, yf he remayned either in sanctuarye or shoulde happely be shortly conueighed to his fathers libertie. Wherfore incontinent at the next metynge of the lordes in councel he purposed to them that it was an heynous thyng of the quene, and procedyng of great

malice toward the kynges councelers that she shoulde kepe the kynges brother in sanctuarye from him whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him, and that to be done by her to none other intent, but to brynge all the lordes in an obloquy and murmoure of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the kynges brother, whiche lordes were by the whole assent of the nobles of the realme appointed as the kynges nere frendes to the tuycion of his royall person, the prosperitee wherof (quod he) standeth not alonely in kepynge from enemies and euill dyate, but partly also in recreacion & moderate pleasure, whiche he cannot take in his tendre youth in the compaignye of old and auncient persones, but in the familiare conuersacion of those that be not far vnder nor farre aboue his age, and neuerthelesse, of estate conueniente to accompany his maiestie, wherfore with whom rather then with his owne brother? and yf any man thynke this consideracion lighte (I thynke no man so thynketh that loueth the king) let hym consider that *somtyme* without saual thynges, greater cannot stand, and verely it redouneth greatly to the dishonour of the kynges highnes and of all vs that be about his grace to haue it come in any mans mouth, not in this realme onely, but also in other landes (as euill wordes walke far) that ỹ kynges brother should be fayne to kepe sanctuary. For euery man wyll iudge that no man wyll so do for nought, and such opinions fastened in mens hartes be harde to be wrested out, and may grow to more grief then any man here can diuine. Wherfore me thinketh it were not ỹ worst to send to the quene some honourable and trustie personage, such as tendreth the kings weale and the honour of his councell, and is also in credite and fauoure with her: for which consideracions none semeth more metely to me then the reuerend father my lorde Cardinall archebishop of Cauntorbury, who may in this matter do most good of all men yf it please him to take the payne, whiche I doubt not of his goodnes he will not refuse for the kings sake and ours and wealth of the young duke him selfe the kings most honorable brother, and for the conforte of my souereigne lorde hym self my most dearest nephiewe, consideryng that therby shalbe ceased the slaunderous rumore and obloquy now going abrode, and the hurtes auoyded that therof might ensue, and then must rest and quietnesse growe to all the realme. And yf she percase be so obstinate and so precisely set in her own will and opinion, that neither his wyse and faithfull aduertisemente can moue her nor any mans reason satisfye her, then shall we by myne aduice by the kynges authorytee fetch hym out of that prison and brynge him to his noble presence, in whose continuall compaignye he shalbee so well cheryshed and so honorably intreated that all the worlde shall to our honour and her reproche perceiue that it was onely malice, frowardnesse and foly, that caused her to kepe him there. This is my mind for this time, except that any of you my lordes any thyng percyue to the contrari, for neuer shal I by Gods grace so wed my self vnto myne owne wil, but I shalbe redy to chaūge it vpon your better aduices.

When the Protectour had sayde, all the councell affirmed that the mocion was good and reasonable, and to the king and the duke his brother honourable, and a thyng that should ceasse great murmoure in the realme, yf the mother might by good meanes be induced to delyuer him: whiche thing the Archebishop of Cauntorburye, whom they all agreed also to be moost conuenient therunto, tooke vpon hym to moue her, and therto to do his vttermooste endeuoure. Howbeit yf she coulde in no wise be intreated with her good wyll to delyuer hym, then thought he and such of the spiritualtie as were present, that it were not in any wyse too bee attempted to take hym out against her wyll, for it woulde be a thyng that should turne to the grudge of all men and high displeasure of God, yf the pryuilege of that place should be broken whiche had so many yeres bene kept, whiche bothe Kynges and Popes had graunted and confirmed, which ground was sanctifyed by Sainct Peter him selfe more then fyue hundreth yeres agone. And syth that tyme, was neuer so vndeuoute a kynge that euer enterprised that sacred priuilege to violate, nor so holy a byshop that durste presume the church of the same to consecrate: and therefore quod the Archebishop, God forbid that any manne shoulde for any yearthely enterprise breake the immunitie and libertie of that sacred sanctuary that hath bene the safegard of so many a good mans life, but I trust

quod he, we shall not nede it, but for any maner of nede I would we should not do it, I trust that she with reason shalbe contented and all thing in good maner obteined. And yf it hap that I brynge it not to passe, yet shall I further it to my best power, so that you all shal perceyue my good wyll, diligence, and indeauoure: But the mothers dreade and womannishe feare shalbe the let yf any be.

Naye womannishe frowardnesse quod the Duke of Buckyngham, for I dare take it on my solle that she well knoweth that she nedeth no such thynge to feare, either for her sonne or for her self. For as for her, here is no man that will be at warre with women, would God some men of her kynne were women to, and then should all be sone in rest. Howbeit, there is none of her kynne the lesse loued for that they be of her kynne, but for their awne euill deseruynge. And put the case that we neither loued her nor her kynne, yet there were no cause why we should hate the kings noble brother to whose grace we oure selfes be kynne, whose honoure yf she desired as oure dishonoure, and as much regard toke to his wealth as to her awne wyll, she could be as loth to suffre him to be absent from the kyng as any of vs, yf she had any wytte, as would God she had as good wyll as she hath frowarde wytte. For she thinketh her self no wyser then some that are here, of whose faithful myndes she nothing doubteth, but verely beleueth and knowlegeth that they woulde be as sorye of his harme as her awne selfe, and yet they would haue him from her if she abyde there.

And we all I thynke be content that bothe her chyldren be with her if she came from thence and abyde in suche place where they may be with their honour. Nowe yf she refuse in the delineraunce of him to folowe the wysedome of them, whose wysedome she knoweth, whose approbate fidelitie she well trusteth: it is easye to percewe that frowardenesse letteth her, and not feare. But go to, suppose that she feareth (as who may let her to feare her awne shadowe) the more we ought to fear to leaue hym in her handes, for yf she cast such fond doubtes that she feare his hurte, then wyll she feare that he shall be fet thence, for she wyll soone thynke that yf men were set (which God forbyd on so great a mischief) the sanctuary wyl litle let them, which sanctuary good men as me thinketh might without synne, somewhat lesse regard then they do. Now then, if she doubt least he might be fetched from her, is it not likely that she wyll send him somewhere out of the realme? verely I loke for none other. And I doubt not but she now as sore myndeth it, as we mynde the let therof: And if she might hap to bring that purpose to passe, as it were no great mastery to do, we letting her alone, all the world would say that we were a sorte of wyse coũsaillers about a king to let his brother to be cast away vnder oure noses. And therfore I ensure you faithfully, for my mynde, I wyll rather maugre her stomacke fetche hym awaye, then leue him there till her feare or fond frowarde feare conuey him away, and yet will I breake no sanctuary, for verely sith the priuelege of that place and other of that sorte haue so lõg continued, I would not go about to breake it, but yf they were nowe to begynne I woulde not be he that should make them: yet wyl not I say nay, but it is a deede of pitie, that such men as the chaũce of the sea, or their euill debters haue brought into pouertee, should haue some place of refuge to kepe in their bodies out of the daunger of their cruel creditours. And if it fortune the croune to come in question as it hath done before this tyme whyle eche parte taketh other for traytours, I thynke it necessarye to haue a place of refuge for bothe: But as for theues and murtherers, wherof these places be full, and which neuer falle from their crafte after they once falle therunto, it is pytee that euer sanctuary should serue them, and in especiall wylfull murtherers, whom God commaundeth to be taken from the aulter and to be put to death. And where it is otherwyse then in these cases, there is no nede of sainctuaries, apointed by God in the old lawe. For yf necessite of his owne defence or misfortune driued hym to that deede, then a pardon serueth him, which either is graunted of course, or ẏ kyng of pytee and compassion geueth. Nowe loke howe fewe sainctuary men there be whom necessitee or misfortune compelled to go thether? And then see on the other syd, what a sorte there be commonly therein of such, whom wylfull vnthriftynes hath brought to naught? what a rable of theues, murtherers and malicious hey-

Of sanctuaries.

 nous

nous traitours be, and that in two places specially, the one at the elbow of the cytee, and the other in the very bowels. I dare well a vowe it, yf you way the good that they do, with the hurte that commeth of them, ye shall fynde it muche better to lese both then to haue both. And this I say, although they were not abused (as they now be and so longe haue bene) that I feare me euer they wyll be whyle men be afcarde to set to their handes to the amendemente, as though God and saincte Peter were the patrons of vngracious liuynge. Now vnthriftes riote and ronne in debte vpon boldnes of these places, yea, and ritche menne ronne thyther with poore mens goodes, there they buylde, there they spende and byd their creditours goo whystle. Mens wyues ronne thither with their husbands plate, and say they dare not abyde with their husbandes for betynge, theues bring thether stolen goodes and lyue theron. There denyse they newe robberies nightely and steale oute and robbe, riue, and kyll menne and come agayne into those places, as though those places gaue them not onely a sauegard for the harme that they haue done, but a licence also to do more mischiefe: howebeit, much of this great abusion, (yf wyse menne wolde sette their handes there vnto) might be amended, with great thankes of God and no breche of the priuelege. The conclusion is, sithe it is so long a goo I wote not what pope and what prince more piteous then politique, hath graunted it, and other men sence of a religious feare haue not broken it, lette vs take a paine with it, and lette it stande a Goddes name in his force, as farre as reason will, whiche is not so farfurthe as may serue too lette vs of the fetching furthe of this noble manne to his honoure and wealthe out of that place in the whiche he nether is nor can bee a sanctuarye or priueleged man. A sanctuarye euer seruethe too defende the body of that manne that standeth in daunger abrode, not of greate hurte onely, but of lawfull hurte: for againste vnlawfull hurtes and harmes no pope ner kynge entended to priuilege any one place wherein it is lawefull for one manne to doo another manne wronge. That no manne vnlawefully take hurte that libertie the kynge, the lawe and verie nature forbiddeth in euery place and maketh too that regarde for euery manne euery place a sanctuarye: but where a manne is by lawefull meanes in perell, there nedeth he the tuicion of some speciall priuilege, whiche is the onely ground of all sanctuaries, from whiche necessitee this noble prince is far, whose loue to his kynge nature and kynred prouethe, whose innocence too all the worlde, his tender youth affirmeth, and so sanctuarye as for hym is not necessary, ner none he can haue. Menne come not too sanctuarye as they come too baptisme to require it by his godfathers, he muste aske it hym selfe that muste haue it, and reason, sithe no manne hathe cause to haue it, but whose consience of his awne faute maketh hym haue nede to require it. What will then hath younder babe, which yf he had discrecion to require it yf nede were, I dare saye woulde bee nowe righte angry with them that kepe him there? And I would thinke without any scruple of conscience, without any breche of priuilege too be somwhat more homely with theim that be there sanctuarye menne in dede, that yf one go to sanctuary with another mannes goodes, why should not the king leuyng his body at liberty satisfy the party of his goodes euen within the sanctuarye, for nether kyng nor pope can geue any place such a priuilege that it shall discharge a man of his debtes beeyng liable to paie.

And with that diuerse of the clergie that were there present, whether, they saied it for his pleasure or as they thought, agreed plainly by the lawe of God and of the church that the goodes of a sanctuarye man should be deliuered in paiment of his debtes, and stollen goodes to the owner, and onelye libertie reserued to hym to get his liuyng with the labour of his handes. Verely quod the duke I thynke ye saye very truth: And what if a mans wife take sanctuary because she list to ronne frō her husband? I would thynke if she can allege none other cause he may laufully without any displeasure done too sainct Peter, take her out of saincte Peters church by the arme. And yf no body may be taken out of sanctuary because he saieth he will abide there, then yf a chylde will take Sanctuary because he feareth to go to schoole, his master must let hym alone. And as simple as that example is, yet is there lesse reason in our case then in it, for there, though it be a childeshe feare, yet is there at the least some feare, and herein is no feare at all. And verely I haue harde of

sanctuarye menne, but I neuer harde before of sanctuary children, and therefore as for the conclusion of my mynde, whosoeuer may deserue to haue nede of it, if they thynke it for their suretee let theim kepe it, but he can be no sanctuary manne that hath nother discrecion to desire it, ner malice to deserue it, whose life ner libertie can by no lawfull processe stande in ieoperdye: and he that taketh one out of sanctuary to do hym good I saie plainly he breaketh no sanctuary.

When the duke had done, the temporal menne wholy, and the most parte of the spirituall menne also thynkynge no hurt earthely ment toward the young baby, condiscended in effecte, that yf he wer not deliuered he shoulde be fetched oute. Howbeit, they thought it beste in aduoydyng of all maner of rumour, that the cardinall shoulde firste assaie to get him with her good will. And thervpon all the counsaill came to ỹ sterre chamber at Westminster, and the cardinal leauing the protectour and other lordes in the sterre chamber, departed into the sanctuarye to ỹ quene, accompaignied with certain lordes, were it for the respecte of his honour or that she should by the persones of so many, perceiue that his arrande was not onely one mans mynde, or were it for that the protectour entended not in this matter to truste one manne alone, or els if she finally were determined to kepe hym, some of the cõpaignie had paraduenture some secrete instruction incontinente maugree her will too take him and to leaue her no respite to conueigh him.

When the quene and these lordes were come together in presence, the Cardinall shewed vnto her that it was thought to the lorde protector and the whole counsaill that her kepyng of the kyng his brother in that place highly sounded, not onely to the grudge of the people & their obloquy, but also to the importable grief and displeasure of the kynge his royall maiestye, to whose grace it were a synguler comforte to haue his naturall brother in compaignie, and it was their bothes dishonoures & theirs and hers also, to suffre him in sanctuary, as though the one brother stode in danger and perell of the other. And he shewed her farther that the whole counsaill had sent hym to require of her the deliuerye of him that he might be brought to the king his presence at his libertie out of that place which men reconed as a prisone, and there should he be demeaned according to his estate and degree, & she in this doing should both do great good to the realme, pleasure to the counsaill, profite to her self, succour to her frendes that wer in distresse, and ouer that, which he wiste well she specially tendered, not onely greate comforte and honour to the king but also to the young duke hym selfe, whose both great wealth it were to be together, aswell for many greater causes as also for their both disport and recreacion, whiche thinges the lordes estemed not lighte, though it semed light, well ponderynge that their youth without recreacion and play cannot endure, ner any estraunger for the conuenience of both their ages & estates so metely in that poinct for any of them as the either of them for thother.

My lord (quod the quene,) I saie not nay, but that it were very conueniente that this gentleman whom you require were in the compaignie of the kyng his brother, and in good faith me thinketh it wer as great commoditee to theim both, as for yet a while too be in the custody of their mother the tendre age considered of the elder of theim both, but in especiall the younger, whiche besides his infancie that also nedeth good lookynge to hath a while been so sore diseased with sickenes and is so newlye rather a litle amended then well recouered, that I dare put no persone earthly in truste with his kepyng, but my selfe onely, considerynge there is as phisicians saie, and as we also finde, double the perell in the resiluacion that was in the firste sickenes, with which disease nature beeyng sore laboured, fore wered and weakened, waxeth the lesse hable to bear our a new surfet. And albeit there might be foundē other that woulde happely doo their best vnto hym, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to ordre hym then I, that so long haue kept him, or is more tendrely like too cherishe hym then his owne mother that bare hym. No man denieth good madame, quod the Cardinall, but that your grace of all folke wer moste necessary aboute your chyldren, and so woulde all the counsaill not onely bee contente but also glad that it were if it might stand with your pleasure to be in such place as might stand with their honoure,

But yf you apoincte your selfe too tary here, then thynke they it more cõuenient the duke of Yorke wer with the king honorably at his libertie to the comfort of theim bothe, then here as a sanctuary man to their both dishonour and obloquy, sith there is not alway so great necessite to laue the child with the mother, but that occasion sometyme may be such that it should be more expedient to kepe him els where, which in this well apereth, that at suche tyme that your most derest sonne then prince and now kyng should for his honor and good ordre of the countree kepe houshoulde in Wales far out of your kepyng, your grace was well content therewith your self. Not very well content (quod the quene) & yet the case is not like, for the one was then in health and the other is now sicke, in which case I maruaill greately why my lorde protectour is so desirous to haue him in kepyng, where if the child in his sickenesse miscaried by nature, yet might he ronne into slaunder & suspicion of fraud. And they call it a thyng so sore against my childes honour & theirs also ỳ he abideth in this place, it isall their honoures there to suffre him abyde where no mã doubteth he shalbe best kept, & that is here while I am here, which as yet entende not to come forthe & ieoperde my self after other of my frendes, which would God wer rather here in suretee with me, then I were there in ieoperdie with theim. Why madame (quod the lord Haward) knowe you any thing why they should bee in ieopardie: Nay verely (quod she,) nor why they should be in prison neither as they now be, but I trowe it is no great maruell though I feare least those that haue not letted to put them in durannce withoute colour, will let as litle to procure their distruction without cause. The cardinal made a countenaunce to the lord Haward that he shoulde harpe no more vpon that string: and then saied he too the quene that he nothyng doubted but those lordes of her kynne the which remained vnder a reste should vpon the matter examined doo well ynough, & as towarde her noble persone, neither was nor coulde be any maner of ieoperdie. Whereby shoulde I trust that (quod the quene) in that I am gyltesse, as though they were gyltie, in that I am with their enemies better beloued then they, when they hate theim for my sake, in that I am so nere to the king, and howe farre bee they of that woulde helpe, as God send grace they hurt not. And therefore as yet I purpose not too depart hence: as for this gentleman my sonne, I mynde he shal bee where I am till I see further, for I see some men so greedy withoute any substanciall cause too haue him, which maketh me much more further and scrupulous to deliuer him. Truly madame (quod the Cardinall) the further that ye be to deliuer him, the farther be other menne too suffre you too kepe him, leaste your causelesse feare, might cause you farther too conueighe hym, and many thynke he can here haue no priuilege whiche can haue neither will too aske it, nor yet malice or offence to nede it. And therefore they recon no priuilege broken, although they fetch him out of sanctuarie, whiche yf you finally refuse too deliuer hym, I thynke verely the counsaill will enfraunchese him, so much dread hath my lorde his vncle, for the tendre loue that he beareth him, leaste your grace should sende him away. Ah, quod the quene, hath he so tendre a zeale to him that he feareth nothing, but leaste he should escape hym? Thinketh he that I would send him hẽce, which is neither in the plight to send out? and in what place could I recon hym sure yf he be not sure in this sanctuary? wherof was there neuer tiraunte yet so deuelishe, that durst attempt too breake the priuilege, & I trust God is now as strong to withstand his aduersaries as euer he was. But my sonne can descrue no sanctuary, you saye, and therefore he can not haue it, forsothe the lord protectour hath sent a goodly glose, by the which that place that maye defend a thefe, maie not saue an innocent: but he is in no ieoperdie nor hath no nede therof, I would God he had not. Troweth the protector, (I pray God he maie proue a protectour, rather then a destroyer, where vnto his painted processe draweth) ỳ is it not honourable that the duke byde here? it were more confortable to them both that he were with his brother, because the kyng lacketh a play feloe, yea be you sure, I praye God send him better plaie felowes then him that maketh so high a matter vpon such a trifleyng pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the kyng, but if his brother which hath no luste to plaie for sickenesse, must come out of sanctuary, out of his

sauegard

sauegard to play with him as though that princes so young as they bee, could not play without their peeres, or children coulde not play without their kynred, with whom for the more parte they agree much worse then with straungiers. But the chylde you say cannot require the priuilege, who told the protectour so? Aske hym and you shall here him aske it, and so shall he yf ye will. Howbeit, this is a straunge matter, suppose he coulde not aske it & thynke he would not aske it, and imagene he would aske to go out, if I say he shal not: Note yf I aske the priuilege, but for my self, I say that he that againste my will taketh out hym, breaketh sanctuarie. Serueth this libertie for my persone onely or for my goodes to? you may not frō hence take my horsse from me, yf I stale hym not nor owe you nothinge: then foloweth it, that you may not take my child from me, he is also my ward, for as farre as my learned counsaill sheweth me, he hath nothing by dissente holden by knightes seruyce; but by socage: then the lawe maketh me his guarden, then maye no manne lawfully (I suppose) take my warde from me out of this place, without the breche of sanctuary, and if my priuilege coulde not serue him, nor he aske it for him self, yet sith the lawe committeth to me the custody of hym, I maye require it for hym, excepte the lawe geue the infaunte a guarden onely for his goodes, dischargynge hym of the cure and sauekepyng of his body, for which onely, bothe goodes and landes serue. Wherefore here entende I to kepe hym, sithe mannes lawe serueth the guarden too kepe the infante, and the lawe of nature willeth the mother to kepe the child, and Gods law priuilegeth the sanctuary, and the sanctuarye priuilegeth my sonne, sith I feare to put him to the protectoures handes, that hath his brother already, whiche is (yf both failed) inheritoure to the crowne as heire male, as he saythe. The cause of my feare no man hath too dop to examine, and yet feare I no ferther then the lawe fearethe, whiche as learned menne tell me, forbiddeth euery manne the custodye of theim by whose death he maie enherite lesse lande then a kyngdome. I can saie no more, but whosoeuer he be that breaketh this holy sanctuary, I pray God sende him shortely nede of sanctuarye, when he maye not come to it, for I woulde not that my mortall enemie shoulde bee taken oute of sanctuary.

The cardinall perceiued that the quene euer the longer the farther of and also that she began too kyndle and chafe and spake sore bitynge woordes against the protectoure, and such as he neither beleued and also was loth to here, he saied to her, for a finall cōclusion, that he would no more dispute the matter, and if she were content to deliuer the duke to him and to the other lordes there present, he durst lay his owne body and solle both in pledge, not onely for his suretye, but also for his estate, and surely he knewe nor suspected no cause but he mighte so do (but he knewe not all.) And further he saied, if she would geue hym a resolute aunswere to the contrary he would therewith departe incontinente, and shifte who so woulde with this businesse afterwarde, for he neuer entended further to moue her in the matter, in the whiche she thought that he and all other also, saue her selfe, lacked either witte or trueth. Witte yf they wer so dull yf they nothing could perceiue what the protector entended, and yf they should procure her sonne to be deliuered into his handes, in whom they should perceiue towardes the child any euyll will entended, then she mighte thynke all the counsaill bothe euill aduised and of litle fidelitee to their prince.

The quene with these woordes stode in a great study, and forasmuch as she saw the lorde Cardinall more redier to departe then the remanaunte, and the protectoure him selfe redy at hande, so that she verely thought that she could not kepe him there but he should bee incontinent taken thence, and to conueigh him els where, neither had she tyme to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons apointed to conueigh hym, and so all thing was vnredy, when this message came so sodainly on her, nothyng lesse looking for, then too haue him out of sanctuarye which she knew now men to be sette in all places about, that he could not be conueighed out vntaken, and partely as she thoughte it might fortune her feare to be false: so well she wiste it was either nedelesse or bootelesse. Wherefore, yf she should nedes goo from him she demed beste to deliuer him, and specially of the cardinalles faith she nothyng doubtyng nor of some other lordes whom she sawe there, whiche as

she feared leste, they mighte be deceiued, so well was she assured that they woulde not be corrupted: *then* thought she that it would make theim ȳ more warely too loke to him and the more circumspectely to see his surety, yf she with her owne handes betooke him them by truste, and at the laste she toke the young duke by the hand and said vnto the lordes, my lorde quod she and all my lordes, neither am I so vnwyse to mystruste your wittes, nor so suspicious to mistruste your truthes: of the which thyng I purpose to make suche a proofe, that if either of both lacked in you, might turne both me to great sorowe, the realme to much harme and you to great reproche. For lo, here is quod she this gentleman, whom I doubt not but I could kepe safe if I would, whatsoeuer any manne saie, and I doubte not also but there be some abroade so dedly enemies vnto my bloud, that yf they wiste where any of it lay in their own body they would let it out: we haue also experience that the desire of a kyngdome knoweth no kynrede, the brother hath been the brothers bane, and may the nephewes be sure of the vncle? eche of these children are others defence while they be a sunder, and eche of their liues lieth in others body, kepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing to both more perilous then both too be in one place: for a wise marchaunte neuer auentureth al his gooddes in one ship. Al this notwithstandyng, here I deliuer him and his brother in him, to kepe to your handes, of whome I shall aske them bothe before God and the worlde. Faithefull you be and that I wote well, and I knowe you be wise and of power and strength yf you liste to kepe him, for you lacke no helpe of your selues, nor nede to lacke no helpe in this case, and yf you cannot els where, then maye you leaue hym here: But onely one thyng I beseche you, for the trust that his father put you in euer, and for the truste that I putte you in now, that as farre as you thynke that I feare to muche, ye be well ware that you feare not to litle. And therewith all she saied to the chyld, fare well mine owne swete sonne, God send you good kepyng, let me once kisse you or you go, for God knoweth whē we shal kisse together agayn, & therewith she kyssed hym, & blessed hym, and turned her backe & wepte, goyng her waie, leauyng the poore innocēt chylde wepyng as faste as the mother.

When the Cardinall and the other lordes had receyued the younge duke, they brought him into the starre chaumbre, where the protectoure toke him into his armes and kissed hym with these wordes: now welcome my lorde with all my verie herte, & he saied in that ōf likelihod euen as he inwardely thought, and there vpon, furthwith brought him to the kyng his brother into the bishoppes palace at Paules, and from thence through the cytee honorably into the tower, out of which after that daie they neuer came abrode. When the protectour had both the chyldren in his possession, yea & that they were in a sure place, he then began to thrist to se the ende of his enterprise. And to auoyde al suspicion, he caused all the lordes whiche he knewe to bee faithfull to the kyng to assemble at Baynardes castle to cōmen of the ordre of the coronacion, whyle he and other of his complices & of his affinitee at Crosbies place contriued the contrary and to make the protectour kyng: to which counsail there were adhibite very fewe, and they very secrete. Then began here & there some maner of mutterynge emongest the people, as though all thyng should not long be well, though they wyst not what they feared nor wherfore: were it, that before suche greate thynges, mennes hertes (of a secrete instinct of nature) misgeueth theim, as the southwynde sometyme swelleth of hym selfe before a tempeste, or were it that some one manne happely somewhat perceiuyng, filled many men with suspiciō thoughe he shewed fewe men what he knewe: howbeit, the dealing it selfe made men to muse on the matter, though the counsaill were close, for litle and litle all folke drewe from the tower where the kyng was and drewe to Crosbies place, so that the protectoure had all the resorte, and the kyng in maner desolate. Whyle some made suyte vnto theim that had the doyng, some of theim were by their frendes secretly warned, that it might happely turne them to no good to be to muche attendaunt on the kyng without the protectoures apointemente, whiche remoued diuerse of the kyng his olde seruauntes from him, and sette newe in their roumes aboute hym.

Thus

Thus many thynges cõmyng together, partly by chaunce and partly by purpose, caused at length not cõmon people onely, whiche wauer with the wynde, but wyse men also and some lordes to marke the matter and muse ther vpon: in so much as the lorde Stanley whiche afterwarde was erle of Derby wysely mistrusted it and saied to the lord Hastynges, that he muche misliked these two seuerall counsiles, for while we q^{e} he talke of one matter, at the one place, litle wote we whereof they talke in the other: peace my lorde q^{e} the lorde Hastynges, on my lyfe neuer doubte you, for while one man is there, which is neuer thence, neither can there be any thing once mynded that should sounde amisse towarde me, but it should be in myne eares or it were well out their mouthes. This ment he by Catesby whiche was nere of his secrete counsail, and whom he familierly vsed in his most waighti matters, puttyng no man in so speciall truste as him reconyng him selfe to no man so liefe sith he wiste well there was no man to hym so much beholdyng as was this Catesby, which was a man wel learned in the lawes of this lande, and by the speciall fauoure of the lorde Hastynges in good auctboritie and muche rule bare in the counties of Lecestre & Northampton where the lorde Hastynges power laye. But surely great pitie was it that he had not either more trueth or lesse wit, for hys dissimulacion onely, kept all that mischief vp, in whom if the lorde Hastynges had not put so speciall truste, the lorde Stanley and he with diuerse other lordes had departed into their countrees and broken all the daunce, for many euill signes that he sawe, whiche he nowe construed all for the beste, so surely thought he that there could be no harme towarde hym in that counsaill entended where Catesbye was. And of trueth the protectoure and the duke of Bukyngham made very good semblеaunce vnto the lorde Hastynges and kept hym muche in their compaignye. And vndoubtedly, the protectour loued hym well, and lothe was to haue loste him sauyng for feare leste his lyfe should haue quayled their purpose, for the whiche cause he moued Catesby to proue with some wordes cast out a farre of, whether he could thinke it possible to wynne the lorde Hastynges to their parte. But Catesby, whether he assayed him or assayed him not, reported vnto hym that he found him so fast, and herde him speake so terrible wordes that he durst no farther breake: and of a truth the lord Hastynges of very truste shewed vnto Catesby the mistruste that other began to haue in the matter. And therefore, he fearyng leste their mociõs might with the lord Hastynges minishe his credence, where vnto onely all the matter leaned, procured the protectour hastely to ryd hym & much the rather, for he trusted by hys death to obtayne muche of the rule whiche the lord Hastynges bare in hys countree, the onely desyre whereof, was the thyng that enduced him to be procurer and one of the speciallest contriuers of all thys horrible treason. Where vpon the lorde protectour caused a counsaill to be set at the tower on the fridaye the thirtene daye of Iune, where was muche commonyng for the honourable solemnitee of the coronacion, of the whiche the tyme appointed aproched so nere, that the pageauntes were a makyng daye & night at Westminster, and vitaile killed whiche afterwarde was caste awaye.

These lordes thus sittyng cõmonyng of this matter, the protectour came in emong theim about nyne of the clocke salutyng theim curteously, excusyng him self that he had been from theim so long saiyng merely that he had been a sleper that daye. And after a litle talkyng with them he sayed to the bishopp of Ely, my lorde you haue verye good strawberies in youre garden at Holborne, I require you let vs haue a messe of theim. Gladly (my lord q^{e} he). I would I had some better thing as redy to your pleasure as that, and with that in all hast he sente his seruaunt for a dishe of strawberies. The protectour set the lordes faste in cõmonyng and there vpon prayed theim to spare him alitle, and so he departed and came agayn betwene. x. and eleuen of the clocke into the chambre all chaunged with a sowre angry countenaunce knittyng the browes, frownyng and fretyng and gnawyng on his lips and so set hym doune in his place. All the lordes were dismaied and sore marueyled of this maner and sodeyne chaunge and what thyng should hym ayle. When he had sitten a whyle, thus he began: What were they worthy to haue that cõpasse and ymagine the destruccion

struccion of me beyng so neare of bloud to the kyng & protectoure of this his royall realme: At which question, all the lordes sate sore astonyed, musyng muche by whom the question should be ment, of which euery man knew him self clere.

Then the lorde Hastynges as he that for the familiaritie that was betwene theim, thought he might be boldest with him, aunswered and sayd that they were worthy to be punished as heynous traytours what soeuer they were, and all the other affirmed the same, that is (q^{d} he) yonder sorceres my brothers wife and other with her, menyng the quene, at these woordes many of the lordes were sore abashed whiche fauoured her, but the lorde Hastynges was better content in hys mynde that it was moued by her then by any other that he loued better, albeit hys hart grudged that he was not afore made of counsail of this matter as well as he was of the takyng of her kynred and of their puttyng to death, whiche were by hys assent before deuysed to be beheaded at Pomfrete, this selfe same daye, in the whiche he was not ware that it was by other deuised that he hym selfe should the same daye be beheaded at London: then sayed the protectour in what wyse that sorceresse and other of her counsayle, as Shores wyfe with her affinitie haue by their sorcery and witchecrafte this wasted my body, and therwith plucked vp his doublet sleue to his elbowe on hys lefte arme, where he shewed a weryshe wythered arme & small as it was neuer other. And therupon, euery mannes mynde mysgaue theim, well perceyuyng that this matter was but a quarell, for well they wist that the quene was both to wyse to go about any such folye, & also if she would, yet would she of all folke make Shores wyfe least of her counsaile whom of all women she most hated as that cōcubine whom the kyng her husband most loued.

Also, there was no manne there but knewe that hys arme was euer such sith the day of his birth. Neuerthelesse the lorde Hastynges, which from the death of kyng Edward kept Shores wife, whom he somwhat doted in the kynges lyfe, sauyng it is sayed that he forbare her for reuerence towarde his kyng, or els of a certayne kynde of fidelitie towarde his frend. Yet nowe his hart somewhat grudged to haue her whom he loued so highly accused, and that as he knewe well vntruely, therefore he aunswered and sayed, certaynly my lorde, yf they haue so done, they be worthy of heynous punishement, what q^{d} the protectour, thou seruest me I wene with yf and with and, I tell the they haue done it, and that wyll I make good on thy bodye traytour. And therewith (as in a great anger) he clapped his fyste on the borde a great rappe, at whiche token geuē, one cried treason without the chamber, and therwith a doore clapped, and in came rushyng men in harneyes as many as the chamber could hold. And anone the protectoure sayed to the lorde Hastynges, I arrest the traytoure, what me my lorde q^{d} he: yea the traytoure q^{d} the protectour. And one let flye at the lorde Stanley, which shroncke at the stroacke and fell vnder the table, or els hys head had beue cleft to the teth, for as shortly as he shrancke, yet ranne the bloud aboute his eares. Then was the Archebishop of Yorke and doctour Morton bishopp of Ely & the lorde Stanley taken and diuers other whiche were bestowed in dyuers chambers, saue the lorde Hastynges (whom the protectour cōmaunded to spede and shryue him apace) for by sainct Poule (q^{d} he) I wyll not dyne tyll I se thy head of, it boted hym not to aske why, but heuily he toke a priest at auenture and made a shorte shrift, for a lenger woulde not be suffered, the protectour made so much hast to his dyner, which might not go to it tyll this murther were done, for sauyng of hys vngracious othe. So was he brought furthe into the grene besyde the chapel within the towre, and his head layed doune on a logge of tymber that lay there for buildyng of the chapel, & there tyrannously striken of, and after his body and head wer enterred at Wyndesore by his maister kyng Edward the forth, whose soules Iesu pardon. Amen.

A merueilous case it is to heare, either the warnynges that he should haue voyded, or the tokens of that he could not voyde. For the next night before his death, the lorde Stanley sent to him a trusty messenger at midnight in all the haste, requiryng hym to ryse and ryde awaye with hym, for he was disposed vtterly no lenger for to abyde, for he had a fearfull dreame in the whiche he thought that a bore with his tuskes so rased them both

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by the heades that the bloud ran aboute bothe their shoulders, and for asmuch as the protectour gaue the bore for his cognisaunce, he ymagined that it should be he. This dreame made suche a fearfull impression in hys harte, that he was throughly determyned no lenger to tary but had his horse redy, yf the lorde Hastynges would go with him. So that they would ryde so farre that night, that they should be out of daunger by the next day. A good lord (q^{d} the lord Hastynges) to the messenger, leaneth my lorde thy maister so much to suche tryfles, and hath suche faithe in dreames, whiche either his awne feare phantasieth, or do ryse in the nightes rest by reason of the dayes thought. Tell him it is playne witchcraft to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of thinges to come, why thynketh he not that we might as likely make theim true by oure goyng yf we were caught and brought backe, (as frendes fayle fliers) for then had the bore a cause lykely to race vs with his tuskes, as folkes that fled for some falshead, wherefore either is there peryll, nor none there is deede, or if any be, it is rather in goyng then abidyng. And if we should nedes fall in peril one way or other, yet had I leauer that mē should se it were by other mēs falshed, then thynke it were either our awne faute or faynte feble hart, and therefore go to thy maister and cōmende me to him, & saye that I praye him to be mery & haue no feare, for I assure hym, I am assured of the man he wotteth of, as I am sure of myne awne hand. God send grace (q^{d} the messenger) and so departed. Certeyn it is also that in redyng towarde the towre the same mornyng in whiche he was beheaded, hys horsse that he accustomed to ryde on stombled with him twyse or thryse almost to the fallyng, which thyng although it happeth to them dayly to whom no mischaūce is towarde, yet hath it bene as an olde euyll token obserued as a goyng toward mischiefe. Now this that foloweth was no warning but an enuious scorne, the same morning ere he were vp from his bed where Shores wife lay with him all night, there came to him sir Thomas Haward sonne to the lorde Haward (whiche lord was one of the prueyest of the lord protectors counsaill and dooyng) as it were of curtesye to accompaignie hym to the counsaile, but of truthe sent by the lorde protectour to hast hym thitherward.

This sir Thomas, while the lord Hastynges stayed awhile commonyng with a priest whō he met in the Towrstrete, brake the lordes tale, saiyng to him merely, what my lord I pray you come on, wherfore talke you so long with that priest, you haue no nede of a priest yet, & laughed vpon hym, as though he would saye, you shall haue nede of one sone: But lytle wyst the other what he ment (but or night these wordes were well remēbred by them that hard them) so the true lord Hastynges litle mistrusted, & was neuer merier, nor thought his life in more suretie in at his dayes, which thyng is often a signe of chaūge: but I shall rather let any thyng passe me then the vayne surety of mans mynde so neare his death, for vpō the very towre wharffe, so neare the place where his head was of, so sone after, as a mā might wel cast a balle, a pursyuaūt of his awne called Hastynges mette with hym, & of their metyng in that place he was put in remēbraunce of another tyme, in which it happened them to mete before together in the place, at which tyme the lorde Hastynges had bene accused to kyng Edward by the lord Ryuers the quenes brother, insomuche that he was for a while which lasted not long highly in the kynges indignacion as he now mette the same pursiuaūt in the same place, the jeoperdy so well passed, it gaue him great pleasure to talke with him therof, with whom he had talked in the same place of that matter, & therfore he sayed, Ah Hastynges, art thou remēbred when I mette the here once with an heauy hart: Ye my lorde (q^{d} he) that I remembre well, and thāked be to God they gat no good ner you no harme therby, thou wouldest saye so (q^{d} he) yf thou knewest so muche as I do, whiche few knowe yet, & mo shall shortly, that meant be that therle Ryuers and the lord Richard & sir Thomas Vaughan should that day be beheaded at Pomfrete, as thei were in dede, which acte he wist wel should be done, but nothyng ware that the axe hong so nere his awne head. In faith mā (q^{d} he) I was neuer so sory ner neuer stode in so greate daunger of my lyfe as I dyd when thou and I mette here, and lo the worlde is turned nowe, nowe stand myne enemies in the daunger as thou maist happe to hear more hereafter, and I neuer

in my lyfe merier nor neuer in so great surety, I praye God it proue so (q^d^ Hastynges, proue q^d^ he: doubtest thou that) nay nay I warraunt the, and so in maner displeased he entered into the Towre, where he was not long on lyue as you haue heard. O lorde God the blyndnesse of our mortal nature, when he most feared, he was in moste suretye, and when he reconed hym selfe moste surest, he lost his lyfe, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man a good knight & gentle, of great auctboritie with his prince, of liuyng somwhat dissolute, playne and open to his enemy, and sure and secrete to hys frende, easy to begyle, as he that of good harte and courage foresawe no perilles, a louyng man and passyng welbeloued, very faythfull and trustie ynough, but trustyng to muche was hys destruction as you maye perceyue.

Nowe flewe the fame of thys lordes death through the cytie and farther about, lyke a wynde in euery mans eare, but the Protectoure immediatly after dyner (entending to set some colour vpō the matter) sent in all the haste for many substancial men out of the cytie into the Towre, and at their cōmyng him selfe with the duke of Buckyngham stode, harnessed in olde euill fauored briganders, such as no mā would wene that they would haue vouchesafed to haue put on their backes, excepte some sodeyne necessitie had constraigned them. Then the lord protector shewed them, that the lord Hastynges & other of his conspiracy had contriued to haue sodeynly destroyed hym and the duke of Buckyngham there the same daie in counsail, and what they entended farther, was yet not well knowen, of whiche their treason he had neuer knowledge before x. of the clocke the same forenone, which sodeyn feare draue them to put on suche harnesse as came nexte to their handes for their defence, and so God holpe them, that the mischiefe turned vpon them that woulde haue done it, & thus he required them to report. Euery man answered fayre, as though no mā mistrusted the matter, which of trueth no mā beleued. Yet for the further appeasyng of the peoples myndes, he sent immediatly after dynner an Heralde of armes with a proclamacion through the cytie of London which was proclaymed in the kynges name, that the lord Hastynges with diuers other of his trayterous purpose had before conspired, the same daye to haue slayne the protectour and the duke of Buckyngham sittyng in counsaill, & after to haue taken vpon them the rule of the kyng and the realme at their pleasure, and thereby to pill and spoyle whom they lyst vncomptrolled, & muche matter was deuised in the same proclamacion to the slaunder of the lord Hastynges, as that he was an euyll counsailoure to the kynges father, entisyng hym to many thynges highly redoundyng to the dimynishyng of hys honoure and to the vniuersall hurte of his realme by his euyll compaignie and sinister procuryng and vngracious example, aswell in many other thynges as in vicious liuyng and inordinate abusyon of his body, bothe with many other and especiall with Shores wyfe whiche was one of his secrete counsaill of this heynous treason, with whom he laye nightly, and namely the night passed next before his death, so that it was the lesse marueill yf vngracious liuynge brought hym to an vnhappy ende, whiche he was now put to by the cōmaundemēt of the kyng his highnes and of his honorable and faithfull counsaile, bothe for his demerites beynge so openly taken in his false cōtriued treason, and also least the delaiyng of his execucion might haue encoraged other mischieuous persons parteners of hys conspiracye, to gather and assemble them selues together in makyng so great commocion for hys deliueraunce, whose hope nowe beyng by his well deserued death pollytickely repressed, all the realme shall by Goddes grace rest in good quyet and peace. Nowe was thys proclamacion made within twoo houres after he was beheaded, and it was so curiously endyted and so fayre writen in Parchement in a fayre sette hande, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, that euery chyld might perceyue that it was prepared and studyed before (and as some men thought, by Catesby) for all the tyme betwene hys death and the proclamacion proclaimyng, coulde skant haue suffyced vnto the bare wrytyng alone, albeit that it had bene in paper and scribeled furthe in haste at aduenture. So that vpon the proclaimyng thereof, one that was scolemayster at Paules standyng by and comparyng the shortenesse of the tyme with the length of the matter sayed to theim that stoode aboute hym, here is a gaye goodly

goodly cast, foule cast awaye for hast. And a marchaunte that stoode by hym sayed that it was wrytten by inspiracyon and prophesye. Nowe then by and by, as it were for anger and not for coueteous, the Protectoure sent sir Thomas Hawarde to the house of Shores wyfe (for her husbandedwelte not with her) whiche spoyled her of all that euer she had, aboue the valure of twoo or thre thousaude markes, and sent her bodye to pryson. And the Protectoure had layde to her for the maner sake that she was a counsaill with the lorde Hastynges to destroye hym. In conclusion, when no coloure could fasten vpon these matters, then he layed heynously to her charge that thing that she could not denye, for all the world knewe that it was true, and that notwithstaudyng euery man laughed to heare it then so sodeynly, so highly taken, that she was naught of her body. And for this cause as a godly continent prince cleane and fautlesse of hym selfe, sent out of heauen into thys vicious worlde, for the amendment of mens maners, he caused the byshop of London to putte her to open penaunce, goyng before a crosse one Sondaye at procession with a taper in her hand. In the whiche she went in countenaunce and peace so womanly, & albeit she was out of all aray sauyng her kyrtel only, yet went she so fayre and louely, and namely when the wondryng of the people cast a comely red in her chekes, of the whiche she before had most mysse, that her great shame wanne her much prayse amongest them that were more amorous of her body then curious of her soule, and many good folke that hated her liuyng and were glad to se synne corrected yet pitied they more her penaunce then reioysed it, when they considered that the protector did it more of corrupt mynd then any vertuous affeccion.

The description of Shores wyfe.

This woman was borne in London, well frended, honestly brought vp, and very well maryed, sauyng somewhat to sone, her husbande an honest and a yong citezen, godly and of good substaunce, but forasmuche as they were coupled or she were well rype, she not very feruētly loued for whom she neuer longed, which was the thyng (by chaunce) that the more easely made her to encline to the kynges appetite, when he required her. Howbeit the respect of hys royaltie, the hope of gaye apparell, ease, pleasure, and other wanton wealth was able sone to perce a softe tendre hart: but whē the kyng had abused her, aboue her husband beyng an honest manne and one that could his good, not presumyng to touche a kynges concubyne left her vp to hym altogether. When the kyng dyed, the lorde Hastynges toke her, whiche in the kynges dayes albeit that he was sore enamoured with her yet he forbare, either for a pryncely reuerence or for a certayne frendely faithfulnesse. Proper she was and fayre, nothyng in her body that you could haue chaunged, but yf you would haue wished her somewhat higher. This saye they that knewe her in her youth, some sayed and iudged that she had been well fauoured, and some iudge the contrary, whose iudgement seameth like as mēne gesse the beautye of one long before departed, by a scaple taken out of a chanell house, & this iudgemēt was in the tyme of kyng Henry the eyght, in the. xviii. yere of whose reigne she dyed, when she had nothyng but a reueled skynne and bone. Her beautye pleased not mēne so muche as her pleasaunt behauoure, for she hadde a proper wytte & coulde both reade and wryte, mery in compaigny, redy and quicke of answere, neyther mute nor full of bable, sometyme tantyng without displeasure, but not without disporte. Kyng Edward would saye ỹ he had thre concubines, which in diuerse properties diuersly excelled, one, the meriest, the other the wyliest, the thirde the holyest harlot in the realme as one, whom no man coulde get out of the churche to any place lightly, but if it were to his bed, the other two were somwhat greater personages then mastres Shore, neuerthelesse of their humilitie were content to be nameles and to forbeare the prayse of these properties. But the meriest was Shores wyfe in whom the kyng therefore toke great pleasure, for many he had, but her he loued, whose fauoure to saye the trueth (for it wer synne to lye on the deuil) she neuer abused to any mās hurt, but to many mens comforte & reliefe. For where the king toke displeasure, she would mitigate & apeace his mynde, where men were out of fauour, she would bryng thē into his grace, for many that had highly offended, she obteyned pardon, & of great forfeatures she gat remission, and finally, in many weighty suites she stode many mēne in great steade, either for none or for very small

The description of kyng Edward thre Concubines.

rewarde: and those rather gaye then riche, either for that she was content with the dede well done, or for that she delighted to be sued vnto, & to shewe what she was able to do with the kyng, or for that that wanton women and welthy be not alwaies couetous, I doubt not some man wyl thynke this woman to be to slight to be written of emong graue and weyghtie matters, whiche they shall specially thynke that happely sawe her in her age & aduersite, but me semeth the chaunce so much more worthy to be remembred, in how much after wealth she fell to pouertie, and from riches to beggery vnfrended, out of acquaintance, after great substaunce after so great fauour with her prince, after as greate suite & sekyng to with all those which in those dayes had busynes to spede as many other men were in their tymes, whiche be now famous onely by the infamy of their euill deedes, her doynges were not muche lesse, albeit they be muche lesse remembred, because they were not euyll, for men vse to write an euyll turne in marble stone, but a good turne they wryte in the dust, whiche is not worst proued by her, for after her wealth she went beggyng of many that had begged them selfes if she had not holpen them, suche was her chaunce.

Now was it deuised by the protectoure & his counsaile, that the same day ẏ the lord Chamberlayne was headed in the towre of London and about the same houre should be beheaded at Poumfrete the earle Ryuers and the lorde Richarde the quenes sonne, syr Thomas Vaughan and sir Richard Haute, whiche as you heard were taken at Northampton and Stony stratford by the consent of the lord Hastynges, whiche execution was done by the ordre & in the presence of sir Richard Ratclif knight, whose service the protectoure specially vsed in the counsail, and in the execution of suche lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene longe secrete with hym, hauyng experiece of the world & shrewed wytte, shorte and rude in speche, rough and boysterous of behauour, bold in mischiefe, as farre from pytie as from all feare of God.

This knight brought these foure persons to the scaffolde at the daye apoincted, & shewed to all the people that they were traitours, not sufferyng the lordes to speake, & to declare their innocecy, least their wordes might haue enclined men to pytie them and to hate the protectour & his part & so without iudgmēt & processe of the lawe caused them to be beheaded without other yearthly gylt, but onely ẏ they were good nē and true to the kyng & to nye to the quene, insomuch as sir Thomas Vaughan goyng to his death sayed, A wo worthe them ẏ toke the prophesie that G. should destroy kyng Edwardes childrē, meanyng ẏ by the duke of Clarēce lord George which for ẏ suspicion is now dead, but now remaineth Richard G. duke of Gloucester, which now I se is he ẏ shall and will accōplishe the prophesie & destroye kynge Edwardes children & all their alyes & frēdes, as it appereth by vs this day, whō I appele to the high tribunal of God for his wrongful murther & our true innocencye. And then Ratclyffe sayed, you haue well apeled, lay doune youre head, ye q̄ syr Thomas, I dye in right, beware you dye not in wrong, and so that good knight was beheaded and the other three, and buryed naked in the monastery at Poumfret.

When the lord Hastynges and these other lordes and knightes were thus beheaded and ryd out of the waye, then the protectour caused it to be proclaymed that the coronacion for diners great and vrgent causes should be deferred till the seconde daye of Nouember, for then thought he, that whyle men mused what the matter meant, and while the lordes of the realme were about him, out of their awne strengthes, and whyle no man wyste what to thynke nor whom to truste, or euer they should haue tyme and space to digest the matter, and make partes, it were best hastely to pursue his purpose and put hym self in possession of the croune, or menne could haue tyme to deuyse any wyse to resyste. But nowe was all the study, this matter beyng of it selfe so heynous might be first broken to the people in suche wyse as it might well be taken. To this counsaile they toke diuerse such as they thought mete to be trusted and likely to be enduced to that parte and hable to stand them in steade, eyther by powre or by polycye. Emong whom, they made a counsaile Edmond Shaa then Mayre of London, whiche vpon trust of hys awne auaūcement, where he was

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of a proude harte highly desirous, toke on him to frame the cytie to their appetite. Of spirituall men they toke suche as had wytte, and were in auctthority emongest the people for opinion of their learuyng, and had no scrupulous conscience. Emongest these had, they toke Raffe Shaa clearke brother to the Mayre, & Freer, Pynkie prouincial of the Augustine Freers, bothe doctours in diuinitie, bothe great preachers, bothe of more learnyng then vertue, of more fame then learnyng, & yet of more learnyng then trueth. For they were before greatly estemed emong the people, but after that, neuer none of these two were regarded. Shaa made a sermonde in prayse of the Protectour before the coronacion, and Pynkye made one after the coronacion, bothe so full of tedious flattery, that no good mans eares coulde abyde them, Pynkye in his sermonde so loste his voyce that he was fayne to leaue of and come doune in the middest, Doctoure Shaa by his sermonde loste his honesty, and sone after his lyfe, for very shame of the worlde, into the whiche he durst neuer after muche come abroade, but the Freer forced for no shame, and so it harmed hym the lesse. Howbeit, some doubt and many thynke that Pynkey was not of counsaill before the coronacion, but after the common maner fell to flattery after, namely because his sermond was not incontinent vpon it, but at sainct Mary Spittle the Easter after. But certayne it is that doctour Shaa was of counsail in the beginnyng, in so much that they determyned that he should fyrst breake the matter in a sermond at Poules crosse, in whiche he should by the auctthoritie of hys preachyng induce the people to encline to ỹ protectours ghostly purpose. But now was all the laboure and study in the deuise of some conuenient pretexte, for which the people should be content to depose the prince & accept the protectour for kyng. In which diuerse thinges they deuised, but the chief thyng, & the weight of all that inuencion rested in this, that they shoulde allege bastardy in kyng Edwarde hym selfe, or in his chyldren, or bothe, so that he should seme disabled to enherite the croune by the duke of Yorke and the prince by him. To lay bastardy in kyng Edward sounded openly to the rebuke of the protectours awne mother, whiche was mother to them bothe. For in that poinct could be none other coloure, but to pretende that his awne mother was an auoutresse, but neuerthelesse he would that poinct should be lesse and more fynely & closely handled, not euen fully playne and directely, but touched a slope craftely, as though men spared in that poinct to speake all the trueth for feare of his displeasure. But that other poincte concernyng the basterdy they deuised to surmysse in kyng Edward his chyldren, that would he should be openly declared and enforced to the vttermost. The coloure and pretexte wherof cannot be well perceyued excepte wee repete some thinges longe before dooen aboute kyng Edward his mariages.

After kyng Edwarde the fourthe had deposed kyng Henry the sixte and was in peaceable possession of the realme, determinyng him selfe to mary (as was requisite) bothe for hym selfe and for the realme, he sente therle of Warwike & diuerse other noble men in ambassade to the Frenche kyng to entreate a mariage betwene the kyng and Bona sister to the Frenche quene, then beyng in Fraunce. In which thyng therle of Warwike founde the parties so towarde and willyng, that he spedely without any difficultie accordyng to his instruccions brought the matter to a good conclusion. Nowe happeneth it in the meane season, there came to make a sute to the kyng by peticion dame Elizabeth Grey (whiche after was his quene) then a widdowe borne of noble bloude, specially by her mother, which was Duchesse of Bedforde, and she was maried to sir Richarde Wooduile lorde Riuers, her father.

Howbeit, this Elizabeth beyng in seruice with quene Margaret wife to kyng Henry the sixte, was maried to one Ihon Grey Esquire whom kyng Henry made knight at the laste battaill of sainct Albones, but litle while he enioyed his knighthod, for at the same feld he was slain.

After, when that kyng Edward was kyng and the Erle of Warwicke beyng on his ambassad, this poore lady made sute to the kyng to be restored to suche smal landes as her husbande had geuen her in ioyntoure, whom when the kyng behelde and harde her speake, as she

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was bothe faire and of good fauoure, moderate of stature, well made and very wyse, he not alonely pitied her, but also wexed enamoured on her, and takyng her secretly a sydd began to enter into talkyng more familierly, whose appetite when she perceyued, she verteously denied hym, but that she dyd so wysely and that with so good maner and woorde so wel set, that she rather kyndeled his desyre then quenched it. And finally, after many a metyng and much wowyng and many great promises she well espied the kyng his affection towarde her so greately encreased that she durste somewhat the more boldely saye her mynde as to him whose hert she perceyued more feruently set then to fall of for a worde. And in conclusion she shewed him plain, that as she wist her self to simple to be his wife, so thought she her self to good to be his cocubine. The kyng muche marueilyng of her constancy, as he that had not been wonte els where so stiefly sayed nay, so muche estemed her continency and chastitee, that he sette her vertue in steade of possession and richesse: And this takyng counsaill of his owne desyre determined in haste to mary her. And after that he was thus apoincted and had betwene them twayn ensured her, then asked he counsaill of his secrete frendes, and that in suche maner that they might easly perceyue that it boted not to saye nay. Notwithstandyng, the duches of Yorke his mother, was so sore moued therewith that she disswaded that mariage as muche as she possible might: allegyng that it was his honor, profyte & surety, to mary in some noble progeny out of hys realme, where vpon depended greate strengthe to hys estate by that affinite, and great possibilite of encrease of his dominiõs. And that he could not well otherwise doe, consideryng the erle of Warwike had so farfurthe entered into the matter all ready, which was not lyke to take it well if all hys voyage were in suche wyse frustrate & his appointctemente deluded. And she sayed ferther, that it was not princely to mary hys owne subiecte, no greater occasiõ ledyng there vnto, no possessions ner other commodite dependyng therupon, but onely as a riche manne would mary hys mayden onely for a litle wanton dotage vpon her person. In whiche mariage many menne cõmend more the maydens fortune then the mannes wisedome, & yet she sayed that there was more honesty, then honour in this mariage, forasmuch as ther is not betwene a marchaunt & his mayde so greate a difference as betwene a kyng and his subiecte, a greate prince and a poore widowe. In whose persone, allthough there, were nothyng to bee mislyked, yet was there sayed she, nothing so excellent but that it might be found in diuerse other that were more metely (q[d] she) for your estate: yea and maidens also, the onely widowhed of dame Elizabeth Grey (although she were in all other poinctes and thynges conuenient for you) should suffice as me thynketh to refrain you from her mariage, sith it is an vnsittyng thyng and a great blemishe to the sacred maiestie of a prince, that ought as nere to approche priesthode in clennesse, as he doeth in dignitie, to be defiled with bigamy in his first mariage. The kyng made his mother an answere part in earnest and part in playe merely, as he that wyste hym selfe out of her rule: & albeit he would gladly that she should take it well, yet was he at apoinct in his owne mynde, toke she it wel or otherwise. Howbeit, somewhat to satisfy her he saied, that albeit mariage beyng a spiritual thyng ought rather to be made for the respecte of God, where his grace enclineth, the parties ought to encline to loue together (as he trusted it was in his case) rather then for the regard of any temporall auauntage: yet neuertheles him semed this mariage well considered not to be vnprofitable, for he reconed the amitee of no earthely nacion to bee so necessary for hym as the frendeship of his awne, whiche he thoughte likely to beare hym so muche the more hartye fauour, in that he disdained not to mari with one of his awne lande: & yet if outward alliance wer thought so requisite, he would find the meanes to entre therunto muche better by other of his kinne where all the parties coulde be contented, then to mary him selfe wherein he should neuer happely loue, and for the possibilitee of possessions lese the fruite and pleasure of this that he had already. For small plasure taketh a man of all that euer he hath beside, yf he be wiued againste his appetite, and I doubte not (quod he,) but there bee as you saie other that bee in euery poinct comparable with her, and therefore I let not theim that like theim to mary theim, no more is it reason that it mislike any man

that

that I mary where it liketh me. And I am sure that my cousin of Warwike, neither loueth me so litle, to grudge at that that I loue, ner is so vnreasonable to loke that I should in choyse of a wife rather be ruled by his yie then by myne awne, as though I wer a warde that wer bounden to mary by the apoyntement a guarden. I would not bee a kyng with that cõdicion to forbear mine awne libertie in choyse of mine awne mariage. As for possibilite of more inheritaunce by newe affinitee in straunge landes, is oft the occasion of more trouble than profite. And we haue alredy title by that meanes, as suffiseth to so much as suffiseth to gette & kepe wel in one mannes deies. That she is a widdowe and hath alredy children: By god his blessed lady, I am a bachelor and haue some to, & so eche of vs hath a proofe, that neither of vs is like to be barren. And therefore madame I praye you be content; I trust to God she shall brynge furthe a young prince that shal please you. And as for the bigamy, let the bishop hardely lay it to my charge when I come to take ordres, for I vnderstand it is forbidden a prieste but I neuer wiste that it was forbidden a prince. The duchesse with these woordes nothynge apeased and seynge the kynge so sette on that she could not plucke him backe; so highly she disdaigned it, that vnder pretexte of her duty to God warde, she deuised to disturbe this mariage, and rather to helpe that he should mary one dame Elizabet Lucy, whom the kynge not longe before had gotten with chylde, wherfore the kynge his mother obiected openly againste this mariage (as it were in discharge of her connscience) that the kyng was sure to dame Elizabeth Lucy and her husband and before God, by reason of whiche wordes suche obstacle was made in that matter, that either the bishoppe durste not, or the kyng would not proceade to the solempnisacion of the mariage til his fame were clerely purged, and the truth well and opẽly testified. Where vpon dame Elizabeth Lucye was sente for, and albeit she was by the kyng his mother and many other put in good comfort to affirme that she was assured to the kynge, yet when she was solemplys worne to saie the truth, she confessed she was neuer ensured. Howbeit she saied, his grace spake suche louynge woordes to her, that she verely hoped that he would haue maried her, and that yf such kinde woordes had not been, she woulde neuer haue shewed suche kyndenesse to hym, to lette him so kindely gette her with childe. This examinacion solemply taken, it was clerely proued that there was no impediment to let the king to mary, wherfore, he shortely after at Grafton beside Stonystratforde maried the lady Elizabeth Grey verie priuely, which was his enemies wife and had praied hartely for his losse, in the which God loued her better then to graunte her her-bone, for then had she not been his wife: And after that she was crouned quene, and her father was created erle Riuers and her sonne created Marques Dorset. But whẽ the erle of Warwike vnderstode of this mariage, he toke it so highly, that therof ensued muche trouble and greate bloudshed as is declared before in the story of Edward the. iiii.

I haue rehersed this mariage somewhat the more at length, because it might thereby the better apere vpon how slippery a ground the protector builded his colour, by which he pretended king Edward his children to be bastardes, but the inuencion, as simple as it was liked theim to whom it suffiseth to haue somewhat to saie, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger profe then theim selues liste to make.

Nowe to returne where I left, as I beganne to shewe you, it was by the protector and his counsaill concluded that this doctor Shaa should in a sermon at Paules crosse signifie to the people that neither king Edwarde hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence were lawefully begotten, nor wer the very children of the duke of Yorke, but begotten vnlawefully by other persones by aduoutry of the duches their mother. And that dame Elizabeth Lucy was the very wife of king Edward, and so prince Edward and all the children begotten on the quene wer bastardes. And accordyng to this deuise, doctor Sha the sondaie after at Paules crosse in a greate audience (as alwaie a great numbre assembled to his preaching) came into the pulpit takyng for his Theme, Spuria vitulamina nõ dabunt radices aitos. Sapien. iiii. that is to saie bastarde slippes shall neuer take depe rootes: wherupon when he had shewed the great grace that God geueth & secretely infoundeth in right generacion after ỹ lawes of

matrimony, then declared he that those children cōmenly lacked ȳ grace (& for the punishment of their parentes) were for ȳ most part vnhappy which wer gotten in haste, and specially in aduoutry, of which (though some by the ignorauncie of the worlde and the truthe hid from knowlege) haue enherited for a season other mennes landes, yet God alwaie so prouideth that it continueth not in their bloude longe, but the truethe commynge to lighte the rightefull enheritoures be restored, and the bastard slippes plucked vp or it can be rooted depe. And when he had laied for the proofe and confirmacion of this sentence, examples taken out of the olde testamente and other auncient histories, then began he to discend to the praise of the lord Richard duke of Yorke, callyng him father to the protectour and declared his title to the croune bi inheritaunce and also by entaile authorised by parliament after ȳ death of kynge Henry the sixte. Then shewed he that the lorde protector, was onely the righte heire, of his body lawfully begotten. Then declared he that kyng Edward was neuer lawfully maried to ȳ quene, but his wife before God was dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children wer bastardes. And besides that, that neither kyng Edward hym selfe nor the duke of Clarence (emongest them that wer secrete in the duke of Yorkes houshoulde) were neuer reconed surely to be the children of the noble duke as those that by their fauoures more resembled other knowen wenne then hym, from whose verteous condicions he saied also, that king Edwarde was far of. But the lord protector (quod he) that veraye noble prince, the speciall patrone of knightly prowes, aswell in all princely behaueour as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the very face of ȳ noble duke his father. This is (quod he) the fathers awne figure, this is his awne countenaunce, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted ymage, the playne expresse likenesse of that noble duke. Now was it before deuised that in the speakynge of these wordes, the protector shoulde hane come in emongest the people to ȳ sermond ward, to thende that these wordes so metynge with his presence, might haue been taken emongest the herers, as though the holy ghost had put theim in the preachers mouthe, and shoulde haue moued the people euen there to haue cried, kynge Richard, that it might haue been after sayed that he was specially chosen by God, and in maner by miracle: but this deuise quayled, either by the protectoures negligence or the preachers ouer hasty diligence. For while the protectoure, founde by the waye tariynge, leaste he shoulde haue preuented these woordes, the doctour fearynge that he shoulde come or his sermon could come to those woordes hastynge his matter thereto, he was come to theim and paste theim, and entred into other matters or the protectour came, whom when he beheld commynge, he sodainly lefte the matter whiche he had in hand, and without any deducēyon therunto out of all ordre, and out of all frame began to repete those woordes agayne. This is the very noble prince the especiall patrone of knightely prowes, whiche aswell in all princely behaueoure as in the liniamentes and fauour of his visage representeth the veraye face of the noble duke of Yorke his father. This is the fathers awne figure, this is his owne countenaunce, the very print of his visage the sure vndoubted image, the plain expresse likenesse of that noble duke, whose remembraunce can neuer die while he liueth. While these wordes were in speakynge, the protectour accompaignied with the duke of Buckyngham, went through the people vp into the place where the doctors stand where they harde oute the sermond: but the people wer so far from cryinge kynge Richard that they stoode as they had been turned into stoones for wonder of this shamefull sermonde: after whiche once ended ȳ precher gat hym home and neuer after durst loke out for shame but kept him out of sighte as an owle and when he asked any of his old frendes, what the people talked of him, although that his awne conscīēce well shewed hym that they talked no good, yet when the other answered hym, that there was in euery mannes mouthe of hym muche shame spoken it so strake him too the harte that in fewe dayes after he withered awaie.

Then on the tuesday after next foloyng this sermond, beyng the xvii. day of Iune, there came to the Guyld hall of London the duke of Buckyngham and diuerse lordes and knightes

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mo then happely knewe the message that they brought. And at the east ende of the hal where the hoystynges be kepte, the duke and the maire and the other lordes sat downe, and the aldermen also, all the commons of the citee beeynge assembled and standynge before theim. After scilence commaunded vpon agreate paine in the protectoures name: The duke stode vp and as he was well learned and of nature merueilously well spoken, he sayed to the people with a cleare and a lowde voyce: Frendes, for the zeale and hertie fauoure that we beare you we be come to breke of a matter righte greate and weightie, and no lesse weightie then pleasyng to God and profitable to all the realme, nor to no parte of the realme, more profitable, then to you the citezens of this noble citee. For why, the thynge that you haue long lacked and as we well know sore longed for that you would haue geuen greate good for, that you would haue gonne farre to fetche: that thynge be we come hether to bryng you, without your labour pain, coste, auenture or ieoperdye. What thynge is that? Certes the surety of your awne bodies, the quiete of your wiues and daughters and the sauegarde of your goodes. Of all whiche thynges in tyme passed you stoode in doubte. For who was he of you all that could recon hym selfe lorde of his awne good emongest so many gynnes and trappes wer set therfore emong so much pyllyng and pollynge, emonge so many taxes and talliages, of the which there was neuer ende, and oftymes no nede, or yf any were, it grew rather of riote or of vnreasonable waste, then any necessary honourable charge, so that there was daily plucked and pilled from good and honeste menne greate substaunce of goodes, to be lashed out emong vnthriftes, so far furthe that fiftenes suffised not, nor any vsuall termes of knowen taxes, but vnder an easy name of beneuolence and good will, the commissioners so much of euery manne toke, as no manne woulde with his good will haue geuen. As though the name of beneuolence had signified that euery manne shoulde paie, not what he of hym selfe of his good will lust to graunte, but what the king of his good wil lust to take, who neuer asked litle, but euery thing was haunsed aboue the measure, amerciamentes turned into fines, fines into raunsomes, small trespaces into mesprision, mesprision into treason, where of I thynke that no manne looketh that we shall remembre you of examples by name, as though Burdet were forgotten whiche was for a worde spoken, in hast cruelly behedded. (This Burdet was a marchaũt dwellyng in Chepesyd at ẏ signe of ẏ croune which now is ẏ signe of ẏ flowre de luse ouer against soper lane: This man merely in ẏ rufflyng tyme of kyng Edwarde ẏ. iiij. his rage, saied to his awne some that he would make hym in heritor of ẏ croune, meanyng his awne house: but these wordes king Edward made to be mysconstrued, & interpreted that Burdet meant the croune of the realme: wherfore within lesse space then. iiij. houres, he was apprehended, iudged, drawen and quartered in Chepesyde) by the mysconstruynge of the lawes of the realme for the princes pleasure, with no lesse honoure to Merkam chiefe Iustice then, which lost his office rather then he would assent to that iudgement: then to the dishonesty of those that either for feare or flattery gaue that iudgement. What nede I to speke of syr Thomas Cooke Aldermã and mayre of this noble citee, who is of you either for negligence that wotteth not, or so forgetfull that he remembreth not, or so harde harted that he pitieth not that worshipfull mannes losse? what speke I of losse, his wonderfull spoyle and vndeserued distruction, onely because it happened him to fauour them whom the prince fauoured not. We nede not reherse of these any mo by name, sithe I doubte not that here be many presente that either in theim selues or their nigh frendes, aswell their goodes as their persones were greately endaungered either by fained querels or small matters aggrauated with heinous names, & also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretexte. For sithe ẏ king preuentyng the tyme of his inheritaunce attained the croune by battail, it suffised in a riche man for a pretext of treason, to haue been of kindred or aliaunce, nere of familiarite, or longer of acquaintaunce with any of those, that were at any tyme the kynges enemies which was at one time or another more then half the realme. Thus were neither your goodes, neither landes in suretie, and yet they brought your bodies in ieoperdye, beside the comen auenture of open warre, which albeit, that it is euer the well and occasion of much mischief, yet is it neuer so

The oracion of the duke of Buckingham made to ye citezens of Lõdõ.

Beneuolence.

Of this syr Thomas Cooke ye mai reade.

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mischeuous as wher any people fal in deuision, and at distaunce emong theimselues: and in no realm earthly so dedly and so pestilēt as when it happeneth emongest vs. And emong vs neuer continued so long discencion nor so many battailles in any season, nor so cruell nor so dedly foughtē, as wer in the kyng his daies that dedde is, God forgeue it his solle. In whose tyme and by whose occasion, what about the gettyng of the garlande, kepyng it, lesyng and winnynge againe, it hath coste more Englishe blud then hath the twise winnynge of Fraunce. In which inwarde warre emongest our selues hath been so greate effusion of the aunciente noble bloud of this realme, that scarcely the half remaineth, to the great enfeblyng of this noble lande, beside many a good towne ransaked and spoyled by them that haue been goyng to the felde or returnyng from thence, and peace after, not much surer then warre. So that no tyme was there in the which riche menne for their money, and great menne for their landes, or some other for some feare or for some displeasure were out of perel. For whom mistrusted he that mistrusted his own brother? Whom spared he that kylled his own brother? Coulde not suche maner of folke that he moste fauoured doo somwhat (we shall for his honour spare to speke) howbeit, this ye wote well all, that whoso was best bare euer the lest rule, and more suite in his days was to Shores wife, a vile and abhominable strompet then to all the lordes in England, excepte vnto those that made her their proctour, whiche simple womā was yet well named and honest tyll the kynge for his wanton luste and sinfull affection bereste her from her husbande, a right honest manne and substanciall emongest you. And in that poinct whiche in good faithe I am sory to speake of, sauynge that it is vain to kepe in counsaill that thynge that all men knoweth, ỹ kyng his gredy appetite was insaciable, and *euery* where ouer all the realme intollerable. For no womē was there any where, young or old, poore or riche, whom he sette his yie vpō, whom he any thynge liked either for persone or beautie, speche, pace or countenaunce, but without any feare of God, or respecte of his honour, murmure, or grudgyng of the world, he woulde importunately pursue his appetite and haue her, to the great distruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to their husbandes and frendes, whiche beynge honest people of theim selues, so muche regarded the clēnesse of their houses, the chastitee of their wiues and childrē, that theim wer leuer to lose all that thei haue beside, then to haue suche a vilanie done to theim. And albeit that with this and other importable dealing, the realme was in euery place anoyed yet specially you the citezens of this nobilite, as for that emongest you is most plentie of such thynges as minister matter to such iniuries, as for that you were nerest hande, sithe that nere here about was his moste common abidyng. And yet be ye people whom he had as synguler a cause wel and truly to intreate, as any part of his realme: not onely for that the prince by this noble citee, as of his speciall chambre and renoumed citee of this realme, muche honourable fame receiueth emongest all other nacions, but also for that, you not without your greate coste and sondrye fauoures and ieoperdyes in all his warres bare euer your especiall fauoure to his parte: whiche your kynde myndes borne to the house of Yorke, sithe he hath nothynge worthely requited you, there is of the house now which by God his grace shall make you full recompence, which thyng to shew you, is the whole some and effect of our errande. It shall not, I wote well nede, that I reherse vnto you again that you al redy haue hearde of hym that can better tell it, and of whom I am sure ye will better beleue it (and reason it is that it so be) I am not so proud too looke therfore ỹ you should receiue my wordes of so great auctherite as the preachers of the word of God, namely a man so conninge and so wise, that no manne wotteth better what he should do and say, and therto so good and vertues that he would not say the thing, which he wist he should not say in the pulpit, namely, into the which no honest man cometh to lie: whiche honourable preacher ye well remembre, substancially declared to you at Paules crosse on Sondaie laste paste, the right and title of the most excellent prince Richard duke of Gloucester now protector of this his realme which he hath vnto the croune of the kyngdome of the same. For that worshipfulman made it perfectely and groundely open vnto you. The children of kynge Edward the fourth wer neuer lawfully

fully begotten, for as muche as the kynge (liuynge his verie wife dame Elizabeth Lucy) was neuer laufully maried to the quene their mother whose bloud sauynge he set his voluptcous pleasure before his honour, was ful vnmetely to be matched with his (the mynglyng of which two bloudes together hath been the effusion of a great part of the noble bloud of this realme) wherby it may well be seen, that mariage was not well made of which there is so much mischiefe growen. For lacke of which lawefull copulacion and also of other thynges whiche the saied worshipfull doctor rather signified then fully explaned, and whiche thyng shall not be spoken for me, as the thyng that euery manne forbeareth to saie that he knoweth, in auoidyng the displeasure that my noble lorde protector bearyng as nature requireth a filial reuerence to the duches his mother. For these causes before remembred I saie, that for lake of issue lawfully commynge of the late noble prince Richard duke of Yorke, to whose royall bloud the crounes of England and of Fraunce, are by the high aucthorite of a parliamēt entailed, the right and title of the same is by iuste course of enheritaunce according to the common lawe of this lande, deuoluted and come vnto the moste excellent prince the lord protectoure, as to the very lawfull begotten sonne of the fore remembred noble duke of Yorke. Whiche thynge well considred and the knightely prowesse with many vertues whiche in his noble persone singulerely doe habounde: The nobles and commons of this realme, and specially of the North partes, not willing any bastard bloud to haue the rule of the land, nor the abusions in the same before vsed and exercised any longer too continue, haue fully condiscended and vtterly determined too make humble peticion vnto the puisaunte prince the lorde protectour, that it may like his grace at our humble request, to take vpon hym the guydyng and gouernaunce of this realme, too the wealth and increase of the same, accordynge to his very right and iuste title, whiche thynge I wot well he will be loth to take vpon hym as he whose wisedome well perceiueth, the labours and study bothe of mynde and bodye that shall come therwith to hym, whosoeuer shall occupy that rome. I dare saye he will if he take it (for I warrant you that that rome is no childes office) & that the great wise man well perceyued when he sayed Væ regno, cuius Rex puer est, wo to that realme whose kyng is a child, wherfore, so muche more cause haue we to thanke God, that this noble personage, which is so righteously entitled therto is of so sad age, & therto of so great wisedome, ioyned with so great experience, which albeit, he will bee lothe as I haue saide to take vpon hym, yet shall he too our peticion in that behalf the more graciously encline, yf ye the worshipful citezens of this citee being the chief citee of the realme ioyne with vs the nobles in our saied request, whiche for your owne weale we doubte not but that ye will. And yet neuerthelesse, we pray you so to do, whereby ye shall do great profite to all this his realme: Beside that in chosyng them so good a kynge, it shall bee to your selfe a speciall commodite, to whom his maiestie shal euer after, beare so much ỹ more tendre fauour in how much he shall perceiue you the more prone and beneuolentely mynded toward his election: wherin dere frendes, what mynd you haue we require you plainely to shewe vs? When the duke had saied and loked that the people whom he hoped that the Maire had framed before, shoulde after this flatterynge preposicion made, haue cried kynge Richarde, kynge Richarde, all was still and mute and not one woorde answered to: wherwith the duke was maruelously abashed, and takynge ỹ Maire nere to hym, with other that wer aboute hym priuy to the matter, saied vnto theim softely. What meaneth this, that the people be so still? Sir quod the Maire, percase they perceiue you not well, that shall we amend quod he, if he that wil belpe, and therwith somewhat lowder rehersed the same matter again, in other ordre and other woordes so well and ornately, and neuerthelesse so euidently and plaine with voice, gesture, & countenaunce so comely and so conuenient, that euery man much maruelled that hard him and thought that they neuer harde in their liues so euill a tale so well told. But wer it for wonder or feare, or that eche loked that other should speake firste, not one word was there answered of all the people that stoode before, but all were as still as the midnight, not so much as rouyng emong them, by which they might seme once to common what was best to do. When the Maire sawe this, he with other

parteners of the counsaill, drew about the duke and saied that ỹ people had not been accustomed there to be spoken to, but by the Recorder, which is the mouthe of the citee, and happely to hym they will answere. With that the Recorder called Thomas Filz Wyllyã, a sadde manne and an honeste, which was but newly come to the office, and neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to begyn, notwithstanding, there vnto commaunded by the Maire, made rehersall to the commons of that which the duke had twise purposed hym self, but the recorder so tẽpered his tale that he shewed euery thyng as the duke his woordes were and no parte of his owne, but all this no chaunge made in the people, whiche alway after one stoode as they had been amased. Where vpon, the duke rouned with the Maire and said, this is a marueilous obstinate scilence, and there with turned too the people again with these woordes. Deare frendes, we come to moue you to that thyng whiche parauenture we so greately neded not, but that the lordes of this realme and commons of other partes might haue suffised, sauyng suche loue we beare you, and so muche set by you, that we would not gladly do without you, that thyng in whiche to be parteners is your weele and honoure, whiche as to vs semeth you se not or waye not: Wherfore we require you to giue vs an answere, one or other, whether ye be mynded as all the nobles of the realme be, to haue this noble prince now protector to be your kyng? And at these wordes the people began to whisper emong them selfes secretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor base, but like a swarme of bees, till at the last, at the nether ende of the hal a bushement of the dukes seruauntes and one Nashfeelde and other belongynge to the protectoure with some prentices and laddes that thrusted into the hall emongest the preace, began sodainly at mennes backes to crye out as lowde as they could, kynge Richard, king Richard, and there threwe vp their cappes in token of ioye, and they that stoode before cast backe their heddes marueilynge therat, but nothing the saied. And when the duke and the Maire saw this maner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly crie and a ioyfull to here euery man with one voyce and no man saiyng nay. Wherefore frendes (quod the duke,) sith we perceiue that it is all your whole mindes to haue this noble man for your king, wherof we shall make his grace so effectuall reporte that we doubt not but that it shall redounde to your great wealth and commodite. We therefore require you that to morowe ye go with vs and we with you to his noble grace to make our humble peticiõ and request to him in maner before remembred. And therwith the lordes came doune and the compaignie dissolued and departed the more part all sad, some with glad sembleaunce that were not very merie and some of them that came with the duke not hable to dissemble their sorowe, were fain euen at his backe to turne their face to the wall, while the doloure of their hartes braste out of their yies.

Then on the morowe the Maire and aldremen and chief commoners of the citie in their best maner apparceled, assemblyng them together at Paules, resorted to Baynardes castle where the protectour laie, to which place also accordyng too the appointment repaired the duke of Buckyngham, and diuerse nobles with hym, besides many knyghtes and gentlemen. And there vpon the duke sent woorde to the lord protectoure of the beyng there of a greate honourable compaignie to moue a greate matter to his grace. Where vpon the protectoure made greate difficultie to come doune to theim, except he knewe some parte of their errande, as though he doubted and partely mistrusted the commynge of such a numbre to hym so sodainely, without any warnyng or knowlege, whether they came for good or harme. Then when the duke had shewed this too the Mayre and other, that they might thereby se how litle the protectour loked for this matter, they sente again by the messenger suche louynge message, and there with so humbly besought hym to vouchsafe that the might resort to his presence to purpose their entent of which they would to none other persone any part disclose. At the last he came out of his chambre, and yet not doune to theim, but in a galary ouer them with a bishop on euery hand of him, where they beneth might se him and speke to him, as though he would not yet come nere them til he wist what they meant. And there vpon, the duke of Buckingham first made humble peticion to him on the behalfe of

theim all, that his grace would pardon theim and licence them to purpose vnto his grace the entent of their commyng without his displeasure, without which pardon obteined, they durst not be so bold to moue him of that matter. In which, albeit they meant as muche honour to his grace as wealth to all ȳ realm beside, yet were they not sure how his grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offend. Then the protectour, as he was very gentle of hym self and also longed sore apparantly to know what they meant, gaue him leaue to purpose what him liked, verely trustynge for the good mind that he bare them all none of theim any thyng woulde entende to hym warde, wherewith he thought to be grened. When the duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then wexed he bold to shew hym their entente and purpose, with all the causes mouyng theim thereto, as ye before haue heard. And finally, to beseche his grace that it would like him of his accustomed goodnesse and zeale vnto the realm now with his yie of pitie to behold the long continued distresse and decaie of the same, & to set his gracious hand to the redresse and amendemente thereof by takynge vpon hym the croune and gouernaunce of the realme accordyng to his right and title laufully discended vnto him, and to the laud of God, profite and surety of the land & vnto his grace so muche the more honor and lesse pain, in that ȳ neuer prince reigned vpon any people that wer so glad to liue vnder his obeisaūce as the people of this realme vnder his.

When the protector had heard the proposicion, he loked very strangely therat and made answer, that albeit he knew partely the thynges by theim alleged to be true, yet such entiere loue he bare to kynge Edward and his children, and so much more regarded his honour in other realmes about, then the croune of any one, of which he was neuer desyrous, so that he could not find in his harte in this poinct to incline to their desire, for in al other nacions where the truth were not wel knowē, it shoulde parauenture be thought that it were his awne ambicious mynde and deuise to depose the prince and to take hym selfe the croune, with which infamy he would in no wise haue his honour steined for any croune, in which he had euer perchaunce perceyued much more labour and pein, then pleasure to him that so would vse it as he that would not and were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding, he not onely pardoned them of the mocion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and harty fauour they bare hym, praiyng them for his sake to beare the same to the prince vnder whom he was and would be content to liue and with his labour & counsaill as far as it should like the king to vse it, he woulde doo his vttermoste deuoier to sette the realme in good estate which was all redye in the litle tyme of his protectourship (laudded be God) wel begon, in that the malice of such as wer before ȳ occasion of the contrary and of new entended to be, wer now partely by good policy, partely more by God his speciall prouidence, then mannes prouision, repressed and put vnder.

Vpon this answer geuen, the duke of Buckyngham by the protector his licence a litle rounded, as well with other noble men about him as with the maire and recorder of London. And after that (vpon like perdō desired and obteined) he shewed aloude vnto the protectour, for a finall conclusion that the realme was appointed that kynge Edward his line should no longer reigne vpon them, both that they had so far gone that it was now no suretee to retreate (as for that thei thought it for ȳ weale vniuersal to take ȳ way, although thei had not yet begon it.) Wherfore if it would like his grace to take the croune vpon him, they would humbly beseche him therunto, and yf he would geue theim a resolute answere to the contrary (which the would be loth to here) then must they seke and shoulde not faill to find some other noble man that would. These wordes much moued the protector, which as euery man of small intelligence may wit would neuer haue enclined thereto: but when he sawe there was none other way but that he must take it, or els he and his both to go from it, he saied to the lordes and commons, sithe it is wee perceiue well that all the realme is so set (wherof we bee very sory) that they will not suffre in any wise kynge Edward his line to gouerne theim, whom no man earthely can gouerne against their willes: And we also perceiue that no manne is there to whome the crowne can by so iuste title

title appertaine as to oure selfe as very righte heire laufully begotten of the body of our most dread and dere father Richard late duke of Yorke to which title is now ioyned your election, the nobles and commons of the realme, whiche we of all titles possible take for mooste effectual, we be content and agree fauourably to encline to your peticion & request, and accordynge to the same, here we take vpon vs the royall estate of preheminence and kyngdome of the twoo noble realmes, Englande and Fraunce, the one from this day forwarde by vs and our heires to rule, gouerne and defende, the other by God his grace and your good helpe to get again, subdue and establishe. for euer in dewe obedience vnto this realme of Englande, the auaunncement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to line then we entende to procure and sette furthe. With this there was a greate cry and shoute, criyng kyng Richard and so the lordes wente vp to the kynge, and so he was after that daie called. But the people departed talkynge dyuersely of the matter, euery man as his fantasye gaue him, but much they marueiled of this maner of dealing, that the matter was on both partes made so straunge as though neuer the one part had communed with the other parte therof before, when they wiste that there was no manne so dull that heard theim, but he perceyued well ynough that all the matter was made betwene them. Howebeit, some excused that again, saiynge: all thing must be done in good ordre, and mehne must sometym for the maner sake not bee aknowen what they knowe. For at the consecracion of a bishoppe, euery manne perceiueth by paiment of his bulles that he entendeth to be one, yet when he is twise asked whether he will be a bishop, he must twise say nay, and at the third tyme take it vpon him as compelled thereto by his awne will. And in a stage plaie, the people knowe right well that he that plaieth the sowdaine, is percase a souter, yet yf one of acquaintaunce perchaunce of litle nurture should call him by his name while he standeth in his maiestie one of his tourmētours might fortune breke his hed for maryng the play. And so they saied, these matters be kynges games, as it were staige playes, and for the most part plaied vpon scaffoldes, in whiche poore menne bee but lookers on, and they that wise be, will medle no ferther, for they that steppe vp with them when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the plaie and do theim selues no good.

THE TRAGICAL DOYNGES OF KYNG RICHARD THE THIRDE.

I Othe I am to remembre, but more I abhore to write the miserable tragedy of this infortunate prince, which by fraude entered, by tyrannye proceded, and by sodayn deathe ended his infortunate life: But yf I should not declare the flagicious factes of the euyll princes, aswell as I haue done the notable actes of verteous kinges, I shoulde neither animate, nor incourage rulers of royalmes, Countreyes and Seigniories to folowe the steppes of their profitable progenitors, for to attayne to the type of honour and worldly fame: neither yet aduertise princes being proane to vice and wickednes, to aduoyde and expell all synne and mischiefe, for dread of obloquy and worldly shame: for contrary set to contrary is more apparaunt, as whyte ioyned with black, maketh the fayrer shewe: Wherfore, I will procede in his actes after my accustomed vsage.

RICHARD

RICHARD the third of that name, vsurped ỹ croune of Englād & openly toke vpon hym to bee kyng, the nyntene daie of Iune, in the yere of our lord, a thousand foure hundred lxxxiii. and in the. xxv. yere of Lewes the leuenth then beeyng French kyng: and the morow after, he was proclaymed kyng and with great solempnite rode to Westminster, and there sate in the seate roial, and called before him the iudges of ỹ realme straightely commaundynge theim to executhe the lawe with out fauoure or delaie, with many good exhortaciōs (of the which he folowed not one) and then he departed towarde the Abbaye, and at the churche doore he was mett with procession, and by the abbot to hym was deliuered the scepter of saincte Edwarde, and so went and offered to saincte Edwarde his shrine, while the Monkes sang Te deum with a faint courage, and from the churche he returned to the palaice, where he lodged till the coronacion. And to be sure of all enemies (as he thoughte) he sent for fiue thousand men of the North against his coronaciō, which came vp euil appareled and worse harneissed, in rusty harneys, neither defensable nor skoured to the sale, which mustered in Finesbury felde, to the great disdain of all the lookers on.

The fourth daie of Iuly he came to the tower by water with his wife, and the fifth daie he created Edward his onely begotten sonne, a childe of. x. yere olde, prince of Wales, and Ihon Haward, a man of great knowledge and vertue (aswell in counsaill as in battaill) he created duke of Norffolke, and sir Thomas Hawarde his sonne he created erle of Surrey, and Willyam lorde Barkeley was then created erle of Notingham, and Fraunces lorde Louell was then made Vicount Louel, and the kynge his chamberlain, and the lorde Stanley was deliuered oute of warde for feare of his sonne the lorde Straunge, whiche was then in Lancasshire gatherynge menne (as menne saied) and the sayed lorde was made Stuarde of the kynge his housholde, likewyse the Archebishop of Yorke was deliuered: but Morton bishop of Ely, was deliuered to the duke of Buckyngham to kepe inwarde, whiche sente hym to his manoure of Brecknoke in Wales, from whence he escaped to kyng Richarde his confusion. The same night the kynge made seuentene knightes of the Bath. The nexte daie he roade through London with greate pompe, and in especiall the duke of Buckyngham was richely appareled and his horse trapped in blew beluet embroudered with the naues of cartes burnyng of gold: which trapper was borne by fotemen from the grounde, with suche solemne fassion that all men muche regarded it.

On the morowe beeyng the sixt daie of Iuly, the kynge came toward his coronacion into Westminster hall, where his chapell and all the prelates mitred receiued him. And so they in ordre of procession passed forwarde: After the procession folowed therle of Northumberlande with a pointeless sword naked, and the lord Stanley bare the Mace of ỹ cōstableshippe. Therle of Kent bare the seconde sword on the righte hand of the kyng naked. The lorde Louell bare an other sworde on the lefte hand. Then folowed the duke of Soffolke with the scepter, and the erle of Lyncolne with the ball and eresse. After theim folowed the newe erle of Surrey with the sword of estate in a riche skabard. On the right side of him wente the duke of Norfolke bearynge the crowne: then folowed kynge Richarde in a Circot and robe of purple veluet vnder a canabie borne by the barones of the fyue portes, gooynge betwene the bishoppes of Bathe and Duresme. The duke of Buckingham with the rod of the high stuarde of Englande bare the kyng his train. After hym folowed therle of Huntyngdon, berynge the quenes scepter, and the Vicount Lisle, bearyng the rod with the doue. And the erle of Wilshire bare the quenes croune. Then folowed quene Anne daughter to Richard erle of Warwike in robes like to the king, betwene two bishoppes, and a canabie ouer her hed, borne by the Barones of the portes. On her hed a riche coronall sette with stones and peirle. After her folowed the contesse of Richemond heire to the duke of Somerset, whiche bare vp the quenes trayne. After folowed the duchesse of Suffolke and Norfolke with countesses, baronesses, ladies, and many faire gentlewomen: in this ordre they passed throughe the palayce, and entred the Abbaye at the Weste ende, and so came to their seates of estate. And after diuerse songes solemply

solemply songe, they bothe discended to the highe altare and were shifted from their robes, and had diuerse places open from the middle vpward, in whiche places they were anointed. Then bothe the kyng and the quene chaunged theim into clothe of golde and asceided to their seates, where the cardinall of Cauntorbury and other bishoppes theim crowned accordynge to the olde custome of the realme, geuynge hym the scepter in the lefte hand and the balle with the crosse in the right hande, and the quene had the scepter in her right hande, and the rod with the doue in the lefte hande: On euery side of the kyng stoode a duke, and before him stoode the erle of Surrey with the sweard in his handes. And on euery side of the quene standynge a bishoppe and a lady knelynge. The Cardinall song the masse, and after paxe, the kynge and the quene discended, and before the high altare they were bothe houseled with one hoste deuided betwene theim. After masse finished, they bothe offered at saincte Edward his shrine and there the kyng lefte the crowne of saincte Edward, and putte on his owne crowne. And so in ordre as they came, they departed to Westminster hall, and so to their chambres for a ceason, duryng which tyme the duke of Norffolke came into the hall his horse trapped to the grounde in clothe of gold as high marshall, and voyded the hall.

Aboute foure of the clocke the kyng and quene entred the hall, and the kyng satte in the midle, and the quene on the lefte hand of the table, and on euery side of her stoode a countesse holdynge a clothe of pleasaunce, when she liste to drynke. And of the right hande of the kyng satte the bishop of Cauntorbury, the ladies satte all on one side in the middle of the hall, and at the table againste them satte the Chauncelloure and all the lordes. At the table next the cupborde satte the Maire of London. And at the table behinde the lordes, satte the Barones of the portes. And at the other bordes satte noble and worshipful personages. When all persones were sette, the duke of Norfolke erle Marshall, the erle of Surrey constable for that daie, the lorde Stanly lorde Stewarde, syr William Hopton treasourer, and sir Thomas Percy comptroller came in and serued the kyng solemply with one dishe of golde and another of siluer. And the quene all in gylte vessell, and the bishop all in siluer. At the seconde course came into the hall, sir Robert Democke the kynge his champion, makynge a proclamacion, that whosoeuer woulde saie that kynge Richard was not lawefully kynge, he woulde fighte with hym at the vtteraunce, and threwe downe his gauntlet: and then al the hal cried kynge Richarde. And so he did in three partes of the hall, and then one brought hym a cup with wine couered, & when he had dronke he cast out the dryake, and departed with the cup. After that, the heraulides cried *à largesse* thrise in the hall, and so went vp to their staige. At the ende of diner, the Maire of Londo serued the kyng and quene with swete wyne, and had of eche of theim a cuppe of golde with a couer of golde. And by that tyme that all was dooen, it was darkenight. And so the king returned to his chambre, and euery manne to his lodgyng. When this feaste was thus finished, the kyng sente home all the lordes into their countrees that woulde departe, excepte the lorde Stanley, whom he reteyned till he harde what his sonne the lorde Straunge went aboute. And to suche as wente home, he gaue straighte charge and commaundemente to see their countrees well ordred, and that no wrong nor extorcion shoulde bee doen to his subiectes. And thus he taughte other to execute iustice and equitee, the contrarye whereof he daily exercised: he also with greate rewardes geuen to the Northrenmen whiche he sent for to his coronacion, sente theim home to their countree with greate thankes. Whereof diuerse of theim, (as they all be of nature very gredy of autoritee, and specially when they thynke to haue any comforte or fauoure,) tooke on theim so highly and wroughte suche mastries, that the kynge was faine to ride thether in his firste yere, and to putte some in execucion, and staie the countree, or els no small mischiefe had ensued.

Incontinente after this, he sente a solempne Ambassade to Lewes the Frenche kynge, to conclude a league and amitie with hym, trustynge also to obtayne the tribute whiche kynge

Edwarde

Edwarde his brother had before out of Fraunce, but the Frenche kyng so abhorred hym and his crueltie, that he would neither se nor heare his Ambassadors, and so in vayne they returned.

Nowe after this triumphante coronacion, there fell mischifes thicke and thicke, and as the thynge ciuill gotten is neuer well kept, so throughe all the tyme of his vsurped reigne, neuer ceased there cruell murther, death and slaughter, till his awne destruccion ended it. But as he finished with the best deathe and mooste rightewyse, that is to saie his awne, so beganne he with the mooste piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murther of his innocente nephewes, the younge kynge and his tendre brother, whose death and finall fortune hath neuerthelesse so far come in question that some remained longe in doubte whether they were in his daies destroied or no. Not for that that Parkin Warbek by many folkes malice, and mo folkes folly so longe space abusynge the worlde, was aswell with princes as with poore people reputed and taken for the younger of these twoo: But for that also that all thynges were so couertely demeaned, one thynge pretented and another mente, that there was nothynge so plaine and openly proued, but that yet for the common custome of close and couerte dealynge, menne had it euer inwardly suspecte, as many well counterfet iewelles make the true mistrusted. Hobeit, concernynge that opinion, menne maie se the conueighaunce thereof in the lyfe of the noble prince kynge Henrye the. vii. in the processe of Parkyn. But in the meane ceason, for this presente matter I shall reherse to you the dolorous ende of these two babes, not after euery waie that I haue harde, but after that waie that I haue so hard by suche menne and suche menes as me thinketh it to be hard but it shoulde be true.

The destruction of kynge Edwardes children.

Kyng Richard after his coronacion, takyng his waie to Gloucester, to visite in his newe honour the towne, of which he bare the name of old, deuised as he roade to fulfill that thyng which he before had intended. And forasmuch as his mynd gaue him that his nephewes liuynge, men woulde not recon that he coulde haue righte to the realme, he thoughte therefore without delaie to rid them, as though the killynge of his kynsmen mighte ende his cause, and make hym kyndely kyng. Where vpon he sent Ihon Grene, whom he specially trusted, vnto sir Robert Brakebury constable of the tower, with a letter and credece also, that the same sir Roberte in any wyse should put the two childre to death. This Ihon Grene dyd his errand to Brakenbury, knelynge before oure lady in the Towre, who plainly answered that he woulde neuer put them to deathe to dye therefore. With the which answere Grene returned, recomptyng the same to kynge Richard at Warwyke yet on his iourney, wherewith he toke suche displeasure and thoughte that the same night he sayde to a secrete page of his: Ah, whom shall a man truste: they that I haue brought vp my selfe, they that I went woulde haue moost surely serued me, euen those fayle me, and at my commaundemente wyll do nothynge for me. Syr quod the page, there lieth one in the palet chaumbre with out that I dare wel say, to do your grace pleasure the thing were right hard that he would refuse, meanyng this by Iames Tirel, which was a man of goodly personage, and for the giftes of nature worthy to haue serued a muche better prince, yf he had well serued God, and by grace obteyned to haue as muche trueth and good wyll, as he had strength and wytt. The man had an high harte and sore longed vpwarde, not risyng yet so fast as he had had hoped, beynge hindered and kepte vnder by sir Richarde Ratcliffe and sir Willyam Catesbye, which longyng for no more parteners of the Princes fauour, namely not for him, whose pride thei knewe woulde beare no pere, kept him by secrete driftes out of al secrete trust: which thynge this page had well marked and knowen: wherefore this occasion offered of very speciall frendship spied his tyme to set him forwarde, and suche wyse to do him good, that all the enemies that he had (except the deuil) could neuer haue done him so much hurte and shame, for vpon the pages woordes, kyng Richard arose (for this communicacion had he sittyng on a drafte, a conuenient carpet for suche a counsail) and came out into the palet chambre, where he dyd fynde in bed the sayd Iames Tyrell and sir Thomas Tyrell of persone like and brethren of bloude, but nothyng of kynne in condicions. Then sayd the kyng merely to them, what syrs, be you in bed so sone: and

called vp Iames Tyrell, & brake to him secretely his mynd in this mischeuous matter, in the which he found him nothing straunge. Wherfore on the morowe he sent him to Brakynbury with a letter by the which he was commaunded to delyuer to the sayd Iames all the keyes of the Towre for a night; to thende that he might there accomplishe the kynges pleasure in suche thynges as he there had geuen him in commaundement. After which lettre deliuered & the keyes receyued, Iames appoincted ỹ next night ensuyng to destroye them, deuisyng before and preparyng the meanes.

The prince assone as the Protectour toke vpon hym to be kynge, and left the name of protectoure, was thereof aduertised and shewed that he should not reigne, but his vncle should haue the croune. At which word the prince sore abashed beganne to sighe and sayd: Alas I would myne vncle would let me haue my life although I lese my kyngedome. Then he that tolde hym the tale vsed him with good woordes and put hym in the best comforte that he coulde, but furthewith he and his brother were bothe shut vp, and all other remoued from them, one called blacke Wyl, or Willyam Slaughter onely except, which were set to serue them, and iiii. other to see them sure. After whiche tyme, the prince neuer tyed his pointes, nor any thyng roughte of hym selfe, but with that young babe his brother lyngered in thoughte and heuines, tyll this trayterous dede deliuered them of that wretchednes.

For Iames Tirrel deuised that they shoulde be murthered in their beddes, and no bloud shed: to the execution wherof, he appoincted Myles Forest one of the foure that before kepte them, a felowe fleshe bred in murther before tyme: and to him he ioyned one Ihon Dighton his awne horsekeper, a bygge broade square and strong knaue. Then al the other beyng remoued from them, this Miles Forest and Ihon Dighton aboute mydnight, the sely children lyng in their beddes, came into ỹ chaubre and sodenli lapped them vp amongest the clothes and so bewrapped them and entangled them, kepyng downe by force the fetherbed and pillowes harde vnto their mouthes, that within a while they smored & stysled them, and their breathes failyng, they gaue vp to God their innocēt solles into the ioyes of heauen, leauyng to the tourmētours their bodies dead in the bed, which after the wretches perceyued, firste by the struglyng, with the panges of death, and after long liyng styl to be throughly dead, they layd the bodies out vpon the bed, and fetched Iames Tirrell to see them, which when he sawe them perfightly dead, he caused the murtherers to burye them at the stayre foote, metely deepe in the grounde vnder a great heape of stones.

King Edwardeschyldren murthered.

Then rode Iames Tirrel in great hast to kyng Richard, and shewed him all the maner of the murther, who gaue him great thankes, and as men saye, there made hym knighte, but he allowed not their buriall in so vile a corner, saiyng, that he would haue them buried in a better place because they were a kynges sonnes: Lo ỹ honorable courage of a king, for he would recompēce a detestable murther with a solempne obsequy. Wherupon a priest of sir Robert Brakenburies toke them vp & buried them in such a place secretely as by the occasion of his death (which was very shortely after) which onely knewe it, the very trueth could neuer yet be very wel and perfightly knowen. For some saye that kynge Richard caused the priest to take them vp and close them in lead and to put them in a coffyne full of holes boked at the endes with. ii. hokes of yron, and so to cast them into a place called the Blacke depes at the Themes mouth, so that they should neuer rise vp nor be sene agayn. This was ỹ very trueth vnknowē by reason that ỹ sayd priest died so shortly & disclosed it neuer to any person that would vtter it. And for a trueth, when sir Iames Tirrell was in the Towre for treason committed to kynge Henrye the seuenthe: bothe he and Dighton were examined together of this poincte, and both they confessed the murther to be done in the same maner as you haue hard, but whether the bodies were remoued, they bothe affirmed they neuer knewe. And thus as I haue learned of them that muche knewe and litle cause had to lye, where these two noble princes, these innocente tendre children, borne of the mooste royall bloude and brought vp in greate wealthe, likely longe to liue, to reigne and rule in the realme, by trayterous tirannye taken and depriued of their estate, shortely shut

vp

vp in prison and priuely slaine and murthered by the cruel ambicion of their vnnaturall vncle and his dispiteous tourmentours: whiche thynges on euery parte well pondered, God gaue this world neuer a more notable example, either in what vnsurety standeth this worldes weale, or what mischiefe worketh the proude enterprise of an highe harte, or finally, what wretched ende ensueth suche dispiteous crueltie. For fyrste to begynne with the ministers, Myles Forest, at sainct Martyns le graunde by pece meale miserably rotted awaye, Ihon Dighton lyued at Caleys long after, no lesse disdayned and hated then poincted at, and there dyed in great misery: But sir Iames Tyrrel was beheaded at the Towre hyll for treason; And kynge Richarde him selfe was slaine in felde hacked and hewen of his enemies handes, haried on a horsbacke naked beynge dead, his heere in dispite torne and tugged lyke a curre dogge. And the mischiefe that he toke with in lesse then thre yeres, of the mischiefe that he dyd in thre monethes be not comparable, and yet all the meane tyme spente in muche trouble and payne outwarde, and much feare, dread and anguishe within. For I haue harde by credible reporte of suche as were secrete with his chamberers that after this abhominable deed done, he neuer was quiet in his mynde, he neuer thought him selfe sure where he wente abroade, his body priuely feinted, his eyen wherled aboute, his hande euer on his dagger, his countenaunce and maner lyke alwaies to stricke againe, he toke euill reste on nightes, laye long wakyng and musyng, forweried with care and watche, rather slombred then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, sodeinly somtyme stert vp, leapte out of his bed and loked about the chambre, so was his restlesse harte continually tossed and tombled with the tedious impression and stormy remembraunce of his abhominable murther and execrable tyrannye.

The end of ỹ murtherers of kynge Edwards children.

From the beginnynge of King Edward the fifte: hereto, is of sir Thomas Mores penning.

KYNG Richard by this abominable mischyef & scelerous act thinkyng hym self well releuyd bothe of feare and thought, would not haue it kept counsaill but within a few daies caused it to ronne in a common rumor that ỹ. ii. chyldren were sodanlie dead, and to this entent as it is to be demyd that now, none heyre male beynge a line of kynge Edwardes body lawfully begotten ỹ people would be content with the more paciēt hart, & quiet mynd, to obey him & suffer his rule and gouernaunce: but when ỹ fame of this detestable facte was reueled, & deuulged through ỹ hole realme, ther fell generally, such a dolor & inward sorow into the hartes of all the people, that all feare of his crueltie set a syde, they in euery towne, streate, and place openlie wept, and piteously sobbyd. And when their sorowe was sumwhat mitigate, their inwarde grudge could not refrayne but crye out in places publike, and also priuate furiously saieng, what creature of all creatures ys so malicious and so obstinate an enemye either to God, or to christian religion, or to humayne nature, whiche woulde not haue abhorred, or at the lest absteyned from so miserable a murther of so execrable a tirānye. To murther a man is much odious, to kyll a woman, is in manner vnnatural, but to slaie and destroye innocent babes, & young enfantes, the whole world abhorreth, and the bloud from the earth crieth, for vengaunce to all mightie God. If the common people cried out, I assure you the frendes off the quene, and her children made no lesse exclamacion and complainte with loude voyce lamentable crienge and sayenge, a las what will he do to other that thus shamefully murdereth his awne bloud without cause or desert? whom, wyll he saue when he slaith the poore lambes committed to him in trust? now we se and behold ỹ the most cruel tyranny hath inuadyd the cōmon wealth, now we se that in him is neither hope of iustice nor trust of mercie but abundance of crueltie and thrust of innocente bloude. But when these newes wer first brought to the infortunate mother of the dead children yet being in sanctuary, no doubte but it strake to her harte, like the sharpe darte of death: for when she was first enformed of the murther of her. ii. sonnes, she was so sodainly amasyd with the greatnes of ỹ crueltie that for feare she sounded and fell doune to the ground, and there lay in a great agonye like to a deade corps. And after that she came to her memory and was reuyued agayne, she wept and sobbyd and with pitefull scriches she replenished the hole mancion, her breste she puncted, her fayre here she tare and pulled in peces & being ouercome with sorowe & pensiuenes rather desyred death then life, calling by

name diuers times her swete babes, accomptyng her self more then madde that she deluded by wyle and fraudulente promises delyuered her yonger sonne out of the sanctuarie to his enemye to be put to death, thinkynge that next the othe made to God broke, & the dewtie of allegiaunce toward her childre violated, she of all creatures in that poynete was most seduced and disceaued: After longe lamentacion, when she sawe no hope of reuengynge otherwyse, she knelyd downe and cried on God to take vengeaunce for the disceaytfull periurie, as who saide she nothyng mistrusted but once he would remember it. What ys he liuyng that if he remember and beholde these. ii. noble enfantes without deseruing, so shamefully murthered, that will not abhorre the fact, ye & be moued & tormented with pitie and mercie. And yet the worlde is so frayle and our nature so blynde that fewe be sturred with such examples, obliuiouslie. forgettynge, and littell considerynge, that oftentimes for the offences by the parentes perpetrate and committed, that synne is punished in their lyne and posterite. This chaunce might so happen to this innocet children, because king Edward ther father and parent offended in stayoyng his conscience: he made his solempne othe before ỹ gate of the citie of Yorke (as you haue harde before) and promised and sware one thing by his worde thinkyng cleane contrarie in his harte as after dyd appere. And afterward by the death of the duke of Clarence his brother, he incurred (of likelyehod) the great displeasure toward God. After this murther this perpetrated and that he had visited his towne of Gloucester which he for his old dignitie bothe loued and with ample liberties and priuileges endewed and decorated, he toke his iorney towarde the countie of Yorke, where the people abusyng his lawfull fauoure (as he bothe fauoured and trusted them in his hart) had of late presumed to attempte diuers routes and riottes cõtrarie to his lawes and enfrygnyng of his peace, and vppon hope of his mayntenaunce, were so elated that no lord were he neuer of so great power could either pacifie or rule them tyll the kyng hym selfe came personally thether to set a concorde and an vnitie in that countree and to bridell and rule the rude rusticall and blusteryng bolde people of that region, and so he by long iourneyinge came to the citie of Yorke where the citezens receyued hym with great pompe and triumphe, accordyng to ỹ qualities of their educacion and quantitie of there substaunce and habilitie, and made diuers daies playes and pageãtes in token of ioy and solace. Wherefore kyng Richard magnified and applauded of the northē nacion, & also to shewe hym self apparantlie before them in habyte royal with scepter in hande and diademe on his hed, made proclamacion that all persones should resorte to Yorke on the daie of the assencion of oure lorde where all men shoulde bothe beholde and se hym his quene and prince in there high estates and degrees and also for their good wylles, shoulde receyue many thankes, large benefites and munificente rewardes. At the daye apointed the hole clergie assembled in copes richely reuested and so with a reuerente ceremonie went aboute the citie in procession, after whome folowed the king with his croune and scepter apparelled in his circot robe royall accompaignied with no small nomber of ỹ nobilitie of his realme: after whom marched in order quene Anne his wife likewyse crouned ledinge on her lefte hande Prynce Edward her sonne hauyng on his hed a demy crowne appoyncted for the degree of a prince. The kyng was had in that triumphe in suche honour and ỹ common people of the northe so reioysed that they extolled and praysed hym far aboue the starres. After this solempne feaste and glorious pompe he kepte greate counsailles there, as well for the orderynge of the countree in tyme to come, as for the bridellynge and punyshinge of suche as there had mysgouerned them selfes: and farther of the gentilmen of that contrie, he augmented the nomber of hys domesticall ministers & seruauntes, in the which persones he put his whole trust & affiaunce. When all thynges were thus discreetly ordered, he returned by Nothyngha, and after came to London: whome more for dread then for loue, the Cytezens receaued in greate compaygnies. Thus kynge Richard by a new inuented crueltie and late practised tyrannye obteyned and grewe to high prayse and honoure, and then by the admiracion and iudgemente of the common multitude, he was moost estemed to be exalted into heauen, when he couertly had intelligẽce, that he was like to lose his estate and could by no meanes haue long contynuaunce in his vsurped power: for assuredly after the death of kynge

Edwards chyldren when any blusteringe wynde perelous thunder or terrible tempest, chansed or were apparantly like to happen: Sodainly the people hauinge in there freshe memorie the facinorous acte of there kynge and prince, wouldе openly cry and make vocyferacion that God dyd take vengaunce and punishe the pore Englishemen, for the cryme and offence of there vngracious kynge, whome they blamed, accursed and wysshed to haue extreme tortures. Although kynge Richard harde ofte of this slaunderous wordes and malicious saiynges and knewe wel by what persones they were spokē, yet he dirst not with strong hande be on the fyrste inuentours reuenged, knowing that some tyme it is no wisedome to refuse or disdaigne them that tell a ruler his deutie or declare to hym his mysbehauour toward the common wealthe or counsaill hym to amende and chaung his yll life. After this great felicitié, he fell again in to a great feare and pencuenes of mynde, and because he coulde by no meanes either correct or amend thinges that were passed, he determined by doyng his deutie in all thinges to his commons, to obliterate and put out of memorie that note of infamie with the whiche his fame was iustely spotted and stayned, and to cause the people to conceyue so good an opinion in him, that from thēce forth no calamyte nor trouble should be adiudged to happen to the commō wealth, either by his negligence or by his mysgouernance (although it is difficile and strange shortelie to tourne and plucke out suche qualities and vsages as haue of longe tyme ben cucorporate in a mans mynde and rooted in his maners and condicions.) Therfore whether it was for the performaunce of his former entent of amendement, or (as the common fame flew abrode) that he toke repentaunce of his myschenous actes and scelerate doynges, he tourned ouer the leffe, and began an order of a new life, and pretended to haue the name of a good and vertuous man, bi the reason that he shewed hymselfe more iuste, more meker, more familiar, more liberall (especially amongest the poore people) then before he had accustomed to do, and so by this meanes he firmelye trusted fyrst to obteyne of God forgeuenes of his offences and crymes, and after to leue and take away the enemye and inwarde grudge that the common people bare in their myndes towarde hym, and in conclusion, to obteigne their freudelye loue and assured fauour. He farthermore began and enterprised diuers thinges aswel publike as priuate, the which he beyng preuented by sodayne deathe dyd neither accomplishe nor bryng to conclusion, for he begon to founde a college of a hundreth prestes, which foundacion with the founder shortelye toke an ende. To please the common people also, he in his high courte of parlimente enacted dyuers and sondrie good lawes and profitable estatutes and in especiall one againste strangers and foren wrought wares, not to be transported in to this realme, which commodius acte for the common wealthe yf he had lyued he fullye purposed to haue auaunsed & set forwarde & put in execucion. But afterwarde euidentlie to all persones it appeared, that onely feare (whiche is not a maister long in office and in continual auctboritie) and not iustice, caused kynge Rycharde at that verie tyme to waxe better and amende his synnefull life, for shortelie the goodnes of the man whiche was but payncted and fraudulent, sodainlie wexed coulde and vanished awaie. And from thence forth not onely all his counsailles, doynges and procedynges, sodainlye decayed and sorted to none effecte: But also fortune beganne to froune and turne her whele douneward from him, in so much that he lost his onely begotten sonne called Edwarde in the. iij. moneth after he had created hym prince of Wales.

¶ THE. II. YERE.

ANd shortely after, The. ij. yere he was vnquieted by a conspiracye, or rather a confederacye betwene the duke of Buckyngham and many other gentlemen against him, as ye shall heare: But ỹ occasion why the duke and the kynge fell out, is of diuerse folke diuersely pretended. This duke as you haue harde before, assone as ỹ duke of Gloucester after ỹ death of kyng Edwarde was come to Yorke, and there had solempne funerall seruice done for kyng Edward sent to him a secret seruaunte of his called Persall, with such messages as you haue

haue harde before. And after the duke of Buckyngham came with. CCC. horse to Northampton and still continued with hym, as partener and chiefe organe of his deuices tyll after his coronacion, they departed to all semyng very frendes at Gloucester. From whence assone as the duke came home, he so highly turned from him and so highly conspired against him, that a man would marueill wherof the chaunge grewe in so shorte space. Some say this occasyon was, that a litle before the coronacion, the duke required the kynge amongest other thynges to be restored to the erle of Herfordes landes: And forasmuche as the tytle whiche he claymed by inheritaunce, was somewhat interlaced, with the tytle of Lancaster, whiche house made a title to the croune, and enioyed the same thre discentes, as all men knewe, tyll the house of Yorke depriued the third kynge, whiche was Henry the sixte, Kynge Richarde somewhat mistrusted and conceiued suche an indignacion, that he reiected the dukes request, with many spitefull, and minotary wordes, whiche so wounded the dukes harte with hatred and mistrust, that he could neuer after endure to loke right on king Richard but euer feared his awne lyfe, so farre foorth, that when the Protectoure should ryde to his coronacio, he feigned him self sycke, because he would do him no honoure. And the other taking it in euill part, sent him word to ryse and ryde or he wouldе make hym to be caried. Whereupon gorgeously apparelled, and sumptuously trapped with burnynge carte naues of golde embrodered, he roade before the kyng through Londō with an euill will and woorse harte. And that notwithstandynge, he rose the daye of the coronacion from the feast, feignyng him selfe sicke, which kyng Richard sayd was done in hate and spighte of him. And therefore men sayd that eche of them euer after lyued continually in such hatred and distrust of other, that the duke looked verely to haue bene murthered at Gloucester, from whiche he in fayre maner departed: but surely suche as were righte secrete with bothe, affirme all this to be vntrue and other wyse men thynke it vnlikely, the deepe dissimulyng nature of bothe these menne well considered. And what nede in that grene worlde the protectoure had of the duke, and in what perel the duke stoode yf he fell once in suspicion of that tyraunte, that either the protectour wouldе geue the dukе occasyon of displeasure, or the duke the protectour occasion of mystruste. And surely men thynke, that yf kyng Richard had any suche opinion conceyued in hym, he wouldе neuer haue suffered him to auoyd his handes or escape his power: but very true it is, that the duke of Buckyngham was an highe mynded man, and euill coulde beare the glory of another, so that I haue heard of some that saw it, that he at such tyme as the croune was set vpon the protectours hed, his eye could neuer abyde the sight therof, but wryed his hed another way: but men said he was not well at ease, and that was bothe to kynge Richard well knowen and well taken, nor any demaude of the dukes request vncurteously reiected, but gently deferred, but bothe he with great giftes and high behestes in mooste louynge and trustye maner departed from the kynge to Gloucester. Thus euery man iudged as he thought, but soone after his commyng home to Breckenocke, hauyng there by kyng Richardes commaudemēt doctor Mortō bishop of Ely, who before as you haue harde was taken at the counsaill at the towre, waxed with hym very familier, whose onely wysedome abused his pride, to his owne deliuerāce and the dukes distruction. The byshop was a man of greate naturall witte, very well learned and of honourable behauoour, lackyng no wyse wayes to wynne fauoure. He was fyrst vpon the parte of kyng Henry, whyle that parte was in wealthe, and neither lefte it nor forsoke it in no woo, but fled the realme with the quene and the prynce. And whyle king Edward had kynge Henry in prison, he neuer returned but to the felde at Barnet: After which felde lost and vtterly subdued and all parte takynges extynguished, kyng Edward for his fast fayth and wysedome as not onely contente to receyue hym, but also wooed him to come and had hym from thensforthe bothe in secrete truste and speciall fauoure, whom he nothynge deceyued. For he beynge after kynge Edwardes deathe fyrste taken by the tyraunte for his truethe to the kynge, founde the meane to set the duke in his toppe, and ioyned gentlemen together in ayde of the earle of Richemonde, whiche after was named kynge Henry the seuenth: Fyrste deuisyng the mariage betwene the lady Elizabeth daughter to kynge Edwarde the fourth, by

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the whiche his faithfull and true service declared to bothe his maisters at once, was an infinite benefite to the realme, by the coniunction of the bloudes of Lancaster and Yorke, whose funeral titles had longe iniquieted the realme. This man afterwarde escaped from the duke and fled the realme, and neuer returned, and went to Rome, neuer myndynge to medle with the worlde, tyll kynge Henry the seuenth sent for him, and after made hym Archebishop of Cauntorbury and Chauncelour of Englande, and after was made Cardinall, and liued well to all mens iudgementes and died well. But to retourne to the former purpose, he by the longe and often alternate proofe, as well of prosperitee as aduerse fortune, had gotten by greate experience the very mother and mastres of wisedome, and depe insighte in pollitike & worldly driftes, wherby perceiuyng now the duke to common with hym, fed hym with fayre woordes and many pleasaunte prayses, and perceiuynge by the grefe of their communicacions the dukes pryde nowe and then to balke out a lite brayde of enuy toward the glory of the kynge, and thereby felynge hym easye to fall out yf the matter were well handeled, he craftely sought the wayes to prycke him forward takynge alwayes the occasyon of his commyng, and also kepynge hym selfe close within his bandes that ire rather semed to folowe hym then to leade hym. For when the duke beganne fyrst to prayse and boast the kynge and shewe howe muche profite the realme shoulde take by his reigne; Byshop Morton aunswered, surely my lorde, folye it were for me to lye, for I am sure yf I woulde swere the contrarie ye would not once beleue me, but if the worlde woulde haue begonne as I would haue wyshed, that kynge Henries sonne had had the croune and not kynge Edwarde, then would I haue bene his true and faithfull subiecte, but after that God had ordeyned hym to lose it, and kynge Edwarde to reigne, I was neuer so madde with a dead man to striue against the quick, so was I euer to kyng Edward a faithfull and true chapeleyn and glad would haue bene that his children should haue succeded him, howbeit yf the secret iudgemēt of God haue otherwyse prouided, I purpose not to spurne against the pricke, nor labour to set vp that God pulleth doune. And as for the late protector and nowe kyng: and with that worde he lefte, sauynge that he sayd that he had already medled to much with the world and would from that day medle with his booke and beades, and no further. Then longed the duke sore to heare, what he would haue sayde, because he ended with the kyng, and there so sodainly stopped, and exhorted hym familierly, betwene them bothe to be bolde and to saye whatsoeuer he thoughte, whereof he faithefully promised there shoulde neuer come hurte, and paraduenture more good then he woulde were. And that he hym selfe entended to vse his faithefull secrete aduice and counsayle, whiche he sayd was the onely cause for the whiche he procured of the kynge to haue hym in his custodye, where he might recon hym self at home, or else he had bene put in the handes of them with whom he should not haue founde like fauour. The byshoppe right humblie thanked him and sayd in good faythe my lorde, I doue not muche to talke of princes as of a thyng not all out of perell, although the word be without faute, but yet it must be as it pleaseth y prince to construe it. And euer I thinke on Isopes tale, ywhen the Lyon had proclaymed that on paine of death there shoulde no horned beastes come into the woode, one beast that had a bouche of fleshe growing out of his heade, fled a great pace: the Foxe that sawe him flye with all the haste asked him whether he fled? In faith quod he, I neither wote ne recke, so I were once hence, because of the proclamacion made against horned beastes. What foole quod the foxe, the Lyon neuer ment it by the, for that whiche thou haste is no horne in thy heade. No mary quod he, I wote that well ynough, but yf he say it is a horne, where am I then? The duke laughed merely at the tale and said my lorde I warraunte you, neither the Lyon nor the bore shall pycke any matter at any thynge here spoken, for it shall neuer come nere their eares. In good faith, syr sayd the byshop, yf it dyd, the thyng that I was aboute to say taken aswell as before God I meute, it coulde deserue but thanke, and yet taken as I wene it woulde, might happen to turne me to lytle good and you to lesse.

Then longed the duke muche more to wete what it was, whereupon the bishop sayd. In good faith my lorde, as for the late protectoure, sith he is nowe kyng in possession I purpose

pose not to dispute his title, but for ỹ wealthe of this realme, wherof his grace hath nowe the gouernaunce, and wherof I my self am a poore membre, I was aboute to wishe that to those good abilities wherof he hath alredy right many, litle neadyng my prayse, yet might it haue pleased God for the better store to haue geuen hym some of suche other excellente vertues mete for the rule of the realme, as our lord hath planted in the person of your grace and there lefte of agayne. The duke somewhat marueluyge at his sodaine pauses as though they were but parentheses, with a high coũtenaunce saied: my lorde I euidentely perceyue and no lesse note your often breathyng and sodayne stoppynge in your cõmunicacion, so that to my intelligence your wordes neither come to any dyrect or perfect sentence in conclusiõ, wherby either I myght perceyue and haue knowlege what your inward entent is now toward the kyng, or what affeccion you beare toward me. For the comparyson of good qualities ascribed to vs bothe (for the which I my selfe knowlege and recognise to haue none, nor loke for no prayse of any creature for the same) maketh me not a lyttell to muse thinkynge that you haue some other preuie Imaginacion, by loue or by grudge engraued and emprinted in your harte, whiche for feare you dare not or for childeshe shamefastnes you be abashed to disclose and reuele, and especially to me beynge your frende, whiche on my honoure do assure you to be as secrete in this case as the deffe and dumme person is to the singer, or the tree to the hunter. The byshoppe beynge some what boulder, considerynge the dukes promyse, but moste of all animated and encouraged because he knewe the duke desyerous to be exalted and magnified, and also he perceyued the inwarde hatred and pryuie rancor whiche he bare towarde kyng Richarde, was nowe boldened to open his stomacke euẽ to the very bottome, entendyng thereby to compasse howe to destroye and vtterly confounde kynge Richarde, and to depryue hym of his dignitee royall, or els to sett the Duke so a fyer with the desyer of ambicion, that he hym selfe might be safe and escape out of all daunger and perell, which thinge he brought shortely to conclusion bothe to the kynges destruction and the Dukes confusion and to his awne sauegarde, and fynally, to his high promocion. And so (as I sayed before) vpon truste and confidence of the dukes promyse, the bishoppe saiede: my synguler good lorde sithe the tyme of my captiuitee, whiche beynge in your graces custodie I maye rather call it a liberall libertie more then a straight emprysonmente, in a voydynge ydelnes mother and norisher of all vices, in redyng bookes and aunciente pamphletes I haue found this sentence wrytten, that no man is borne fre and in libertie of him selfe onely, for one part of duetie he oweth or shoulde owe to his parentes for his procreacion by a very naturall instincte and filiall curtesie: another parte, to his frendes and kynsfolke, for proximitie of bloude and naturall amitie dothe of verie dewtie chalenge and demaunde: But the natiue countrye in the which he tasted fyrste the swete ayers of this pleasaunte and flatteryngе worlde after his natiuitie, demaũdeth as a debt by a natural bonde neither to be forgotten nor yet to be put in obliuion, whiche saiynge causeth me to consider in what case this realme my natiue countrye now standeth, and in what estate and assueraunce before this tyme it hathe contynued: what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler we myghte haue, for I plainely perceyue the realme beynge in this case muste nedes decaye and be broughte to vtter confusion and fynall exterminion: But one hope I haue encorporate in my breaste, that is, when I consider and in my mynde do diligentely remember, and dayly beholde your noble personage, your iustice, and indifference, your feruente zele and ardente loue towarde your natural contray, and in lyke maner ỹ loue of your contrie towarde you, the greate learnynge, pregnaunte witte and goodly eloquence, whiche so muche dothe abounde in the persone of your grace, I muste nedes thynke this realme fortunate, ye twyse more then fortunate, whiche hath suche a prynce in store, mete and apte, to be a gouernoure in whose persone beynge endued with so many princely qualities consisteth and resteth the very vndoubted similitude and image of trew honoure. But on the other syde when I call to memorie the good qualites of the late protectour and nowe called kynge, so violated and subuerted by tyrannye, so chaunged & altered by vsurped auctho̅ritee, so clouded and shadowed by blynde and insaciable ambicion, ye and so sodainlye (in maner

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by a metamorphosis) transformed from politike ciuilitie, to detestable tyrannie: I must nedes saie and iustlie affirme, that he is neither mete to be a kynge of so noble a realme, nor so famous a realme mete to be gouerned by suche a tyraunte: Was not his firste interprise to obtaine the crowne begonne and incepted by the murther of diuers noble valiaunt trewe and vertuous personages: O a holy begynnyng to come to a mischeuous endyng, dyd he not secondarelie procede contrarie to all lawes of honestie, shamefully agaynst his awne naturall mother, beyng a womā of much honour, and more vertew, declarying her openlie to be a woman geuen to carnall affection, and dissolute liuinge (whiche thynge yf it had bene trewe as it was not in dede, euery good and naturall child would haue rather mummed at, then to haue blasted a broade and especially she beyng a lyue.) Declarynge farthermore his ii. brethren and his. ii. nephewes to be bastardes, and to be borne in auoutrey, yet not whith all this contente. After that he had obteyned the garlande for the which he so longe thristed, he caused the two poore innocēs his nephewes committed to hym, for especiall truste, to be murthered and shamefully to be kylled. The bloud of whiche sely and lyttel babes dayly crye to God, from the earthe for vengaunce. Alas my harte sobbith, to remember this bloudy boucher and cruel monster, what suretie shall be in this realme to any person, other for life or goodes vnder suche a cruell prynce, whyche regardeth not the destruction of his awne bloude, and then lesse the losse of other. And most especially as oftentymes it chaunceth, where a couetous or a cruell prince taketh suspicion, the smaleste, swaruynge that is possible (yf the thynge be mysconstered) maye be the cause of the destruction of many gyltles persones: and in especiall of noble and wealthy personages hauynge greate possessions and riches: Suche a lorde is Lucifer when he is entred into the harte of a proude prynce, geuen to couetousnes and crueltie. But nowe my lorde to conclude what I meane towarde your noble persone, I saye and affirme, yf you loue God, your lynage, or youre natyue contrye, you muste yower selfe take vpon you the Crowne and diademe of thys noble empyre, bothe for the mayntenauns of the honoure of the same (whiche so longe hath floreshed in fame and renowne) as also for the delyueraunce of youre naturall countrey men, from the bondage and thraldome (worse then the captiuitie of Egypte) of so cruell a tiraunt and arrogante oppressor. For thus I dare saye, yf any foren prynce or potentate, ye the Turcke hym selfe woulde take vppon hym the regiment here and the crowne, the commons woulde rather admit and obey hym, then to lyue vnder suche a bloud supper and child kyller: but how muche more ioyfull and glad would they be to lyue vnder your grace, whome they all knowe to be a ruler mete and conuenient for them, and they to be louing and obedient subiectes mete to lyue vnder suche a gouernour: dispise not, nor forsake not so manifeste occasion so louingly offered. And yf you your self knowing the payne and trauaill that apperteyneth to the office of a kynge, or for any other consideracion, will refuse to take vpon you the crowne and scepter of this realme: Then I adiure you by ỹ faithe that you owe to God, by your honour and by your othe made to Saincte George patron of the noble ordre of the gartier (whereof you be a compaignion) and by the loue and affection that you beare to your natiue contrey and the people of the same, to deuise some waie how this realme now being in miserie may by your high discrecion and pryncely policie, be brought and reduced to some suertie and conueniente regiment vnder some good gouernour by you to be excogitate: for you are ỹ verye patron, the only helpe, refuge, and conforte for the poore amased and desolate commons of this realme. For yf you could either deuise to sett vp again the linage of Lancaster or auaunce the eldest doughter of kynge Edward to some highe and puyssaunte prince, not onely the newe crowned kynge shall small tyme enioy the glorie of his dignitie, but also all ciuile warr should cease, all domesticall discorde should slepe, and peace, profite and quietnies should be set forth and embrased. When the bishoppe had thus ended his saiyng, ỹ duke sighed and spake not of a great while, which sore abashed the bishop and made hym chaunge couler: which thing when the duke apperceiued, he saide be not afrayde my lorde, all promyses shall be kept, to morow we wyl cōmon

more: let vs go to supper, so that night they commoned no more, not a litle to the iniquietacion of the bishoppe, whiche nowe was euen as desirous to knowe the dukes mynde and entent, as the duke longed the daye before to knowe his opinion and meanyng. So the nexte daie, the duke sent for the byshoppe and rehersed to hym in maner (for he was bothe wyttie and eloquente) all the communicacion had betwene them before, and so paused a while, and after a lytle ceason puttyng of his bonett he sayde: O lorde God creator of all thinges howe muche is this realme of Englande and the people of the same bounden to thy goodnes, for where we now be in vexacion and trouble with greate stormes oppressed saylyng and tossyng in a desperate shippe without good maister or gouernour: but by thy healp good lord I trust or long tyme passe that we shall prouyde for such a ruler as shalbe both to thy pleasure, and also to the securite and saueguarde of this noble realme. And then he put on his bonett saiynge to the byshoppe, my lord of Ely whose trewe harte and syncere affeccion towarde me at all tymes, I haue euidentlie perceyued and knowen, and nowe moste of all in our last preuie cõmunicacion and secrete deuisynge, I must nedes in hart thinke and with mouthe confesse and saie, that you be a sure frende, a trustye counsailour, a vigilante foresear, a very louer of your countrey, a naturall countreyman: for whiche kyndnes for my parte, I moste louynglye render to you my hartye thankes nowe with wordes: hereafter trustyng to recompence and remunerate you with dedes, yf life and power shall serue. And sithe at our last communicacion, you haue disclosed, and opened, the very secrets and priuities of your stomacke, touchinge the duke of Gloucester nowe vsurper of the crowne, and also haue a littel touched the auauncemẽt of the. ii. noble famelyes of Yorke & Lancaster: I shall likewyse not onely declare and manifeste vnto you, all my open actes, attemptes and doynges, but also my preuie ententes, and secrete cogitacions. To the entent that as you haue vnbuckeled your bogett of your preuie meanynges, and secrete purposes to me: so shall all my clowdy workynge, close deuises, and secrete imaginacions, be (as clere as the some) reueled, opened, and made lightesome to you. And to begione, I declare: that when kynge Edwarde was disseased, to whom I thought my self littel or nothinge beholden, (all thoughe we. ii. had maried two systers) because he neither promoted nor preferred me, as I thoughte I was worthy & had deserued, nether fauored nor regarded me, accordyng to my degree and byrthe: For surely I had by hym lytle auctho[r]itee, and lesse rule, and in effecte nothynge at all: which caused me the lesse to fauor his children, because I founde small humanitie, or none in there pareute. I then began to studie, and with mature deliberacion, to ponder and consyder, howe & in what maner this realme shoulde be ruled and gouerned. And fyrste I remembred an olde prouerbe worthy of memorye, that often ruithe the realme, where chyldren rule, and women gouerne. This olde adage so sancke, and settelled in my heade, that I thought it a great errour, and extreme myschyefe to the hole realme, either to suffer the younge kynge to rule, or the quene his mother to be a gouernour ouer hym, consyderynge that her brethrene, and her fyrst children (all thoughe they were not extracte of highe and noble lynage) toke more vpon them, and more exalted them selues by reason of the quene, then dyd the kynges brethrene, or any duke in his realme: Which in conclusion turned to there confusion. The I being persuaded whith my self in this poynete, thought it necessarie bothe for the publique and profitable welthe of this realme, and also for myne awne commoditie and emolumente, to take parte with the duke of Gloucester: Whome I assure you I thoughte to be as cleane withoute dissimulacion, as tractable withoute iniurie, as mercifull with oute crueltie, as nowe I knowe hym perfectely to be a dissembler withoute veritie, a tyraunte without petie, yea and worse then the tyraunte phaleres, destitute of all trutghe and clemencie: And so by my meanes, at the fyrste counsaill holden at London, when he was most suspected of that thynge that after happened, (as you my lorde knowe well ynough) he was made Protectoure and defender, bothe of the kynge and of the realme, whiche auctho[r]ite once gotten, and the two chyldren partelie by policie broughte vnder his gouernaunce, he beynge

beynge moued with that gnawynge and couetous serpēt, desyered to reigne and neuer ceased priuelie to exhorte and require (yea & some tymes with minatorie termes) to persuade me and other lordes aswell spirituall as temporall, that he myghte take vpon hym the crowne, tyll the prynce came to the age of foure and twenty yeres, and were able to gouerne the realme, as a mature and sufficient kynge: Whiche thynge when he sawe me somewhat stycke at, both for the straungenes of the example (because no such presidente had bene sene) and also because we remembred that men once ascended to the highest type of honour and auctoritee wil not gladlie discende agayn, he then brought in instrumētes, autentike doctoures, proctoures, and notaries of the lawe, with deposicions of diuers wytnesses, testifieng kyng Edwards children to be bastardes, which deposicions then I thought to be as trewe, as now I knowe them to be fayned, and testifyed by persones with rewardes vntruelye subornate. When the saide deposicions, were before vs redde and diligently harde, he stoode vp bare hedded saiyng: Wel my lordes, euen as I & you sage & discrete counsailers woulde that my nephewe should haue no wronge: So I praye you do me nothynge but righte. For these witnesses and saiynges of famous doctors beyng trew, I am onely the vndubitate heire to lord Richard plantagenet duke of Yorke, adiudged to be the very heire to the crowne of this realme by auctoritee of parliamente, whiche thinges, so by learned men to vs for a verite declared, caused me and other to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted prince and souereigne lord. For well we knew ȳ the duke of Clarence sonne, by reason of the attaynder of his father was disabled to inherite, and also ȳ duke hym self was named to be a bastarde, as I my selfe haue harde spoken, and that vpon greate presumpcions more tymes then one: so agayn by my ayde and fauour, he of a protectour was made a kyng, and of a subiecte made a gouernour, at which tyme he promysed me on his fidelite, laiyng his hand in myne at Baynarde Castel, that the. ii. young princes should lyue, and that he would so prouide for them, and so maintaine them in honorable estate, ȳ I and all the realme ought and should be content. But when he was once crowned king, and in full possession of the hole realme, he cast a way his old cōdicions as ȳ adder doeth her skynne, vereſieng ȳ old prouerbe, honoures chaunge maners, as the parishe prest remembreth that he was neuer parishe clerck. For when I my self sued to him for my part of the Earle of Hartfordes landes whiche his brother kynge Edwarde wrongefully deteyned and with holde from me, and also required to haue the office of the highe constable shyppe of Englande, as diuers of my noble aunceters before this tyme haue had, and in longe discente continued. In thys my fyrste suyte shewynge his good mynde towarde me, he dyd not onely fyrste delaye me, and afterwarde denay me, but gaue me suche vnkynde woordes, with suche tauntes and retauntes ye in maner checke and checke mate to the vttermooste profe of my pacience. As though I had neuer furthered him but hyndered him as though I had put him downe and not sett hym vp: yet all these vngratitudes and vndeserued vnkyndnes I bare closlye & suffered pacientelie and couerdly remembred, owtwardely dissimulynge that I inwardelie thoughte, and so with a payncted countenaunce I passed the laste summer in his last compaignie, not without many faier promyses, but without any good dedes. But when I was credibly enformed of the death of the. ii. younge innocentes, his awne natural nephewes contrarie to his faith and promyse, to the whiche God be my iudge I neuer agreed nor condiscended. O lord, how my veynes panted, how my body trembled, and my harte inwardely grudged, in so muche that I so abhorred the sighte and much more the compaignie of hym, that I coulde no lenger abyde in his courte, excepte I shoulde be openly reuenged. The ende wherof was doutfull, and so I fayned a cause to departe, and with a mery countenaunce and a dispiteful harte I toke my leaue humbly of hym (he thinkynge nothynge lesse then that I was displeased) and so returned to Brecknock to you. But in ȳ iourney as I returned whyther it were by the inspiracion of the holy ghost, or by Melancolous disposicīō, I had diuers and sundrie imaginacions howe to depriue this vnnatural vncle, and bloudy butcher, from his royall seate, and princely dignitie. Fyrst I Fantesyed that yf I list to take vpon me the crowne, and imperiall scepter of the

realme, now was the tyme propice and conuenient. For now was the waie made plaine, and the gate opened, and occasiō geuen, whiche now neglected, should paraduenture neuer take suche effecte and conclusion. For I sawe he was disdaigned of the lordes temporall, execrate and accursed of the lordes spiritual, detested of all gentilmen, and despised of all the communaltie: So that I saw my chaunce as perfectely as I sawe my awne Image in a glasse, that there was no person (yf I had ben gredy to attempte the enterprise) could nor should haue wone the ring or got the gole before me. And on this poyncte I rested in imaginacion secretely ẘ my self. ii. daies at Tewkesberie. And from thence so iornyeng I mused & thoughte ẏ it was not best nor cōueniēt to take vpō me as a cōquerour, for then I knewe that all mē & especially the nobilitee, would with all their power with stande me, bothe for rescuyng of possessions & tenours, as also for subuertyng of ẏ hole estat lawes and customes of the realme: Suche a power hath a conquerour as you know well ynough my lord. But at the last, in all this doutfull case ther sprang a new braunche out of my hed, which suerly I thought should haue broughte forthe fayer flowers, but the sonne was so hotte that they turned to drye wedes, for I sodainly remembred that lord Edmond duke of Somersett my grandfather was with kynge Henrye the sixte in the. ii. and. iii. degrees from Ihon duke of Lancaster lawefully begotten: So that I thought sure my mother being eldest doughter to duke Edmonde, that I was nexte heyre to kynge Henry the sixte of the house of Lancaster. This title pleased well suche as I made priuye of my counsaill, but much more it encorraged my foulishe desyer, and eleuated my ambicious entente, in so muche that clerely iudged, and in myne awne mynd was determynatly resolued, ẏ I was indubitate heyre, of the house of Lancaster, and there vpon concluded, to make my fyrst foundacion, and erecte my newe buyldinge. But whyther God so ordeyned, or by fortune it so chaunced, while I was in a mase, other to conclude sodaynlie on this title, and to sett it open a mongeste the common people, or to kepe it secrete a while, se the chaunce: as I rode betwene worceter and brigenorthe, I encountered with the ladye Margariete, countesse of Richemonde, nowe wyfe to the lorde Stanley, whiche is the very daughter and sole heyre, to lorde Ihon duke of Somersett my grandfathers elder brother. Whiche was as cleane out of my mynde as though I had neuer sene her, so that she and her sonne the Earle of Richemonde be bothe bulwarcke and portecolice betwene me, and the gate, to entre into the maiestie royall and gettynge of the crowne. And when we had commoned a litle concernyng her sonne, as I shall shewe you after, and were departed she to oure ladie of worceter, and I towarde Shrewsberie: I then newe chaunged and in maner amased, began to dispute with my selfe, litle considerynge that thus my earnest title was turned euen to a tittyl not so good as, *est amen*. Eftsones I imagened whyther I were beste to take vpon me, by the eleccion of the nobilite and commonaltie, whiche me thoughte easy to be done the vsurpor kynge thus beynge in hatred and abhorred of this hole realme, or to take it by power, which standeth in fortunes chaunce and difficile to be acheued and broughte to passe. Thus romblynge and tossynge, in the waues of ambiguitie, betwene the stone and sacrafice, I considered fyrste the office, deutie and payne of a kyng, which surely thinke that no mortal man can iustely, and truely obserue, excepte he be called elected and specially appoyncted by God as kynge Dauid and diuers other haue been. But farther I remembred that yf I once toke on me the scepter, and the gouernaunce of the realme: That of two extreme enemies I was dayly sure, but of one trusty frend (which nowe a daies begone a pilgrymage) I was nether assuered nor credible asserteyned (suche is the worldes mutacion) for I manifestely perceiued that the daughters of kynge Edwarde and there alies, and frendes, whiche be no small nomber, beynge bothe, for his sake muche beloued, and also for the great inurie and manifeste tyrannye done to them, by the newe vsurper, muche lamented, and pitied, woulde neuer cease to barcke yf they cannot byte at the one syde of me. Semblable my cousyne therle of Rychemonde, his aydes and kynsfolke, whiche be not of lyttell power, wyll surelye attempte lyke a fierce grandhounde, other to byte or to perce me on the other syde. So that my lyfe and rule, should euer hange by a heare, neuer

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in quiete, but euer in doubte of deathe or deposicion. And yf the said. ii. linages of Yorke and Lancaster, which so longe haue stryued for the imperiall Diademe should ioyne in one against me, then were I suerly mated and the game gotten. Wherefore I haue clerely determined, and with my selfe cōcluded, vtterly to relinquishe all suche fantasticall imaginacions concernynge the obteynynge of the croune. But all such plagues, calamities and troubles (which I feared and suspected) myght haue chanced on me yf I had taken the rule & reginente of this realme, I shall with a reredemayne so make them rebounde to our cōmen enemye that calleth hym selfe kynge, that the beste stopper that he hath at tenyce shall not well stoppe without a faulte: for as I tolde you before, the countesse of Richemonde in my returne from the newe named kyng metyng me in the high way, praied me fyrste for kinred sake, secondarily for the loue that I bare to my grādfather duke Humfrey, whiche was sworne brother to her father, to moue the kynge to be good to her sonne Henry erle of Richemōd, and to licence him with his fauor to returne again into England: and yf it were his pleasure so to do, she promised that the erle her sonne should mary one of kyng Edwardes daughters at the appointement of the kyng, without any thing to be taken or demaunded for the saide espousals, but onely the kynges fauour, whiche request I sone ouer passed and gaue her fayre wordes & so departed. But after in my lodgyng, when I called to memorie with a deliberate studie & dyd circumspectely ponder them, I fully adiudged ŷ the holy ghost caused her to moue a thynge (the ende wherof she coulde not consider) bothe for the securitie of the realme as also for the prefermente of her childe and the destruccion and finall confusion of the common enemye kyng Richarde. Whiche thing she neither then thought I am sure as I by her wordes coulde make coniecture, nor I my selfe cast not her desyer to be so profitable to the realme as I now do perceiue, but suche a lord is God, that with a litle sparcle he kyndelith a great fyer, & so fynally to declare to you the very conclusion to thewhich I am both bent and sette, my mynde is and my power and purse shall helpe, that ŷ erle of Richemond very heyre of the house of Lancaster (in the querell of the which linage, both my father and grand father lost ther lyues in battayle) shall take to wife lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward by the whiche mariage bothe the houses of Yorke and Lancaster maye be obteyned and vnite in one, to the clere stablyshement of the title to the crowne of this noble realme. To which conclusion if the mothers of bothe parties and especially the erle hym selfe, and the ladye wyll agre, I doubte not but the braggynge bore, which with his tuskes raiseth euery mans skyn, shall not onely be brought to confusion as he hath deserued but that this empire shall euer be certaine of an vndubitate heyre, and then shall all ciuile and intestyne war cease, whiche so longe hath continued to the paring of many mēs crownes, and this realme shalbe reduced agayne to quietnes renourie and glorie. This inuencion of the duke many men thought after, that it was more imagened for the inward hatred that he bare to kynge Rycharde, then for any fauor that he bare to the erle of Rychemond. But of such doubtfull matter, it is not best to iudge for erryng to farre from the mynde and entent of the auctor: But whatsoeuer he entended this deuice once opened to kyng Rychard was the very occasion, ŷ he was rounded shorter by the whole head, without attaynder or iudgement. When the duke had sayd, the bishop, which fauored euer the house of Lancaster, was wonderous ioyfull, and muche reioysed to here this deuice, for nowe came the wynde about euen as he would haue it, for all hys imaginaciō tēded to this effect to haue kyng Richard subdued, & to haue ŷ lynes of king Edward, & kyng Herȳ ŷ. vi. again raysed and auaunsed. But lord how he reioysed to thynke how ŷ by this mariage the linages of Yorke & Lancaster should be conioyned in one, to the very stedfastnes of the publique wealthe of this realme. And lest the dukes courage should swage, or hys mynd should agayne alter, as it did oftē before, as you may easely perceiue by his awne tale. He thought to set vp all the sayles that he had, to the entēt that ŷ ship of hys pretensed purpose myghte come shortly to some suer port: And sayd to the duke, my lord, sigh by Gods hygh prouision and youre incōparable wysedome and pollicie, this noble coniunction is fyrste moued, nowe is it conueniente, ye and neces-

sarie to consider, what personages and what frendes we shall fyrste make preuie of this highe deuice and politicke conclusion. By my truthe quod the duke we wyll begyne with my ladye of Rychemonde therles mother whiche knowethe where he is, either in captiuitie or at large in Brytaine. For I harde saie that ỹ duke of Brytaine restored him to libertie immediately after the death of kyng Edward, by whose meanes he was restrayned. Syth yow wyl begyn that way (said ỹ byshop). I haue an old frend with ỹ countesse, a mā sobre, secrete, & well wytted called Reignold Bray whose prudēt policie I haue knowē to haue cōpassed thīges of great importance, for whom I shall secretly send yf it be your pleasure, & I doubt not he wyll gladly come, & ỹ with a good wyll. So with a lyttel diligence, the byshop wrote a letter to Reignold Bray requyrynge hym to come to Brecknocke with spede for great and vrgente causes touchynge his mairtresse: & no other thing was declared in the letter. So the messenger rode into Lancashire where Bray was with the cōtesse & lord Thomas Stanley her husbād, & deliuered the letter, which when he had red, he toke it as a signe or presage of some good fortune to come, & so with ỹ messenger he came to the Castel of Brecknock, where ỹ duke and the byshop declared what thing was deuised both for to set ỹ realme in a quiet stedefastnes, as also for ỹ high preferment of ỹ earle of Richemond sonne to his lady & maistresse: Willyng her fyrst to cōpasse how to obteyne ỹ good will of quene Elizabeth, & also of her eldest daughter bearing ỹ same name: & after secretli to send to her sonne into Britaine to declare what high honour was prepared for hym if he would sweare to mary ỹ lady Elizabeth as soone as he was kyng & in royal possesion of the realme. Reignold Bray w a glad hart for gettyng nothing geuen to hym in charge in great hast and with good sped retourned to the countesse his lady and mastresse. Whē Bray was departed & this great doubtfull vessell once sett a broche, the bishop thrustyng for nothing more then for lybertie: whē he sawe the duke pleasaunt and well mynded, toward hym he told the duke that yf he were in his yle of Elye he could make many frendes to ferther their enterpryse, and yf he were there and had but. iiii. daies warning he lyttell regarded the malice of king Richard, his country was so strong. The duke knew well all this to be trew, but yet lothe he was that the byshop should departe, for he knew well that as long as the bishop, was with him, he was sure of politique aduise, sage counsayl, and circumspect proceding. And so he gaue the byshop fayre wordes, saiyng that he should shortely departe and that well accompaigned for feare of enemyes. The byshop beiyng as wyttye as the duke was wylie, dyd not tarie tyll ỹ dukes compaignie were assembled, but secretlie disguysed in a nyghte departed (to the dukes great displeasure) and came to his see of Ely, where he found monye and frendes and so sailed into Flaunders, where he dyd the earle of Richemonde good seruice and neuer retourned agayne tyll the erle of Richemonde after beynge kyng, sent for hym, and shortely promoted him to the see of Cauntorbury. Thus the bishop wound him self frō the duke when he had moste nede of his ayde, for yf he had taried still ỹ duke had not made so many blabbes of his counsaill, nor put so muche confidens in the Welshmen, nor yet so temerariously set forward with out knowlege of his frendes as he did, which thynges were his sodanie ouerthrowe as they that knewe it dyd reporte.

When Reignold Bray had declared his message, and preuie instruction to the countesse of Richemonde his mastres, no merueill though she were ioyous and glad, both of the good newes and also for ỹ obteynyng of suche a high frende in her sonnes cause as the duke was, wherfore she wyllyng not to slepe this matter, but to farther it to the vttermost of her power & abilitie, deuised a meanes how to breake this matter to quene Elizabeth then being in sanctuarie at Westminster. And there vpon she hauynge in her familie, at that tyme for the preseruacion of her healthe a certayne Welsheman called Lewes learned in phisicke, whiche for his grauitie and experiens, was weil knowen and much estemed amongest great estates of the realme: with whome she vsed somtyme liberally and familiarlye to talke, nowe hauynge opportunitie and occasion to breake her mynde vnto him of this weightie matter,

declared that the tyme was come that her sonne shoulde be ioyned in mariage with lady Elizabeth daughter & heyre to king Edward, and that king Richard being take & reputed of all men for the cõmon enemye of the realme, shoulde out of all honour and estate be dejected, and of his rule and kyngedome be clerely spoyled & expulsed: and required him to goo to quene Elizabeth (with home in his facultie he was of counsaill) not as a messenger, but as one that came frendelie to visite and consolate her, and as tyme and place should require to make her preuie of this deuise, not as a thig cõcluded, but as a purpose by him imagened. This phisician did not long lynger to accomplish her decaye, but with good diligens repaired to the quene beinge stil in the sanctuary at Westminster. And when he saw tyme propice & conuenient for his purpose, he saide vnto her, Madame, although my imaginacion be verie simple and my deuyce more folishe, yet for the entier affection that I beare toward you and your childrē, I am so bold to vttre vnto you a secrete & preuie cõceite that I haue cast & compassed in my fantasticall brayne. When I well remembre and no lesse considre the greate losse and damage that you haue susteyned by the death of your noble and louyng husband, and the great dolour and sorowe that you haue suffred and tollerated by the cruell murther of your innocent children: I can no lesse do both of bounden deutie and christian charite, then daily to studie and hourely ymagen not onely howe to bryng your harte to comforte and gladnes, but also deuyse howe to reuenge y righteous quarel of you and your children on that bloudy bloodsupper and cruell tyraunte kyng Richarde. And firste considre, what battaile, what manslaughter, what mischiefe hath risen in this realme by the dissencion betwene the. ii. noble houses of Yorke and Lancaster, which. ii. families (as I haue contryued) if they may be ioyned in one, I thinke, ye & doubt not but your line shal be again restored to the pristinate estate and degree to your great ioye and comfort, and to the vttre confusion of your mortall enemie the vsurper kynge. You know very well madame, that of the house of Lancaster, the erle of Richemond is next of blood, which is lyuynge and a lusty young batcheler, and to the house of Yorke your daughters nowe are heires: if you coulde agree & inuent the meane how to couple your eldest daughter with the young erle of Richemõd in matrimony, no doubt but the vsurper of the realme should be shortly deposed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

When the quene had heard this frendly mocion (which was as far from her thought as the man that the rude people say is in the moone) lorde howe her spirits reuyued, and how her hearte lept in her body for ioye and gladnes. And firste geuynge lawde to almightie God as the chiefe auethore of her comfort, secondarely to maister Lewes as the deuiser of the good newes and tydinges, instantely besought him that as he had bene the first inuẽter of so good an enterprise, that now he would not relinquishe nor desiste to folowe the same: requirynge him farther (because he was apperteynynge to the countesse of Richemonde mother to the erle Henry) that he would with all diligente celerite resorte to her then lodgyng in her husbandes place within the cyte of London, and to declare on the Quenes behalfe to the countesse, that all the frendes and fautoures of kyng Edward her husbande, should assiste and take parte with the earle of Richemonde her sonne, so that he would take a corporall othe after the kyngedome obteyned to espouse and take to wife the ladye Elizabeth her daughter, or els lady Cecile, yf theldest daughter were not then lynynge.

Master Lewes with all dexteritee so sped his busynes that he made and concluded a finall ende and determinacion of this entreprise betwene the. ii. mothers, and because he was a phisician and oute of al suspicion and mysdemynge, he was the common currer and daylye messenger betwene theim, aidynge and setting forth the inuented conspiracye againste kynge Richard. So the ladye Margarete countesse of Richemonde brought into a good hope of the preferment of her sonne made Reygnolde Braie her moost faithefull seruaunte chiefe soliciter and preuie procurer of this conspiracie, geuynge him in charge secretly to enuegle and attracte suche personnes of nobilite to ioyne with her and take her parte as he knew to be ingenious, faythefull, diligent and of actiuitie. This Reygnolde Breie within fewe daies broughte vnto his lure (firste of all taking of euery person a solempne

othe

othe to be true and secrete) sir Gyles Daubenei, sir Thon Cheiney knight, Richard Guylforde and Thomas Rame esquyers and diuerse other. The countesse of Richemonde was not so diligent for her parte, but Quene Elizabeth was as vigilaunte on the other syde and made frendes and appoyncted councelers to set forwarde and anaunce her busynes. In the meane ceason the countesse of Richemond toke into her seruice Christopher Vrswike an honest and a wise priest, and after an othe of hym for to be secret taken and sworne she vttred to him all her mynde & councell, adhibityng to him the more confidence and truth that he al his life had fauoured and taken part with kyng Henry the. vi. and as a special iuell put to her seruice by sir Lewes her physician. So the mother studious for ỹ prosperitie of her sonne appointed this Christopher Vrswike to saile into Britayne to the erle of Richemond and to declare and to demonster to him all pactes & agremẽtes betwene her and the quene agreed & concluded: But sodainly she remẽbryng that the duke of Buckyngh̃ was one of the first inuẽters and a secrete founder of this entreprise, determined to sende some personage of more estimaciõ then her chapelain, and so elected for a messenger Hugh Conwey esquier and sent hym into Britayne with a great some of money to her sonne, geuing him in charge to declare to ỹ erle the great loue & especiall fauour ỹ the most parre of the nobilite of the realme bare toward him, the louyng hartes & benenolent myndes which the whole commialtie of their awne frewill frankely offred and liberally exhibited to him willing & aduisynge him not to neglect so good an occasion apparantly offred, but with al spede & diligence to addicte & settle his mynde and full entencion how to retourne home againe into England where he was both wished & looked for, geuynge him farther monicion & councell to take land & arriuall in ỹ principalite of Wales, where he should not doubt to fynde bothe aide, comforte and frẽdes. Richard Guylford least Hugh Conwey might fortune to be takẽ or stopped at plimmoth, where he intẽded to take his nauigacion, sent out of kent Thomas Rame with the same instruccios: & both made such diligence and had suche wynde and wether, ỹ one by land from Caleys, and the other by water from plimmoth, that within lesse then an houre bothe arriued in the duke of Britaynes courte and spake with the erle of Richemond, which from the death of kyng Edward went at his pleasure and libertie, and to him counted and manifested the cause and effecte of their message and ambassade. When the earle had receaued this ioyefull message, whiche was the more pleasaunte because yt was vnloked for, he rendred to Iesu his sauiour his mooste humble and hearty thankes, beynge in ferme credence and beleue that such thynges as he with busy mynde and laborious entente had wished and desyred, coulde neuer haue taken any effect withoute the helpe and prefermente of almighty God. And now beynge put in comfort of his long longynge he dyd communicate and breake to the duke of Britayne all his secretes and preuy messages whiche were to hym declared, aduertisynge hym that he was entred into a sure and a stedfaste hope to obteyne and get the crowne and kyngedome of the realme of England desyrynge him bothe of his good will and frendely helpe toward the acheuynge of his offred enterprise, promising hym when he came to his entended purpose, to rendre to hym agayne equall kyndenes and condigne gratulacion.

Although the duke before that daie by Thomas Hutton ambassador from king Richard had both by money & praiers bene solicite & moued to put agayne into safe custody the erle of Richemonde, he neuerthelesse promysed faithfully to ayde him and his promes he truely performed.

¶ THE. III. YERE.

WHerupon the erle w all diligence sent into England agayn Hugh Conwey and Thomas Rame, whiche shoulde declare his commynge shortely into Englande, to thentent that all thinges whiche by councell might be for his purpose prouided shoulde be accelerate and hasted, and that all thynges doubtfull shoulde of his frendes be prudently forseen, in aduoydyng al engins and

and snares which kyng Richard had or might haue set in disturbaūce of his purpose, and he in the meane ceason would make his abode still in Britayne, till al thinges necessary for his iorney were prepared and brought in aredynes.

In the meaūe ceason the chenetaynes of the coniuracion in Englande began together many entreprises: Some in conueniente fortresses put strong garrisons: Some kept armed men preuely, to thentente when they should haue knowlege of the erles landing, they would begynne to stirre vp the warre: Other dyd secretely moue & sollicite the people to rise and make an insurrecion: Other (emongeste whome Ihon Morton bishop of Ely then beynge in Flaunders was chefe) by preuie letters and cloked messengers, did sturre and inuite to this newe coniuracion, al such which they certeynely knew to haue a roted hatred or to beare a cankard malice toward king Richard & his procedynges.

Although this greate entreprice were neuer so preuely handeled and so secretely emongeste so circumspecte persones treated, compassed and conueyghed, yet knowlege thereof came to the eares of king Richard, whiche with the sodayne chaunce was not a lyttel moued and astonned. Fyrste because he had no host ready prepared and conscribed. Secondarely yf he shoulde reyse an army so sodaynely, he knewe not where to occurre and mete his enemies or whether to go or where to tarie. Wherefore he determined to dissimule the matter as though he knewe nothynge till he had assembled his host, and in the meane ceason either by the rumour of the common people or by the diligence of his exploratours and espialles to inuestigate and search out all the councelles, determinacions ententes and compasses of his close aduersaries, or elles by craftie pollecie to intercepte and take some person of the same coniuracion, considerynge that there is no more secrete nor hyd espyall then that whiche lurketh in dissimulacion of knowlege and intelligence, or is hidden in the name and shadowe of counterfeicte humanite and feined kyndenes. And because he knewe the duke of Buckyngham to be the chiefe hed and ayde of the coniuracion, he thoughte yt moost necessary to plucke hym from that parte either by fayre promyses or open warre. Whereupon he addressed his louynge letters to the duke, as full of mellifluous woordes, humanite and familiarite as the interior cogitacion and preuy meanynge was full of malice, rancor and poyson: geuynge farther in charge to the messenger that caryed the letter to promes to the duke on his behalfe golden hilles and sylver ryuers, and with all gentle and pleasaunte meanes to persuade and exhorte the duke to come to the courte. But the duke as wylie as the kynge mystrustyng the fayre flatteryng woordes and the gaye promyses to him so sodaynly without any cause offered, knowynge the craftie castes of kynge Richardes bowe, whiche in diuerse affayres before tyme he had sene practised requyred the king to perdon him, excusynge him selfe that he was so diseased in his stomacke that skante he coulde take either refeccion or rest. Kynge Richarde not beynge contente with this excuse woulde in no wise admytte the same, but incontinente directed to the duke other letters of a more rougher and hawter sort, not without minatorie termes and checkynge woordes, commaundynge hym all excuses set aperte to repaire without any delaie to his royall presence. The duke made to the messenger a determynate aunswere that he would not come to his mortall enemy, whome he neither loued nor fauoured: and ymmediately prepared open warre agaynste hym, and perswaded all his complices and partakers that euery man shoulde in his quarter with all diligence reyse vp the people and make a commocion. And by this meanes almooste in one mouente Thomas Marques Dorcet came out of sanctuarye where he sith the begynnynge of Richardes daies had contynued, whose life by the onely helpe of sir Thomas Louell esquyer was preserued from all daungier and perell in this troubleous worlde, gathered together a greate bande of men in Yorkeshire. Sir Edwarde Courtney and Peter his brother bishop of Exsetter, reised another army in deuonshire and cornewall. In kente, Richarde Guylforde and other gentlemen, collected a great companye of souldyoures and openly beganne warre. But king Richard which in the meane tyme had gotten together a great strengthe and puissaunce, thinkyng yt not moost for his parte beneficiall to disparse and deuyde his greate armye into small branches, and particulerely to persecute any one of the coniuracion by hym selfe, determined

termined all other beynge set asyde, with hys whole puyssaunce to set on the chiefe hed whiche was the duke of Buckyngham. And so remouynge from London, he tooke his iourney towarde Salsburie, to thentente that in his iourney he mighte set on the dukes army yf he myghte knowe hym in any place encamped or in ordre of Battayle araied. The king was scace. ii. daies iourney from Salsburie when the duke of Buckyngham accompanyed with a greate power of wilde Welesbmen, whome he beynge a man of that courage and sharpe speche in maner agaynste their willes had rather therto enforced and compelled by lordely and streite commaundemente then by liberall wayges and gentle reteynoure, whiche thinge was the verie occasion wliy they lefte hym desolate and cowardely forsoke hym. The duke with all his power mershed through the forest of deane entendyng to haue passed the riuer of Seuerne at Gloucester, and therto haue ioyned in army with the courtneys and other Westernmen of his confideracy and affinite, which if he had done no doubt but kyng Richard had bene in greate ieopardie either of priuacion of his realme or losse of his life or both. But se the chaūce, before he could attayne to Seuerne side, by force of continuall rayne and moysture, the ryuer rose so high that yt ouerflowed all the countrey adioynyng, in somuch that men were drowned in their beddes, howses with the extreme violence were ouerturned, childrē were caried aboute the feldes, swimming in cradelles, beastes were drowned on hilles, whiche rage of water lasted continually. x. dayes, insomuch that in the countrey adioynyng they call yt to this daie, the greate water, or the duke of Buckynghams greate water. By this inundacion the passages were so closed that neither the duke could come ouer Seuerne to his complices, nor they to hym, durynq the whiche tyme, the Welshemen lyngerynge ydely and without money, vitayle, or wages sodaynely scaled and departed: and for all the dukes fayre promyses, manaces and enforcementes, they wouide in no wise neither goo farther nor abide. The duke thus abandoned and left almost post alone was of necessite cōpelled to flye, and in his flight was with this sodeyne of fortune meruelously dismayed: and beinge vnpurueyed, what councell he shoulde take and what waie he shoulde folowe, like a man in dispeire not knowynge what to do, of verie truste and confidence conueyghed him selfe into the house of Homfrey Banaster his seruaunt beside Shrewsburie, whome he had tendrely breughte vp, & whome he aboue all men loued, fauoured and trusted, nowe not doughtynge but that in hys extreme necessitie, he shoulde fynde hym faythefull, secrete and trusty, entendynge there couertely to lurke till either he mighte reise agayne a newe armye, or elles shortely to saile into Britayne to the Earle of Richemond.

But when yt was knowen to his adherentes whiche were readye to geue battayle, that his hoste was scaled and had lefte hym almoost alone, and was fled and could not be founde, they were sodaynely amased and striken with a soden feare, that euery man like persones desperate shifted for hym selfe and fled, some wente to sanctuarye and to solitarie places, some fled by see, whereof the moqste parte within a fewe dayes after arryued sauely in the duchye of Britayne. Emonge whiche nombre were these persones, Peter Courtney bishoppe of Excettre and sir Edmonde Courtney his brother, by kynge Henrye the. vii. after created Earle of Deuonshire, Thomas Marques Dorcet, Ihon lorde Welles, Sir Ihon Burchier, Sir Edmonde Wooduile a valyaunte man in armes brother to quene Elizabeth, Sir Roberte Willoughby, sir Gyles Dabeney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir Ihon Cheyney and his twoo brethren, Sir Wylliam Barkeley, Sir Wylliam Brandon and Thomas his brother, Sir Rycharde Edgcombe, all these for the moost parte beynge knyghtes, and Ihon Halwell, Edwarde Pownynges a pollytike capitayne. At this verie ceason Ihon Morton bishop of Ely and Christopher Vrswike priest and another companye of noble men soiourned in Flaunders, and by letters and messengers procured manye Ennemyes agaynste kynge Richard, whiche vaynge a vigilaunte iye and a quycke remembraunce, beynge newely come to Salsburye, hauyng perfight notice and knowlege howe the duke was fled, and howe his complices entended to passe oute of the realme. Fyrste he sent men of warre to all the nexte portes and passages to kepe streightely the see coast, so that no person shoulde passe outwarde nor take lande in the realme withoute their assent and knowlege. Secondarely, he made proclamacion, that what person

person coulde shewe and reuele where the duke of Buckyngham was, shoulde be highly rewarded, yf he were a bondman he should be enfraunchised and set at libertie, yf he were of fre blood he shoulde haue a generall perdon and be remunerate with a thousand poundes. Farthermore, because he vnderstoode by Thomas Hutton, whiche as you haue heard was newely retourned out of Britayne, that Fraunces duke of Brytayne not onely refused to kepe therle of Richemonde as a prisoner at his contemplacion and for his sake, but also was readie to aide and succoure thesaide Earle with menne money and all thinges necessarye for his transportyng into England. Wherfore he rigged and sent out shippes of warre wel furnished and decked with mē and artillary, to skoure and kepe that part of the see that lieth agaynst Britayne, to thentēt that yf the erle of Richemond woulde auenture to saile toward England either he shoulde be taken captiue or be profligate and dryuen from the coast of Englande. And moreouer, to thentent that euery coste, waye, passage and corner should be diligently watched and kepte, he set at euery dubious and suspected place men of warre, to seke, searche, and enquyre yf any creature coulde tell tydynges of the duke of Buckyngham, or of any of his confederacyon, adherentes, fautoures or partakers.

While this Busy searche was diligently applied and put in execucion, Homfrey Banaster (were it more for feare of losse of lyfe and goodes, or attracted and prouoked by the auaricious desire of the thousand poundes) he bewrayed his gest and master to Ihon Mitton then shriefe of shropshire, whyche sodaynely with a stronge power of men in harnes apprehended the duke in a litle groue adioynynge to the mansion of Homfrey Banaster, and in greate hast and euyll spede conueighed him appareled in a pilled blacke cloke to the cytie of Salsburie where kynge Richard then kepte his houshold.

Whether this Banaster bewreyed the duke more for fear then couetous many men do doubt: but sure it is, that shortlie after he had betrayed ỹ duke his master, his sonne and heyre waxed mad and so dyed in a bores stye, his eldest daughter of excellent beautie was sodaynelie stryken with a foule leperye, his seconde sonne very meruelously deformed of his limmes and made decrepite, his younger sonne in a small puddel was strāgled & drouned, & he beyng of extreme age arraigned & foūd gyltie of a murther and by his clergye saued. And as for his thousand pound kyng Richard gaue him not one farthing, saiyng that he which would be vntrew to so good a master would be false to al other, howbeit some saie ỹ he had a smal office or a ferme to stoppe his mouthe with al. The duke beyng by certayne of the kynges councel diligently vpon interrogatories examined what thynges he knewe preiudicial to ỹ kynges person, opened and declared frankely and frely all the coniuracion without dissimulynge or glosynge, trustynge because he had truely & playnly reueled and confessed all thinges that were of hym required, that he should haue lycēce to spake to ỹ kyng which (whether it wer to sue for perdon and grace, or whether he being brought to his presence would haue sticked him with a dagger as men then iudged) he sore desyred and required. But when he had confessed the whole facte and conspiracye vpon Allsoulen day without arreignemente or iudgemente he was at Salsburye in the open merket place on a newe skaffolde behedded and put to death. This death (as a reward) the duke of Buckyngham receaued at the handes of kyng Richard, whom he before in his affaires, purposes and enterprises had holde susteyned and set forward aboue all Godes forbode.

By thys all men maye easelye perceaue that he not onley loseth bothe his labour, trauevle and industrie, and ferther steynethe and spoteth his ligne with a perpetuall ignomony and reproche, whiche in euyll and mishiefe assisteth and aydeth an euyll disposed person, considerynge for the moste parte that he for his frendely fauoure shoulde receaue some greate displeasure or infortunate chaunce. Beside that God of his iustice in conclusion appoyncteth to him a condigne peyne and affliction for his merites and desertes. While these thynges were thus hādeled and ordred in England, Henry Earle of Richemond prepared an army of fyue thousande manly Brytons, and forthe weil furnyshed shippes. When all thinges were prepared in aredynes and the daye of departynge and settynge forwarde was appoynted, whiche was the xii. daye of the moneth of October in the yere of the incarnacion

of oure redemer. M. CCCC. xlviii. and in the seconde yere of kynge Richardes reigne, the whole armye wente on shipboarde and halsed vp their sailes, and with a prosperous wynde tooke the sea: but towarde night the wynde chaunged and the wether tourned, and so houge and terrible a tempest sodaynely roase, that with the verie power and strength of the storme, the shippes were disparcled, seuered and separate a sondre: some by force were dryuen into Normandye, some were compelled to retourne agayne into Britayne. The shippe wherein the Earle of Rychemonde was, associate onely with one other barcke was all nyghte tossed and turmoyled. In the mornynge after when the rage of the furious tempest was assuaged, and the Ire of the blusterynge wynde was some deale appeased, aboute the houre of none thesame daye, the erle approched to the southe parte of the realme of England euen at the mouthe of the hauen of pole in the countie of dorcet, where he mighte playnely perceaue all the se bankes and shores garnished and furnished with men of warre and souldioners appoynted and deputed there to defende his arryuall and landynge as before is mencioned. Wherefore he gaue streyghte charge and sore commaundemente, that no person should once presume to take land and goo to the shore, vntill suche tyme as the whole nauye were assembled and congregate. And while he expected and lyngered tariyenge for that purpose, he sente oute a shippe bote towarde the lande side to knowe, whyther they whiche stoode there in suche a nombre and so well furnysshed in apparell defensiue were hys capitall foes and enemyes or elles his frendes fautoures and comforters. They that were sente in exploracion and message were instantely desyred of the men of warre kepynge the coast (whiche thereof were before instructed and admonished) to dissende and take lande, affirmynge that they were appoyncted by the duke of Buckyngham there to awayte and tarie for the arryuall and landyng of the erle of Richemond, and to conduicte sauely to the campe where the duke not far of laye encāped with a populous army and an host of great strength and vigor, to thentent that the duke and the erle ioynynge in puyssaunces and forces together, mighte prosecute and chace king Richard beyng destitute of men, and in maner desperate and fugityue, and so by that meanes and their awne laboures and industrie to obteine the ende of their enterprise which they had before begonne.

The erle of Richemonde suspectynge their flaterynge requeste to be but a fraud (as yt was in dede) after that he perceaued none of his shippes to apere in sight, he weied vp his ancors and halsed vp his sayles hauynge a prosperous and strenable wynde and a freshe gale sente euen by God to delyuer him from that perell and ieopardie, arryued safe and in securitie in the duchy of Normandy, where he to refreshe and solace his souldyours and people, tooke his recreacion by the space of. iii. dayes, and clerely determyned with parte of his companye to passe all by lande agayne into Britayne. And in the meane ceason he sent oratoures to the frenche kynge called Charles the. viii. whiche newely succeded his father kynge Lewes the. xi. not longe before departed to God, requirynge hym of a safe conduicte and licence to passe through his countrey of Normandye into Britayne. The younge kynge hauynge compassion of the misfortune and vnfortunate chaunce of the erle of Richemonde, not onely gently graunted and assigned to him a pasporte, but also liberally disbursed and departed to hym a conueniente some of money for his conduicte and expenses necessary in hys long iourney and passage. But the erle trusting on the Frenche kynges humanitee auentured to send his shippes home into Britayne, and to set forwarde hym selfe by lande on his iourney makynge no greate hast till his messengers were retourned, whiche beynge with the *benefite* so comforted, and with hope of prosperous successe so encouraged, mershed towarde Britayne with all diligent celerite entendyng there to consulte farther with his louers and frēdes of his affaires and enterprises. When he was retorned agayn into Britayne he was certified by credible informaciō that the duke of Buckyngham had lost his hed and that the Marques dorcet and a great nombre of noble men of England had a lytle before enquyred and searched for him there, & were nowe retourned to Vānes. When he had heard these newes thus reported, he first so rowed, & dolorously lamented the firste attempt and settyng forwarde of his frendes, and in especiall of the nobilyte not to haue more fortunatly

tunatly succeded. Secondarely, he reioysed on the other part that God had sent hym so many valiaunte and prudent captaines to be his compaignons in his inertiall enterprises, trustynge surely and nothinge doubtynge in his awne opinion, but that all his busynes should be wisely compassed and brought to a good cōclusion. Wherfore he determining with al diligēce to accelerate & set forward his new begonne busynes departed to Renes & sent certayne of his preuie seruitours to conducte and bryng ỹ Marques and the other noble men to his presence. When they knewe that he was sauely retorned into Britayne, lord how they reioysed and applauded, for before that time they missed him and knew not in what parte of the world to make inuestigacion or searche for hym. For they doubted and no lesse feared least he had taken land in Englād, and fallen in the handes of kynge Richard, in whose person they knewe well was neither mercy nor compassion. Wherefore in all spedy maner they galloped toward him, and him reuerentely saluted, which metynge after great ioye and solace and no small thankes and gratificacions geuen and rendred on bothe partes, they consulted and aduisedely debated and commoned of their great busines and weighty entreprise, in the whiche ceason the solempne feaste of the natiuite of our sauiour Christ happened, on whiche daie al thenglishe lordes went with great solempnyte to the chiefe churche of the citee, and there eache gaue faythe and promyse to other. The erle hym selfe fyrste tooke a corporall othe, and on his honour promysynge that incontynente after he should be possessed of the crowne and dignytie of the realme of Englande, he wouldе be conioynted in matrymonye with the lady Elizabeth daughter to kynge Edwarde the fourthe. Then all the companye sware to hym fealtie, and did to hym homage as though he had bene that tyme the crowned kynge and anoynted prince, promisynge faythefully and fermely assurynge that they wouldе not onely lese their worldely substaunce, but also be priuated of their lyues & worldly felicitee, rather then to suffre kynge Rychарde, that tyraunt longer to rule and reigne ouer theim. Whiche solempne othes made and taken, the Earle of Rychemonde declared and communicated all these doynges to Fraunces duke of Britayne, desirynge and mooste hartely requyrynge hym to ayde hym with a greater armye to conducte hym into his countreye, whiche so sore longed and loked for his retourne, and to the whiche he was by the more parte of the nobilite and comminaltie called and desyred whiche (with Goddes ayde and the dukes comfort) he doubted not in shorte tyme to obteyne, requirynge hym farther to prest to hym a conueniente some of money, affirmynge that all such somes of money which he had receaued of hys especiall frendes, were spent and exhausted in the preparacion of the laste iourney made towarde Englande, whyche somes of money after his enterprise once achеued, he in the word of a prynce faythefully promysed to repaye and restore agayne. The duke promised him ayde and helpe, vpon confidence whereof he rigged his shippes, and set foorth his nauie well decked with ordynaunce, and warlykely furnyshed with al things necessary, to thentente to saile forwarde shortely, and to se no conuenient tyme slackely ouerpassed nor be pretermitted.

In the meane ceason, kynge Richarde apprehended in dyuerse partes of the realme certeyne gentylmen of the earle of Rychemondes faccion and confederacion, which either entended to saile into Britayne towarde hym, or els at his landynge to assiste and ayde hym. Emongeste whome, sir George Browne, sir Roger Clyfforde and, iiii. other were put to execucion at Loudon, and sir Thomas Sentliger which had maried the duches of Exceter the kynges awne suster, and Thomas Rame and diuerse other were executed at exceter. Beside these persones, diuerse of his houshold seruauntes whome either he suspected or doubted, were by great crueltie put to shamefull death. After this he called a parliamente in the which he attaynted the erle of Richemond & all other persones whiche were fled out of the realme for fear or any other cause, as enemies to him and to their naturall countrey, and all their landes, goodes and possessions were confiscate and seased to ỹ kynges vse. And yet not content with this pray which no doubte was of no small valour and moment, he laied on the peoples neckes a great taxe and tallage, and surely necessite to that acte in maner him

him compelled. For what with purgyng and declaryng his innocencie concernyng the murther of his nephewes toward the world, and what with cost to obtayne ỹ loue and fauoure of the comminaltie (whiche outwardely glosed and openly dissimuled with him) he gaue prodigally so many and so great rewardes that now both he lacked and skace wist honestely how to borowe. In this troubleous ceason, nothinge was more merueled at then that the lord Stanley had not bene taken and reputed as an enemy to the king, considerynge the workynge of the ladye Margarete his wife mother to the earle of Richemonde, but forasmuch as the enterprise of a woman was of hym reputed of no regarde or estimacion, and that the lord Thomas her husbande had purged hym selfe sufficientely to be innocent of all dooynges and attemptes by her perpetrated and committed, yt was geuen him in charge to kepe her in some secrete place at home, without hauynge enie seruaunte or companye, so that from thence foorthe she shoulde neuer sende letter nor messenger to her sonne nor any of his frendes or confederates, by the whyche the kynge myghte be molested or troubled, or any hurte or preiudice might be attempted againste his realme and comminaltie. Whiche commaundemente was a while put in execucion and accomplished according to his dreadfull commaundemente. Yet the wilde worme of vengaunce wauerynge in his hed could not be contented with the death of diuerse gentlemen suspected of treason, but also he muste extende his bloudy furye agaynste a poore gentleman called Collyngborne for making a small ryme of thre of his vnfortunate councelers, which wer the lord louell, sir Richarde Radclyffe his myscheuous mynion, and sir Wylliam Catesby his secrete seducer, whiche metre was.

The Rat, the Catte and Louell our dogge
Rule all Englande vnder the hogge.

Meanynge by the hogge, the dreadfull wilde bore whiche was the kynges cognisaunce, but because the fyrste lyne ended in dogge, the metrician coulde not obseruynge the regimentes of metre ende the seconde verse in Bore, but called the bore an hogge. This poeticall schoolemayster corrector of bretes and longes, caused Collyngborne to be abbreuiate shorter by the hed, and too bee deuyded into foure quarters.

Kyng Richarde beynge thus turmented and tossed in his awne concepte and imaginacion, called to his remembraunce that consideracions amities, and other honeste bondes and pactes, made, concluded and appointed betwene princes and pollitique gouernours are the cause efficiēt and especiall introduction that their realmes and countries are fortified and munited with a double power, that is to say, with their awne strength and the ayde of their frendes, deuysed with him self to practise a league and amitie with the kynge of Scottes, which not long before had made diuerse incursions and roodes into the realme of England, where although he gatte lyttel, yet surely he lost not much, and thereupō sued to haue a treuce or peace concluded, whiche came euen as king Richard had wished it. Wherefore commissioners were assigned for bothe partes to mete at Nothyngham the. vii. daye next ensuynge at whyche tyme came thether for the kynge of England Ihon bishop of Lyncolne chaunceller of Englande, Richard bishop of saincte Asse, Ihon duke of Norffolke, Henrye erle of Northumberlande, Thomas lorde Stanley, George Stanley lord straunge, Ihon Gray lord Powes, Richard lord Fytzhughe, Ihon Gunthorpe keper of the kynges preuie seale, Thomas Barowe master of the rolles, sir Thomas Bryane chiefe iustice of the common place, sir Richard Ratclyffe knyght, William Catesbey and Richard Salkeld esquiers. And for the kynge of Scottes were deputed Colyn erle of Ergile lord Camplell & lord chaunceller of Scotlande, William bishop of Aberdene, Robert lorde Lyle, Laurence lorde Olyphant, Ihon Drummond of Stobhall, Archibald Qwhitelator archedeacon of Lawdene and secretorie to kynge Iames, Lyon kynge of Armes and Duncane dundas. These councellers dyuerse tymes mette, and after longe debatynge, demaundynge, and denyenge, in the ende of September they fully concluded, and made a determinacion the effect whereof foloweth in articles.

Firste it was appoynted and concluded that a perfight amitie and an inuiolable peace should be had and kepte betwene the realmes of Englande and Scotlande for the space of iii.

iii. yeres, to begynne at the sonne risyng the. xxix. daie of september in the yere of our lord. M. cccc. lxxxiiii. and to endure to the settynge of the sonne the. xxix. daye of september in the yere of christes incarnacion. M. cccc. lxxxvii.

Item that duryng the said yeres, none of both the princes, nor their ministers shall make warre or inuade ỹ realme or dominion of theother by sea or by land, or vexe, perturbe, or molest the subiectes or vassalles of either of theim, nor shall geue councell, excite, or moue any other persone to make warre or inuasion on the territories of any of the said princes. ii.

Item that the toune and castell of Berwike with all such boundes as thereto were belongynge, which were in the Englishe mennes handes at the deliueraunce of thesame toune by king Henry the. vi. to the king of Scottes, shall so peaceably remayne in the possession of the kyng of England during thesaide truce. iii.

Item that all other castelles, holdes and fortresses, shall peaceably remain in the handes of ỹ possessor and owner without chalenge or demaunde durynge thesaide truce, the castell of dumbarre only excepte, (whiche was delyuered into thenglishe mennes handes by the appoyntement of the duke of Albany when he fled into Fraunce.) iiii.

Item yf the kynge of Scottes do intimate and declare to the kynge of England, within the space of. xl. daies next ensuyng ỹ date herof, that he will not suffre thesayde castell of Dumbarre to be possessed of thenglishe nacion aboue the terme of. vi. monethes, that then during thesaid vi. monethes, neither thenglishmen in the garison of Dumbarre, nor the Scottes dwellyng and inhabityng aboute the limites of thesame, shall do any hurte, preiudice or dammage to any of thesaide parties thesayde terme contynuynge. v.

Item yf after thesayde. vi. monethes any variaunce or warre shall arise betwene thesaide twoo princes, either for the recouerynge or defendynge thesayde castell of Dumbarre, yet thesayde truce league & amitie for all other rightes and possessions, shall stand in force and be effectuall and that it shalbe leful to eache of thesaid princes to do what they shall thinke necessary, bothe for the obteinyng and defendyng of thesaid castell of Dumbarre, any thynge conteyned in the treaty of peace notwithstandynge. vi.

Item it is concluded and apointed betwene the parties aforsaid, that durynge thesaide truce, none of bothe the princes aforsaide, shall receaue into his realme, territories, or dominions, any treytoure or rebel of theother prynce, nor shall maintayne, fauoure, aide or comforte any rebell or treytour which is already fled, or herafter shall flye into either of thesaid princes dominions, nor there suffre him or theim to tarye or make their abode. vii.

Item yf any suche rebell or treytoure shall fortune herafter to arryue in the realme or territorie of any of thesayde princes, that then thesayde prince, in whose dominion thesaide treytour or rebel is so arryued, at ỹ instance & request of the other prince to whom ỹ offence and cryme was committed, shalbe bound incontinently to delyuer thesaid rebel or treytour to thesaide demaunder without fraude or male engyne. viii.

Item that all Scottyshmen now inhabityng in Englande, & sworne to the kyng of Englande, shall & may there inhabite and tarye, so that their names within. xl. daies after the date of this league be certefied to the kyng of Scottes, or to his Chauncelour, by the kyng of Englād, or the warden of the marches. ix.

Item yf duryng thesaide amitie and peace, it shall fortune any of the wardeyns of thesaid princes without commaundement, assent or knowlege of his souereigné lord and master, to inuade and reise an armye in the dominion of theother prince, and there to sley, burne or spoile: ỹ then thesaide prince, to whom thesaide wardeyn is or shalbe subiect & vassalle, shal within. vi. daies next after the facte done & perpetrate, declare thesaide wardeyn a treytour and rebell, and therof shal make certificate to the other prince to whom the iniurie was committed within. xii. daies after thesaide declaracion made and denounced. x.

Item that in euery saueconduycte to be graunted by either of thesaid prynces, this clause xi.

to

to be added: Prouided alwaies that the obteyner of this sauecondyte be no treytour nor rebell to his prince.

xii. Item yf during this amitie and truce, any of the subiectes of either prince do presume or attempt to aide, help, mainteine or serue ani other prince agaynste any of thesaide-contractoures: Then yt shalbe leful to ỹ prince and his subiectes against whom he shewed hym selfe enemy and aduersary to apprehende and attache thesaide subiect, goynge, cõmyng or taryeng, any acte, article or clause in this league to the contrary comprehended notwithstandynge.

xiii. Item it is agreed apointed and accorded that in this treatie and amitie shalbe comprehended the frendes obliged and confederates of bothe the princes if they list to entre and accepte the league, and thereupon to declare their pleasures within. vi. monethes next ensuynge, and specially for the kyng of Englands part were named for confederates. The kyng of Castell and Lyon, The kyng of Arragon, The kyng of Portyngall, The Archeduke of Austryche and Burgoyne and the duke of Britaine. On the part of the king of Scottes were named for cõfederates, Charles the French kyng, Ihon kyng of Denmarke and Norwey & the duke of Geldres and Britayne.

xiv. Item it is agreed and concluded betwene the parties aforsaide that the lordship of Lorne in the realme of Scotland, nor the Iland of Londay liynge in the ryuer of Seuerne in the realme of Englande, shal not be taken nor comprised within this league, but to stand at large as they did before.

xv. Item that this concorde, peace and amitie shalbe published, proclaymed, and deu[illegible]g the first day of October next ensuynge in the moost notable and famous cities and tounes of both the Realmes & regions. And conseruators were apoynted for the sure obseruaciõ of this league and amitie on both partes, whose names folowe.

For the kynge of England.

Ihon erle of Lyncolne	Sir Richard Ratcliffe
Henry erle of Northumberland	Sir Ihon Conyers
Raufe lord Neueil	Sir Edmond Hastynges
Raufe lord Greystocke	Sir Robert Donstable
Richard lorde Fitz Hugh	Sir Hugh Hastynges
Ihon lord Scrope	Sir William Euers
Thomas lord Scrope of Massam	Sir Ihon Huldeston
Sir Christopher Moresby	William Musgraue, esquier
William Clapton, esquier	Richard Salkeld, esquier.
Homfrey lord Daker	

For the kyng of Scottes.

Dauid earle of Crafford and lorde lynsey
George Earle of Huntley, lorde Gordon and Badzenath.

Ihon lorde Dornely	Sir Robert Hamiltõ of fingaltõ
Ihon lorde Kynedy	Sir Willia Balze of Lamyngtõ
Roberte lorde Lile	Sir Ihon Kynedy of Blarqhon
Patricke lorde Halcs	Sir Ihon Wemes
Lawrence lorde Oliphaunt	Sir William Rochewen
William lorde Borthwike	Edward Crochton of kirke paty
Sir Ihon Rosse of Halkehed	Jhon Dundas
Sir Gilbert Ihonson of Elphynston	Ihon Rosse of Montgrenane
Sir Ihon Lundy	these. iii. last were esquyers.
Sir Iames Ogilly of Arly	

xvi. Item it is farther condiscended and agreed that these commissioners whose namese nsue shal mete at Loughmabãstane the. xviii. day of Nouember next ensuynge aswell for redresse

to

to be had of certayne offences done on the westmerches as also for declarynge and publishynge of the peace and amitie.

Commissioners of the Englishe parte.	Commissioners for the Scottishe part.
The lorde Dacre	The lorde Kenedy
The lorde Fitz Hugh	The lorde Mountgomery
Sir Richard Radclyffe	The lorde lile
Sir Christopher Moresby	Ihon Maxwell stuarde of Annerdale
Sir Richard Salkeld	Robert Crechton of sanequhane
or thre of theim.	or thre of theim.

Item like commissioners were assigned to mete at Roydon borne for the East marches the firste day of December and also mete at haldanestanke the. iiii. daie of the sayde moneth for the middle marches. xvii.

Commissioners for the kyng of Englande.	Commissioners for the kyng of Scottes.
The erle of Northumberlande	The erle of Huntley
The lorde Greystorcke	The erle of Angus
The lord Scrope of Massam	The erle of Ergile
Sir William Gastoyn	Chaunceller of Scotland
Sir Robert Conestable	The lorde wandale
	The lorde Seton
	The lorde Olyphaunt
	The lorde Stobhill

Item it is agreed that ŷ commissioners aforsaid shall depute and assigne certeyne persones to viewe and declare the boundes and lymites apperteignyng to the toune of Berwike according to the true meanyng of the league. xviii.

Item it is agreed and apoynted that no person of England or Scotland shal duryng the said truce, build, eare or sowe any landes or groũd beynge within the boundes of the batable ground, but to suffre thesame to continue in the same condicion that it nowe remayneth. xix.

When this league and amitie was thus concluded, finished and sealed with all dewe circumstaunces thereunto required. Although kynge Richard iudged and demed hym selfe somewhat the more stronger and quyeter by force of this newe amitie and concluded confederacie, yet to augmeote more the familiarite begonne betwene the king of Scottes and him, and to haue a double stryngе for his bowe, he entreated a new aliaunce and mariage to be concluded betwene the prince of Rothsaye eldeste sonne to the kyng of Scottes, and lady Anne de la poole daughter to Ihon duke of Suffolke and lady Anne suster to kyng Richarde, whiche suster he so muche fauoured that he studyenge all the weies by the which he might auaunce her offspringe and lignage, did not onely procure and seke meanes howe to make her daughter a pryncesse, and consequently a Quene, but also after the death of his sonne, he proclaymed Ihon erle of Lyncolne his nephew and her sonne, heyre apparaunt to ŷ crowne of England, disheneritynge kynge Edwardes daughters, whose brethren before you haue heard he shamefully killed & murthered.

The kynge of Scottes hauynge nede of Frendes, but not so muche nede as kynge Richard whiche was of necessite compelled to seke aiders and to entreteyne fautours, the one for fauourynge of flatterers and base borne persones, and theother not onely for tyrannye and vnnaturall homicide, but also for the vsurpacion of the crowne beynge of all the realme detested and disdayned, gladly accepted and ioyously concented to kynge Richardes demyce and coniunccion of amitie, perfightely remembrynge that emongest all bondes and obligacions of loue and amitie, that there is neither a surer nor a more perfighter locke, then the knote of coniunccion in the sacrament of Matrimony, which was in the very begynnynge of the

first age of man, ordeyned and instituted in the holy place of paradise terrestiall by God hym selfe: by reason whereof, the propagacion and succession of the humane nature, stablished vpon the sure seate of lawfull matrimony betwene princes, maye norishe peace, concorde and vnite, aswage and breake the furious rage of truculente Mars and terrible battayle, and encreace loue, fauoure and familiarite. Wherfore thesayde prynces sente their ambassadours and councelours agayne to the toune of Nottyngham, where thesayde mariage was by writinges and instrumentes couenaunted, cõdiscended and agreed, and affiances made and taken by procters and deputies on bothe partes, and she ymediately called pryncesse of Rothsay, whiche name she shortely loste by the shorte life of kynge Richarde her louyng vncle. Here may well be noted the vnnaturall loue and disordered affeccion whiche this kynde kynseman shewed to his blood: For he not remembryng the tyranny that he had executed against his brothers sonnes, the wrong and manifest iniury that he had done to his brothers daughters, both in taking from them their dignyte, possessions and lyuynge, thoughte it shoulde redounde greatly to his honoure and fame, yf he promoted his susters chylde (to whom he was nothynge bounde in conscience to make restitucion) to the digyte of a Quene, rather then to preferre his brothers daughter whom he had vntruely and by force disheneritied, and of all their righte depryued, to the mariage of a meane esquyer: suche was his fraternall kyndenes towarde his brother, and suche was his large conscience towardes his brothers chyldren.

After this league and mariage thus concluded and agreed, the king of Scottes disdeignynge that the stronge castell of Dumbarre should remayne in thenglish mennes handes and possession, wrote a gentle letter to kyng Richard, declaryng to hym that where in the league concluded betwene theim, it was agreed and appoyncted that he should within xl. dayes nexte ensuynge, expresse and declare his opynion and meanynge concernynge the castell of Dumbarre, whether the sayde castell should be occupyed and stand still in the handes of thenglishemen durynge the whole tyme of the truce, or elles for the terme of sixe monethes onely. He nowe certefyed kynge Rycharde by his letters, that he was contente that he and his shoulde enioye the possessyon of the sayde castell quyetely and peaceably durynge thesayde truce and amitie. Neuerthelesse he requyred him for the loue and familiarite that now bothe by treatie and alyaunce was sprunge and knyt betwene theim, that he woulde redelyuer thesayde castell into his handes, whiche was vntruely possessed of thenglishe nacion by delyuerye of rebelles and treytours, contrarie to all righte, equitie, and conscience. Kynge Richarde dalyed with pleasaunte letters and fayre woordes, and so foded foorth the kynge of Scottes, that he neuer had Dumbarre delyuered while kynge Richard lyued, after whose deathe, whether it were by treason or by apoyntemente, the castell was rendred to the kynge of Scottes to his greate contentacion and reioysyng. Albeit this league & amitie thus couenaunted and concluded, it mighte manifestely seme to all persons, that all coniuracions and confederacies agaynst kynge Richard were extinct and put scylence, and in especial consideryng that ỹ duke of Buckyngham and his alyes were made out of his waye, some by death, and some by banyshment and exilynge into farre countreies & regions. Yet kyng Richard more doubtyng then trustyng to his own people and frendes was continually vexed, tossed and vnquyeted with feare of the retourne of the erle of Richemond and his complices & fautours, which dailye dread and hourely agony, caused him to lyue in dolefull misery, euer vnquiet, & in maner incontinual calamitie. Wherfore he entendynge to be releued and to haue all his dolorous imaginacion alleuyated, determyned clerely to extirpate and plucke al the mater and grounde of his feare and doubtes. Wherefore after long and deliberate consultacion had, nothing was for his purpose and entente thought either more necessary or expedient then once agayne with price, prayer and rewardes, to attempt ỹ duke of Britaine in whose territorie ỹ erle of Richemond then abode, to deliuer thesaide erle into his hãdes, by whiche onely meanes he shoulde be discharged of all feare of perel, and brought to rest and quietnes bothe of body &. mind. Wherfore incontynent he sent certeine ambassadoures to ỹ duke of Britayne, which tooke vpon theim (beside the great and ample

rewardes ȳ they brought with theim into Britayne) that kyng Richard should yerely paie & aunswer the duke of all the reuenues, rentes and profites, of the seignories, lādes & possessions aswel belonging and apperteigning to the erle of Richmōd, as to any other noble or gentleman whiche then were in the erles company, yf he after that time would kepe them in continual prison and restreine theim from libertie.

The Oratoures furnished with these and other instruccions, arriued in Britayne and came to the dukes house, where with him they coulde haue no manner of communicacion concernynge their weightie affaires, by reason that he beyng fatigate and weakened by a longe and daily infirmitie, beganne a lytle to waxe ydle and weake in his wyt and remembraunce. For which cause Peter Landoyse his chiefe treasourer, a man both of pregnaunt wit and great authorite, ruled and adiudged al thinges at his pleasure and commaundemēt for the which cause (as men set into high authorite be not best beloued) he excited and prouoked against him the malice and euell will of ȳ nobilite of Britayne, which afterward for diuerse great offences by him durynge his authorite perpetrate and committed, by their meanes was brought to death and cōfusion. Thenglishe ambassadoures moued their message and request to Peter Landoyse and to him declared their masters commaundemente, instantely requiringe, and humbly desirynge him (in whose power it lay to do all thing in Britayne) that he woulde frendely assent to the request of kyng Richard, offering to him the same rewardes and landes, that they should haue offered to the duke.

This Peter whiche was no lesse disdeyned then hated almost of all the people of Britayne, thought that yf he dyd assent and satisfie kyng Richardes petycion and desyre, he shoulde be of powre and habilite sufficiente to withstande and refell the malicious attemptes and disdeynfull inuencions of his enuious aduersaries. Wherefore he feithefully promysed to accomplishe kyng Richardes request and desyre, so that he kepte promise with him, that he might be hable to withstand ȳ cancard malice of his secrete enemies. This acte that he promised to do, was not for any grudge or malice that he bare to the earle of Richmond, for as you haue heard before, he delyuered him from perell of deathe at saynct Malos when he was in great doubte of life and ieopardie but as cause riseth we euer offende, andthat cursed hungre of gold and execrable thirst of lucre, and inward feare of losse of aucthorite, drueth the blynde myndes of couetous men and ambicious persones to euilles and mischifes innumerable, not remembring losse of name, obloquy of the people, nor in conclusion the punishment of God for their merites and desertes. But fortune was so fauorable to the publicke wealth of the realme of England that this deadly and dolorous compact tooke none effect or place. For while postes ranne, and letters were sent to and fro for ȳ finishing of this great enterprise betwene kyng Richard & Peter Landoyse, Ihon Morton bishop of Ely soiornynge then in Flaunders, was of al this craftie cōueighaunce certified by his secret & sure frēdes: wherfore he sent Christopher Vrswike (whiche at that verie ceason was come out of Britayne into Flaunders) to declare to the erle of Richmōd howe al the deceipte & craftie working was conueighed and compassed, geuyng him in charge to councell and aduise ȳ erle in al hast possible ẅ al his cōpany to retire out of Britayne into Fraūce. When these newes were brought to the erle, he then kept house in Vannes, and incontinent dispatched agayne Christopher Vrswike to Charles the French king, requyring him that he and his might sauely passe into Fraunce, whiche desyre, impetrated and obteyned, the messenger shortly returned to his lorde and prince. The erle well perceauynge that it was expediente and necessarie with al spede and diligence, to loke to this weightie matter, calling very few to councell, he made exploracion and searche of all secret and by weyes and sent before all his noble men, as though for a certayne familiaritee and kyndenes they should visite and comforte ȳ duke, which then for recreacion and chaunge of ayre, laie on the borders and confynes of Fraunce. And secretely he gaue charge to the Earle of Pembrooke which was the leader and conducter of his compaigny, that when they approched the marches and lymites of Britayne, they should dyuerte and take the next way into Fraunce. The noble men somewhat suspicious of thinges newely ima-

gened, without any tariyng or by the iorney gasynge, scrouring the weies as fast as there horse would ronne, or as they conueniently might beare & susteyne came out of the duchy of Britayne into ỹ duchy of Angeou in the dominion of Fraunce, where they expected the earles commynge, whiche. ii. daies after departed oute of Vannes onely accompaignied with. v. seruytoures, as though he had gone secretely to visite a familier frende of his in a small village adioynynge. No man suspected that he woulde departe, considerynge that a greate multitude of Englishemen were leite and contynued in the citee, but after that he had passed directly fyue myles forward, he sodaynly turned into a solitarye wood nexte adioynynge, where clothinge hym selfe in the symple cote of his poore scruaunte, made and apoynted his saide mynister leader and Master of his small compaignye, and he as an humble page dyligently folowed and serued his countrefeate gouernoure, neuer restynge nor theim selues refreshynge, excepte the baytyng of their horses, till they by wayes vnknowen, nowe this way, now tumynge that way, came to their company abidyng theim in angiers.

The fourth day after the earle of Richemonde was thus departed, that craftie marchaunte Peter Landoyse, trustynge still after his praye promised by kyng Richard, was ready to set forwarde his crew of souldyours, whiche he preuely had consigned with certayne trustye capiteynes for that onely purpose appoynted and elected, to performe & achieue his pretensed entreprise, dissimulynge and feignynge theim to be conducted and hyred by hym to serue the Earle of Richemond, and hym to conduyte in his retourne towarde his natiue countrey, meaning none other thynge but to apprehende him and the other noble men in his retynue, whiche no suche fraude suspectynge, nor yet any treason ymagenynge, vnware and vnprouided and destitute of all ayde, and theim to cast and detrude sodaynly into continual captiuite and bondage, to thētente that by this facinorous and naughtie acte, he mighte satisfie the charitable request and louynge desyre of good kynge Richard, more for his awne profite then kyng Richards gayne. But when this crafty dissymuler Peter Landoyse, whiche was no Wylyer then an olde Foxe, perceaued that the earle was departed (thynkynge that to be trewe that he ymagened) lord howe currioures rane into euery coaste, howe lighte horsemen galloped to euery streyt to folowe and deteyne him, yf by any possibilite he coulde be subsecuted and ouertaken, and hym to incarcerate and brynge captyue into the citee of Vannes. The horsemen made suche diligence, and with such celerite set forward their iorney, that nothing was more likely then thei to haue obteined, ye & seazed their pray. For the erle of Richmond was not entred into ỹ realme of Fraunce scace one hour, but ỹ folowers came to the lymites and confines of Britayne, and durst auenture no farther but veinely without their desyre sorofully retourned. At which season were left at Vannes aboute the nombre of. iii. Englishmen, which not beynge called to counceil and vnware of this entreprice, but knowynge of the erles sodeyne departure were so incontinently astouned, that in maner thei were al in dispayre both of him and their awne securite and sauegarde. But fortune tourned her saile, & otherwyse yt happened then there feare theim encombred. For the duke of Britayne nowe beyng somewhat recouered, was sore displeased, and nothinge contented that the erle of Richmonde was in his dominion so vncurteously tracted and entreated, that he shoulde be by fraud and vntruthe compelled to leaue and flye oute of his duchy and countrey contrary to his honoure. Wherfore he tooke greate displeasure with Peter Landoyse his treasourer, to whom (although he knew not & was ygnoraunte that all the drifte was dryuen and deuysed by hym) he laied the faut and imputed the cryme. Wherfore he sent for Edward Wooduile, and Edward Pownynges valiaunte esquyers of England, and delyuered vnto theim money sufficient for their conduyte, wyllynge theim to conuey the rest of thenglishmen beynge in Brytayne, to the earle of Richemondes presence. When the Earle was thus furnyshed & apoynted with his trusty company, and was escaped all ỹ daūgerous labirinthes and snares that were set for him, no meruel though he were iocunde and glad of ỹ prosperous successe that happened in his affaires. Wherefore, lest he should seme to be blotted with the note of ingratitude, he sent

dyuerse

dyuerse of his gentlemē to the duke of Britaine, the which should publishe & declare to him on the behalfe of the erle, that he and his, were onely by his benefite and fauoure conserued and delyuered from the imminent daunger ẏ they were like to be trapped in. Wherfore at that time he rendred to him his moost hartie thankes in woordes, trustyng & not doubtyng but in tyme to come liberally to recōpence him with actes & dedes.

After this, the erle tooke his iourney to Charles ẏ French kyng, lyeng then at Langes vpō the riuer of leyre, to whom after great thankes geuen for manifold gratuytes by him to the erle shewed, he disclosed and manifested ẏ cause & occasiō of his accesse & repaire to his person. After that he requyred of him helpe and succour, to thentente that by his immortall benefite to him at that tyme shewed, he might sauely retourne to the nobilite of his realme, of whome he was generally called to take vpon him the croune and scepter of the realme, they so muche hated & abhorred the tyranny of kyng Richard. Kyng Charles promised him aide and comfort, and bad him be of good courage and make good chere, for he assured him that he would gladly shewe to him his beneuolent mynd and bounteſull liberalite. Which kyng from thence remoued to Moūtargis, leadyng with him the erle of Richemond, and all the noble personages of his retynue and faccion.

While the erle was thus attendaunte in the French court, Ihon Vere erle of Oxford (which as you haue heard before was by king Edward kepte in prison within the castell of hammes) so persuaded Iames blount capitayne of thesame fortresse, and sir Ihon Fortescewe porter of the toune of Caleys, that he him selfe was not onely dismissed and set at libertie, but they also abandonynge and leauynge their fruitefull offices, condiscended to go with him into Frauuce to the Earle of Ryclmonde and to take his parte. But Iames Blount like a wise capiteyne, because he lefte his wyfe remaynynge in the castell before his departure, he fortefied thesame both with newe inuencions and newe souldyours. When the Earle of Richemonde sawe the Erle of Oxforde, he was rauyshed with an incredibile gladnes, that he beyng a man of so highe nobilite, of such knowlege and practise in feates of warre, and so constant, trusty and assured (whiche alweie had studied for the maintenaunce and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision delyuered out of captiuite & imprisonmēt, & in time so necessary & cōuenient come to his aide, succour & auauncement, in whome more surer then any other he mighte put his truste & confidence, and take lesse peyne and trauayle in his awne person. For it was not hid frō hym that such as had euer take part w kyng Edward before this time, came to do hi seruice either for malice ẏ they bare to king Richard, or elles for feare to tyme vnder his truculent rule and tempestious gouernaunce. But this man which so often tymes had personally fought in mortal battayle in the querell of kynge Henry the. vi. he iudged by deuyne powre and heauenly inspiracion to be delyuered out of captiuite & emprisonment for this onely purpose, that he should haue a man of his awne faccion and schoole, to whome he might surely and faithfully communicate and credite all thinges as to his awne propre person, and therfore beyng enflamed with an immortall ioye for the earles commynge he begaunte to haue a good hope of the happy successe of all his pretensed entreprises.

Not long after, the Frenche kyng retorned agayn to Paris, whome the erle of Richmond folowed, entending there to solicite his matter to ẏ conclusion. Whereupon he besought king Charles to take vpon him ẏ whole tuicyon and defence of him and his cause, so that he and his compaigny beynge by his meanes ayded and comforted, shoulde confesse & saye their wealth, victorye and auauncement to haue flowed and budded foorthe of his bountyfulnes and liberalite, whiche they would God wyllyng shortely reacquyte. In the meane ceason diuerse Englishemen whiche either fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie good litterature and vertеous doctrine came voluntarely and submitted theim selues to the Earle of Rychemonde, and vowed and sware to take his parte. Emongeste whome was Richarde Foxe a priest, a man of great wyt and no lesse learnynge, whome the erle incontinent receaued into secret familiarite & in brief time erected &

auaunced him to high dignitees and promocions, and in conclusion he made him bishop of Wynchester.

In the meane ceason kyng Richard was crediblye aduertised what promyses and othes the erle and his cõfederates had made and sworne together at Renes, and how by the erles meanes all thenglishmẽ were passed oute of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherfore beynge sore dysmaied and in maner desperate, because his craftie cheuesaunce tooke none effect in Brytayne ymagened and deuysed how to infringe and disturbe the erles purpose by another meane, so that by the mariage of lady Elizabeth his nece he should pretende no clayme nor tytle to the croune. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the erles chiefe combe had bene clerly cut. And because that he beynge blynded with the ambicious desyre of rule before this tyme, in obteynynge the kyngdome, had perpetrate and done many flagicious actes and detestable tyrannies, yet accordynge to the old prouerbe, let him take the bul that stale away ȳ calfe, he thought all factes by him committed in tymes passed to be but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischeuous ymaginacion whiche he nowe newely beganne and attempted. There came into hys vngracious mynde a thinge not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembraunce of man, but much more cruel and abhominable to be put in execucion. For when he reuolued in his wauerynge mynde how greate a founteyne of mischiefe towarde hym shoulde sprynge, yf the erle of Richmond should be anaunced to the mariage of his nece, whiche thinge he hearde saye by the rumour of the people that no small nombre of wyse and wittye personages enterprised to compasse & brynge to conclusion. He clerely determined to reconcile to his fauoure his brothers wife quene Elizabeth either by faire woordes or liberall promises, firmely beleuynge her fauoure once obteined that she would not sticke to commite and louyngly credite to him the rule and gouernaunce both of her and her daughters, and so by that meanes the erle of Richemonde of the affinite of his nece should be vtterly defrauded and beguyled. And yf no ingenyous remedye coulde be otherwise inuented to saue the innumerable mischiefes whiche were euen at hand and like to falle, yf it shoulde happen quene Anne his wife to departe oute of this presente worlde, then he him selfe woulde rather take to wife his cousyn and nece the lady Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinite the whole rẽalme should runne to ruyne, as who said, that yf he once fell from his estate and dignite, the ruyne of the realme must nedes shortely ensue & folowe. Wherfore he sent to the quene beynge in sanctuarye diuerse and often messengers, whiche firste shoulde excuse and purge him of all thinges before againste her attempted or procured, and after should so largely promes promocions innumerable and benefites, not onely to her but also to her sonne lord Thomas Marques Dorcett, that they should brynge her yf it were possible into some wanhope, or as some men saie into a fooles paradise. The messengers beynge men bothe of wit and grauitie so persuaded the quene with great & pregnaunte reasons, then with fayre & large promises, that she began somewhat to relent & to gene to theim no deffe eare, in somuche that she faithfully promised to submyt & yelde her selfe fully and frankely to the kynges will and pleasure. And so she putting in obliuion the murther of her innocente children, the infamy and dishonoure spoken by the kynge her husbande, the lyuynge in auoutrie leyed to her charge, the bastardyng of her daughters, forgettyng also ȳ feithfull promes & open othe made to the countesse of Richmond mother to ȳ erle Henry, blynded by auaricious affeccion and seduced by flatterynge wordes, first deliuered into kyng Richards hādes her v. daughters as *Lambes once* agayne committed to the custody of the rauenous wolfe. After she sente letters to the Marques her sonne beynge then at Parys with the earle of Richmonde, willynge him in auy wise to leaue the earle and without delaie to repaire into England where, for him were prouided great honoures and honorable promocions, asserteignynge him ferther, that all offences on bothe parties were forgotten and forgeuen, and bothe he and she highely incorporate in the kynges hearte. Surely the inconstancie of this woman were muche to be merueled at, yf all women had bene founde constante, but let men speake, yet wemen of the verie bonde of nature will folowe their awne kynde. After that

kynge

kynge Rycharde had thus with glorious promyses and flatterynge woordes pleased and appeased the mutable mynde of quene Elyzabeth which knewe nothing lesse then that he moost entended, he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueighed into his paleys with solempne receauyng, as though with his newe familier and louyng entreteinement they should forget, and in their myndes obliterate the olde committed iniurie and late perpetrate tyrannye. Nowe nothinge was contrariant and obstacle to his pernicious purpose, but that his mancion was not voide of his wife, which thinge he in anywise adiudged necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so muche feared and dragged him from commyttynge this abhominable murther, because as you haue heard before he beganne to countrefaycte the ymage of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afeard least ỹ sodeine and immature death of his wife once openly knowen, he should lese the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without deserte conceaued and reported. But in conclusion, euyll councell preuailed in a witt lately mynded to mischiefe, and tourned from all goodnes. So that his vngracious desyre ouercame his honest feare. And first to entre into the gates of his ymagened entrepriſe, he absteyned bothe from the bed and companye of his wife. After, he compleyned to dyuerse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilite and barennes of his wife, because she brought foorth no fruyte and generacion of her bodye. And in especiall he accompted to Thomas Rotheram archebishop of Yorke (whome lately he had delyuered oute of warde and captiuite) these imped/mentes of his quene and dyuerse other, thinkyng that he woulde enucleate and open to her all these thinges, trustynge the sequele herof to take his effecte, that she heryng this grudge of her husband, and takyng therefore an inwarde thought, woulde not longe lyue in this worlde. Of this the bishoppe gathered (whiche well knewe the complexion and vsage of the kyng) that the quenes dayes were short, and that he declared to certeine of his secrete frendes. After this he procured a common rumour (but he woulde not haue the author knowen) to be published and spred abroade emonge the common people that the quene was ded, to thentent that she takyng some cõceipte of this straung fame, should fall into some sodayne sicknes or greuous maladye, & to proue if afterward she should fortune by ỹ or any other waies to lese her life, whyther ỹ people would impute her death to the thought or sicknes, or therof would laie ỹ blame to him. Whē ỹ quene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was sprong emongest the comminaltie, she sore suspected and iuged ỹ world to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorofull agony, she with lamentable countenaunce and sorofull chere, repaired to the presence of the kyng her husband, demaundynge of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to dye. The kyng aunswered her with fare woordes, and with dissimulynge blandimentes and flatteryng lesynges comforted her, biddynge her to be of good comforte, for to his knowledge she should haue none other cause. But howsoeuer ỹ it fortuned, either by inward thought and pensyuenes of hearte, or by intoxicacion of poyson (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a few daies after, the quene departed oute of this transitorie lyfe, and was with dewe solempnite buried in the churche of scint Peter at Westminster. This is thesame Anne one of the daughters of ỹ erle of Warwyk, which as you haue heard before at the request of lewes ỹ French kyng, was maried to prince Edward sonne to kyng Henry the vi.

The kyng thus (accordyng to his long desire) losed out of the bõdes of matrimony, beganne to cast a foolyshe phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his nece, making much suite to haue her ioyned with him in lawfull matrimony. But because all men, and the mayden her selfe moost of all, detested and abhorred this vnlawfull and in maner vnnaturall copulacion, he determined to prolonge and deferre the matter till he were in a more quietnes. For all that verie ceason he was oppressed with great weightie and vrgent causes and busynesses on euery side considerynge that dailye parte of the nobilite sailed into Fraunce to the erle of Richmond: Other preuely fauoured & aided certeine of the coniuracion, so ỹ of his shorte ende, fewe or none were in doubte. And ỹ common people for the moost part were brought to such desperacio, ỹ many of theim had rather be reputed & taken of him in the nõbre of his enemies, then to

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abide the chaunce and hazard to haue their goodes taken as a spoile of victorie by his enemies. Emongest the noble men whome he moost mystrusted, these were the principall, Thomas lorde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his brother, Gylbert Talbot and. vi. hundred other, of whose purposes although kyng Richard were ignoraunt, yet he gaue nether confidence nor credence to any one of theim, and least of all to the Lord Stanley, because he was ioyned in matrimony with the lady Margarete mother to the erle of Richmond, as afterward apparaūtly ye maie perceaue. For when the sayde lorde Stanley woulde haue departed into his countrey to visite his familie, and to recreate and refreshe his spirites (as he openly sayde) but the truth was to thentent to be in a perfight readines to receaue the erle of Richmōd at his first arriuall in Englād: the kyng in no wise woulde suffre hym to departe before that he had left as an hostage in the courte George Stanley lorde straung his first begotten sonne and heire. While kynge Richard was thus troubled and vexed with ymaginacions of the tumulteous time that was like to come: Loo, euen sodeinly he herde newes that fyer was sprong oute of the smoke, and the warre recently begonne, and that the castell of hammes was deliuered into the handes of the earle of Rychemonde by the meanes of the earle of Oxenforde, and that not only he but also Iames Blount capiteine of the castel, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Earle Henry. Wherfore he thynkynge it great pollicie to withstand the fyrst brunt, sent the moost part of the garrison of Caleis to recouer again by force the castell of Hammes. They which were in the castell perceauing their aduersaries to approche, prepared municions and engins for their defence, and sent also to the Earle of Richemonde, to aduertise hym of their sodeine obsession, requirynge hym of hasty ayde and spedy succoure. The erle sleppynge not this first begonne assaute, sent the earle of Oxenforde with an elected company of souldioures to reise the siege & reskewe the castel: Which at their first arryuynge pitched their campe not farre from their enemies. And while kyng Rychardes men gaue vigilaunt iye, weytynge least the Earle of Oxforde shoulde take any aduauntage of theim that laie on that side of the Castell. Thomas Brandon with. xxx. approued men of warre by a marishe whiche laie on the other syde entred into the castell. The souldioures within greately animated and muche comforted by this newe succour and aide, greued thenemies by shotyng frō ȳ walles more then they were accustomed to do. And they of the Castell vexed their enemies on the foreparte: the Earle of Oxenforde no lesse molested and vnquieted theim on theother parte, whiche was the occasion that kyng Richardes men offred of their awne mere mocion licence to all beynge within the Castel to departe in sauetie with bagge and baggage nothinge excepted: whiche condicion the earle of Oxenforde commynge only for that purpose to deliuer his louynge frendes oute of all perell and daunger, & chiefely of all, his olde hostesse Iane Blount wife to Iames Blount the capteine, would in no wise repudiate or refuse. And so leauynge the Castell bare and vngarnysshed bothe of vitaile and artillary, came safe to the erle of Richmond soiournyng in Parys. Duryng this tyme, kynge Richard was credebly informed of his explorators & espialles ȳ ȳ erle of Richmond was w longe suyte in the courte of Fraunce sore fatigate & weried, & desyrynge greate aide coulde obteine small releue. In so much ȳ all thyng went so farre backward, that suche thinges as were with great diligence and no lesse deliberation purposed and determined to be set forward, were nowe dasshed and ouerthrowen to the grounde. Kynge Richarde eyther beynge to light of credence, or seduced and deluded by hys craftie taletellers, greatly reioysed as though he had obteyned the ouerhand of his enemyes with triumph and victorie, and thought hymselfe neuer so surely delyuered of all feare and dreadfull ymaginacions, so that he neded nowe no more once for that cause eyther to wake or breake his golden slepe. Wherefore he called home againe his shippes of warre whiche he had apoynted to kepe the narowe sees, & dispatched al such souldioures as he had deputed to kepe certeine garrisons & to stoppe certeine passages as you haue heard before. Yet least he might for lacke of prouisyon be sodainly trapped, he streightly charged and gaue in commaundemēt to all noble men & in especiall suche as inhabited nere to the sea coaste and on the frontiers of wales, that accordyng to the vsage of the countrey, they should kepe diligent watche & stronge warde, to ȳ entent ȳ his aduersaries

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in no wise should haue any place apte or oportune easely to take lande withoute defence or rebuttynge back. For the custome of the countreys adioynyng nere to ỹ see is (especially in the tyme of war) on euery hill or high place to erect a beken w a greate laterne in the toppe, which maie be sene, and discerned a great space of. And when the noyes is once bruted that the enemies approche nere ỹ land, they sodeinly put fyer in the lanthornes and make showtes & outrages frō toune to toune and from village to village. Some ronne in post frō place to place admonishyng the people to be ready to resist the ieopardy, and defende the perell. And by this pollecy ỹ fame is sone blowen to euery citee & toune, in somuche that aswell the cytezens as the rural people be in short space assembled and armed to refell and put back the newe arryued enemies.

Nowe to retourne to our purpose, kynge Richarde thus alleuiate of his accustoned pensiuenes, beganne to be somewhat more merier & toke lesse thought & care for outwarde enemies then he was woont to do, as who saie, that he with polletique prouision shoulde withstand the desteny which hong ouer his hed, and was ordened in brefe tyme sodeinly to fall. Suche is the force and puissaunce of deuyne iustice, that euery man shal lesse regarde, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubte of al things, when he is moost nerest punishment, and next to his mischaunce for his offences and crymes.

Aboute this ceason, while the erle of Richmonde was desiryuge ayde of the Frenche kynge, certeine noble men were there apointed to rule the realme of Fraunce durynge the minorite of kyng Charles, which emongest theim selfes were not of one opinion. Of whiche dissencion, Lewes duke of Orlyaunce was the chiefe sturrer, which because he had maryed lady Iohanne suster to the Frenche kynge, tooke vpon him aboue other the rule and administracion of the whole realme. By reason of whyche controuersie, no one manne only was suffred to rule al, wherfore the erle of Rychemond was compelled to make suyte to euery one of the councel seuerally one after another, requiring and desiryuge theim of aide and releue in his weightie busynes, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. Durynge whiche time, Thomas Marques Dorset which was as you haue heard entised by his mother to retorne againe into Englād partely despayring in the good successe of the erle of Richmōd & partely onerate and vanquesshed with the faire glosynge promises of kyng Richard: secretly in the night ceason stale oute of Parys, and with all diligent expedicion tooke his iourney toward Flaunders. When relacīō of his departure was made to the erle of Richmond & the other noble men, no maruell though they were astonnyed & greatly amased. Yet ỹ notwstādyng they requyred of the Frēch kyng that it might be lefull to theim in his name and by his commaundement to take and steye their cōpaignion, confederate, and partaker of all their councel, in what place within his realme and territorye so euer they couldе fynde hym. Which petticiō once obteined, thei sent oute curriers into euery parte emongest whome Homfrey Cheiny pleiyng the parte of a good blood hounde, foloed the tract of ỹ flyer so euen by ỹ sent, that he ouertooke and apprehēded hym not farre from Cōpeign & so what with reason & what w faire promises beyng persuaded, he retourned againe to his cōpaignions. The earle of Richmond vnburdened of this misauenture, least by procrastinacion of daies & prolongyng of time he might lese ỹ great oportunitee of things to him offred and ministred: also least he shoulde ferther wounde or molest the myndes of his feithfull and assured frendes which daily did aspect & tarie for his cōmyng, determined no leinger to protract & deferre ỹ time, but with all diligence & scelerite to attempte his begonne entreprice and so obteinyng of kyng Charles a small crewe of men, and borowyng certeyn sommes of money of him & of diuerse other his pryuate frendes. For the whiche he left as debter or more likelyer as a pledge or hostage lord Thomas Marques Dorsett (whome he halfe mistrusted) and Sir Iohn Burchier, he departed from ỹ French court & came to the citee of Roan. While he taryed there makyng prouisiō at harflete in the mouth of the ryuer of Seyne for all thinges necessary for his nauy and nauigacion, tydynges were brought to hym that kynge Richard beynge wout children and now wydower, entended shortely to mary with Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the ladye Cicile her suster to a man founde in a cloude and of an vnknowen lignage and familie. He

tooke these newes as a matter of no small momente, and so all thynges considered, it was of no lesse importaunce then he tooke it for. For this thyng only tooke aweie from all his compaignions their hope and courage that they had to obteine an happie enterprice. And therfore no maruell though it nypped hym at the verie stomacke when he thought that by no possibilite he might attayne the mariage of any of kynge Edwardes daughters, which was the strongest foudacion of his buyldyng, by reason whereof he iudged that all his frendes in England woulde abandon and shryuke from hym. Wherfore makynge not many of his councell, after dyuerse consultacions he determined not yet to set forwarde. but to tarye and attempte howe to get more ayde, more frendes and more stronger succoures. And emongest all other, it was thought moost expedient to allure by affinite in his ayde as a compaignion in armes Sir Walter Herbert a man of an aunciente stocke and greate powre emongest the Welshemen, whiche had wyth hym a faire Ladye to his suster, of age mature and ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the acheuynge of this purpose, messengers were secretely sent to Henry Earle of Northumbreland (whiche had before maried another suster of Sir Walter Herbertes) to thentent that he shoulde set forward all this deuyce and purpose, but the weies were so narowly watched and so many spies laide that the messenger proceded not in his iourney and busynes. But in the meane ceason, ther came to the Earle a more ioyfuller message from Morgan Kydwelly learned in the temporall lawe, whiche declared that Ryce ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valyauntnes then actyuitee, and Ihon Sauage an approued Capteyne, woulde with all their powre be partakers of his quarell. And that Reignolde Breye had collected and gotten together no small some of money for the payment of the wages to the souldioures and men of warre: admonisshynge him also to make quicke expedicion and to take his course directly into Wales. The Earle of Richmonde because he woulde no lenger lynger and weery hys frendes lyuynge continually betweene hope and feare, determyned in all conueniente hast to sett forwarde, and caried to his shippes armoure, weapons, vitayle and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre. And shortely to speake, all thynges he prepared whiche are wont to be necessary and profitable to the varlable chaunces and incerteine accidentes and ieopardies of warre which requyreth preparaciō of many instrumētes and thinges chargeable.

After that the erle had made his humble peticion, and deuoute praier to allmightie God, besechynge him not only to sende him moost prosperous wynde and sure passage in his iourney, but also effecteously desyrynge his goodnes of aide & comforte in his necessite and victorie & supremitie ouer his enemies, only accompaignied with. ii. thousand menne and a small nombre of shippes, weyed vp his ancres and halsed vp his sailes and in the calendes of August he sailed from harflet with so prosperous a wynde that the. vii. daye after his departure he arryued in Wales in the euenyng at a porte called Mylford Hauen, and in cōtinēt tooke land and came to a place called Dalle, where he beard saye that a certeine company of his aduersaries were leyed in garrison to defende his arryuall all the last wynter. And the earle at the sonne rysyng removed to harfford west, beyng distant from dalle not fully ten myle, where he was applauded and receaued of the people with greate ioye, and he arryued there so sodeinly that he was come and entred the toune at the same tyme when the cytezens had but knowlege of his commynge. Here he beard newes whiche were as vntrue as they truly were reported to hym in Normandie, that Rice ap Thomas and Ihon Sauage wythe body and goodes were determined to aide kyng Richard. While he and his compaignie were somewhat appalled of these newe tydynges, there came such message from thinhabitauntes of the toune of Pembroke ỹ refresshed and renyued their frosen heartes and daunted courages. For Arnold Butller a valiaunt capitain, which first askynge perdon for his offences before tyme committed against the erle of Richmond, and that obteyned, declared to hym that the penbrochians were ready to serue & gene their attendaunce on their natural and immediate lord Iasper erle of Penbrooke. The erle of Richmond hauyng his armie thus encreased, departed from Herforde west to the toune of Cardygan beyng. v. myle distant from thence. While the souldioures were refressbyng and trimmynge theim selues

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in their campe, straunge tydynges spronge emonge theim woute any certeine authour, ẏ sir Walter Herberd which laie w̄ a greate crewe of menne at Carmarden, was nowe with a greate armye ready to approche and byd theim battaile. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and euery man assaied his armure and proued hys weapon and were prest to defende their enemies. And as they were in this timerous doubte, certeine horsemen which the erle had sent to make exploracion and searche, retourned and reported all the countrey to bee quiete and no let nor impedimente to be laied or cast in their iourney. And euen at that same tyme the whole armye was greately recomforted by reason that the commynge of Rycharde Gryffyth, a man of greate nobilite, the whiche notwythstandynge that he was conferate wyth Sir Walter Harbert and Richarde app Thomas, yet at that verie instant he came to the Earle of Richemund with all his compaignie, whyche were of no great nomber. After hym, the same daie came Ihon Morgan wyth his men. Then the Earle auaunced forwarde in good haste, makyng no repose or abode in any one place. And to thentent to passe forwarde with sure and short expedicion, he assauted euery place where his ennemies had set any men of warre, whiche with small force and lesse difficultie he briefly dyd expugne and vanquishe. And sodeynly he was by his espialles asserteyned that Sir Walter Harbert and Rice app Thomas were in harnes before hym ready to encountre wyth hys armye and to stoppe their passage. Wherefore lyke a valyaunt capteyn he firste determyned to sett on theim and eyther to destroye or to take theim into his fauoure, and after with all his powre and puyssaunce to geue battaile to his mortall enemye kynge Richarde. But to thentent his frendes shoulde knowe wyth what dexterite his attempted entreprice proceded forwarde, he sente of his moost secrete and feithfull seruauntes with letters and instruccions to the ladye Margarete his mother, to the Lorde Stanley and his brother, to Talbote and to other his trustie frendes, declarynge to theim, that he succoured and holpen with the ayde and releue of his frendes entended to passe ouer ẏ ryuer of Seuerne at Shrewsburye, and so to passe directely to the citee of London, requirynge theim as his especiall truste and confidence was perplanted in the hope of their fidelite, that they would occurre & mete hym by the waye with all diligent preparacion to thentent that he & thei at tyme propice and place conuenient might communicate together the profundyte and depnes of all his dubious and weightye busynes. Whē the messengers were disparcled with these commaundementes & admonicions, he marched forward toward Shrewsbury, and in his passynge there met & saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bād of Welshmen whiche makynge an othe and promyse to the erle, submitted himself whole to his ordre and commaundement. For the erle of Richemond. ii. daies before made to him promes ẏ if he woulde sweare to take his part and be obedient to hym he woulde make hym chiefe gouernour of Wales, whiche parte as he feithfully promised and graunted, so after that he had obteyned and possessed the realme and diademe, he liberally performed and accomplished the same. In the meane tyme, the messengers that were sent, diligently executed the thinges geuen to theim in charge, and laden with rewardes of theim to whome thei were sent; retourned to hym the same daye that he entred into Shrewsburie, and made relacion to hym that his frendes were ready in all poyntes to doo all thinges for him which either they ought or might do. The erle Hēry brought in good hope with his pleasaunt message continued foorth his entended iourney and came to a litle towne called Newporte and pitchynge his campe on a lytle hill adioynynge, reposed hym selfe there that nyghte. In the euenynge, the same daie came to hym sir George Talbott with the whole powre of the younge Earle of Shrewsburye then beynge in warde, whiche were accompted to the nombre of twoo thousande men. And thus his powre increasynge he arryued at the towne of Stafforde and there pawsed. To whome came Sir Wyllyam Stanley accompaignied with a fewe persones, and after that the Earle and he had communed no longe tyme together, he reuerted to his souldioures which he had congregate together to serue the Earle, whiche from thence departed to Lichefelde and laie without the walles in his camp all the nyght. The nexte morenynge he entred into the towne, and was with all honour lyke a prynce receaued. A daie or twoo before the lorde Stanley

 hauynge

hanynge in hys bande almoste fyue thousande men, lodged in thesame towne, but herynge that the Earle of Richemonde was marshynge thetherward, gaue to hym place, dislodgynge hym and hys and repaired to a towne called Adrestone, there abydynge the commyng of the Earle, and this wilye foxe did this acte to aduoyde all suspicion, beynge afraied least yf he shoulde he sene openly to bee a fautoure or ayder to the Earle his sonne in lawe before the daie of the battayll, that kynge Richarde whiche yet dyd not vtterly put in him diffidence and mystruste woulde put to some cruell deathe his sonne and heire apparaunt George Lorde Straunge whome kynge Richarde as you haue heard before kept with hym as a pledge or hostage to thentent that the lorde Stanley his father shoulde attempte nothing preiudiciall to hym.

Kynge Rycharde at this ceason kepynge his howse in the Castell of Notyngham was informed that the Earle of Richemond with such bannysshed men as fled oute of Englande to hym were nowe arryued in Wales, and that all thynges necessarie to his enterprice were vnprouided, vnpurueyed and verie weake, nothynge mete to withstande the powre of suche as the kyng had apoynted to resist him. This rumour so enflated his minde, that in maner disdeignyng to here speke of so poore a compaignye, determined at the first to take lytle or no regarde to this so small a sparcle, declarynge the earle to be innocente, and vnwyse because that he temerariously attempted suche a greate enterprice with so small and thynne a nombre of Warlyke persones, and therefore he gaue a definityue sentence, that when he came to that poynte that he shoulde be compelled to fight agaynst his will, he eyther shoulde be apprehended a lyue, or elles by all likelyhode he shoulde of necessite come to a shamefull confusion, and that he trusted to be shortely done by Sir Walter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas, whiche then ruled Wales with egall powre and lyke auctoritee. But yet he reuoluynge and castynge in hys mynde that a small warre begonne and wynked at and not regarded, maye tourne to a greate broyle and tumulteous trouble, and that yt was prudente pollecie not to asperne and disdeyne the lytle small powre and weakenes of the ennemye, be it neuer so small, thought it necessarye to prouyde for after clappes that might happen and chaunce. Wherefore he sent to Ihon duke of Norfolke, Henry earle of Northumberlande, Thomas Earle of Surrey and to other of hys especiall and trusty frendes of the nobilite, whyche he iudged muche more to preferre and esteme his wealthe and honoure then their awne riches and priuate commodite, wyllynge theim to mustre and viewe all their seruauntes and tenentes, and to elect and choose the moost courageous and actiue persones of the whole nomber, and with theim to repaire to his presence with all spede and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the towre, commaundynge hym with his powre to come to his armye and to brynge with hym as felowes in armes Sir Thomas Burchier and sir Walter Hungerforde and diuerse other knightes and esquiers in whome he had cast no small suspicion. While he was thus ordrynge his affaires, tydynges came that the Earle of Richemond was passed Seuerne and come to Shrewsbury without any detrymente or encombreaunce. At which message he was sore moued and broyled with Melancolye and doloure and cried out, askynge vengeaunce of theim that contrarye to their othe and promes had fraudulently deceaued hym. For whyche cause he beganne to haue diffidence in other, in so muche that he determined hym selfe oute of hande thesame daye to occurre and resyste hys aduersaries. And in all haste sente oute explorators to viewe and espie what waie his enemies kept and passed. They dilygentely doynge their dewtie, shortely after retourned, declarynge to the kyng that the Earle was encamped at the toune of Lichfelde. When he had perfighte knowledge where the Earle with his armye was soiournynge, he hauynge continuall repaire of his subiectes to hym, beganne in contynently withoute delaie to marshall and collocate in order his battailes (lyke a valyaunt capteine and polletique leader) and firste he made his battayles to set forward foure and foure in a ranke, marchynge towarde that waie where his enemyes as was to him reported entended to passe. In the myddle parte of the armye he appoynted the trafficke and cariage apperteignynge to the armye. Then he (enuironed with his satellytes and yomen of the crowne) with a frownynge countenaunce and truculente aspect mounted on a greate white courser, folowed with his footemen, the

wynges

wynges of horsemen coastynge and rangynge on euery syde: And kepyng this araye, he with greate pompe entred the toune of Lecester after the sonne set. The Earle of Rychmonde reised his campe and departed from Lychefelde to the towne of Tomwoorth therto nere adioynynge, and in the myd waye passynge, there saluted hym Sir Walter Hungerforde and Sir Thomas Burchier knightes and dyuerse other whiche yelded and submitted theim selfes to his pleasure. For they beynge aduertised that kynge Richarde had theim in suspicion and gealosye, a lytle beyonde stony stratforde left and forsooke preuely their Capteyne Robert Brakenbury, and by nocturnall wandrynge, and in maner by vnknowen pathes and vncerteine waies searchyng, at the last came to the earle Henry. Diuerse other noble personages whiche inwardely hated kynge Richard worsse then a toade or a serpent, lykewyse resorted to him wyth all their powre and strength. There happened in this progression to the Earle of Richmond a straunge chaunce worthy to be noted: for albeit that he was a man of haute and valyaunte courage, and that his army encreased, and dayly more & more he waxed puysaunt & stronger, yet he was not a lytle afeard because he in no wise could be assured of his father inlawe Thomas Lorde Stanley, whiche for feare of the distruction of the Lorde straunge his sonne (as you haue heard) as yet enclyned to neyther partie. For yf he had gone to the Earle, and that notefied to kynge Rychard, his sonne had shortely been executed. Wherefore syth the earles feare sprange not of nothynge, he accompaignyed with twenty lyght horsemen lyngered in his iourney as a man disconsolate, musyng and ymagenynge what was best to be done. And the more to aggrauate his melancoly pensyuenes, yt was shewed hym that kynge Rycharde was at hand with a stronge powre and a populous armye. Whyle he thus pensyue dragged behynde his hoost, the whole armye came before the toune of Tomwoorth, and when he for the depe darknes coulde not perceaue the steppes of theim that passed on before, and had wandred hether and thether, sekynge after his compaignie and yet not once hearynge any noyse or whysperynge of theim, he dyuerted to a very lytle village beynge aboute iii. myles from his armye, takynge greate thought and muche fearynge, least he should be espied, and so trapped by kynge Rychardes skoute watche. There he taried all nyght, not once auenturynge to aske or demaunde a question of any creature, he beynge no more amased wyth the leopardye and perell that was passed, then wyth this presente chaunce, sore feared that it shoulde bee a prognosticacion or prodygall sygne of some infortunate plague afterward to succede. As he was not merye beynge absent from hys compaignie, lykewyse his armie muche marueled and no lesse mourned for hys sodeyne and intempestious absence.

The next morenynge early in the dawnynge of the daye he retourned, and by the conduyte of good fortune espied and came to his armie, excusynge hym selfe, not to haue gone oute of hys waye by ignoraunce, but for a pollecie deuysed for the nones he went from his campe to receaue some glad message from certeyne of his preuy frendes and secret alies. This excuse made, he preuely departed agayn from his host to the toune of Aderstone, where the lord Stanley and sir William his brother with their bandes were abidynge. There the Earle came firste to his fatherinlawe in a lytle close, where he saluted hym and Sir William his brother, and after diuerse congratulacions and many frendely embracynges, eache reioysed of the state of other, and sodeinly were surprised with great ioye, comfort and hope of fortunate successe in all their affaires and doynges. Afterward they consulted together howe to geue battaile to kynge Richarde if he woulde abide, whome they knewe not to be farre off, with an houge army. In the euenynge of thesame daye sir Thon Sauage, Sir Bryan Sanforde, Sir Symon Digby and many other, leuyng kyng Richarde, turned and came to the parte of the erle of Richmond with an elect company of men. Whiche refusall of kyng Richardes parte by men of suche experience, did augment and encreace bothe the good hope and the puissaunce of the erle of Richmond.

In the mean ceason kyng Richard (whiche was appoynted nowe to finyshe his last laboure by the very deuyne iustice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne punyshemente for his scelerate merites and myscheueous desertes) marshed to a place mete for two battayles

battayles to encountre by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leycester, and there he pitched his [illegible], refreshed his souldioures and toke his rest. The same went that he had the same nyght a dreadful & a terrible dreamē, for it semed to hym beynge a slepe ỹ he sawe diuerse straunge lyke terrible deuelles whiche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyete or rest. The whiche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare, but it stuffed his hed and troubled his mynde with many dreadfull and busy imaginacions. For incontynent after, his heart beynge almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battaile to come, not vsynge the alacrite and myrth of mynde and of countenaunce as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battaile. And least that it might be suspected that he was abasshed for feare of his enemyes, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted and declared to hys famylyer frendes in the morenynge hys wonderfull visyon and terrible dreame. But I thynke this was no dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience, for the conscience is so muche more charged and aggrauate as the offence is greater & more heynous in degre, whiche prycke of conscience allthough it strike not all waye, yet at the last daie of extreme life it is wont to shewe and represent to vs our faultes and offences and the paynes and punishementes which hang ouer our heddes for the cōmyttyng of thesame, to thentent that at ỹ instant we for our desertes being penitent & repentaūt may be cōpelled lamētyng & bewalyng our sinnes like forsakers of this worlde, iocund to departe out of this miserable life. Now to retorne againe to oure purpose, ỹ next daie after, kyng Richard beyng furnished ẅ men & all abilimētes of warr, bringyng all his men out of there camp into ỹ plaine, ordered his forward in a marueylous lēgth, in which he appointed both horsemen & footmen to thentēt to emprynte in ỹ hartes of thē ỹ loked a farre of, a sodeine terror & deadlie feare, for ỹ great multitude of ỹ armed souldiours: & in the fore Frount he placed ỹ archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke: ouer this battaile was captain Ihon duke of Norfolke with whom was Thomas erle of Surrey his sonne. After this lōg vātgard folowed king Richard hī self, ẅ a strōg cōpaigny of chosen & approued mē of warr, hauyng horsmen for wynges on both ỹ sides of his battail.

The dreame of kyng Richard the iij.

After ỹ therle of Richmond was departed from ỹ cōmunicaciō of his frendes as you haue harde before, he began to be of a better stomake & of a more valiant conrage, & ẅ all diligēs pitchid his feld iuste by ỹ cāp of his enemies, & there he lodged ỹ night. In the morning be time he caused his men to put on there armure & appareyl thē selfes redy to fight & geue battail, & sent to ỹ lord Stanley (which was now come ẅ his bāde in a place indifferently betwene both ỹ armies) requiryng him ẅ his mē to approche nere to his army & to help to set ỹ souldiours in array, he answered ỹ therle should set his awne mē in a good order of battaile while he would array his cōpaigny, & cōme to him in time conuenient. Which answere made otherwise then therle thought or would haue iudged, considering ỹ oportunite of the time & the waite of ỹ busines, & although he was there wall, a litle vexed, began somewhat to hang ỹ hedde, yet he wout any time delaiyng compelled by necessite, after this maner instructed & ordred his men. He made his forward somewhat single and slender, accordyng to ỹ small nōber of his people. In ỹ Frount he placed the archers, of whome he made captain Ihō erle of Oxford: to the right wyng of ỹ battaill he appoynted, sir Gylbert Talbott to be ỹ leder: to ỹ left wing he assigned sir Ihon Sauage, & he ẅ ỹ aide of ỹ lord Stāley accompaignied with therle of Penbroke hauyng a good compaignie of horsmen and a small nomber of footmen: For all his hole nōber exceded not. v. thousaide men beside the powr of the Stanleys, wherof iij. thousande were in the felde vnder the stādard of sir William Stanley: The kynges nomber was doble as muche & more. When bothe these armies were thus ordered & al men redy to set forward, kyng Richard called his Cheuetains together & to thē sayde. Most faithfull & assured felowes, moste trusty & welbeloued frendes and elected captains, by whose wisedom & polecie, I haue obteyned the crowne & type of this famous realm & noble regiō: by whose puissaūce & valiauntnes I haue enioied & possessed the state roial & dignite of ỹ same, maugre ỹ yl wil & sedicious attemptes of all my cancarde

The oracīō of kyng Richard the iij.

cancarde enemies & insidious aduersaries, by whose prudēt & politike coūsaill I haue so gouerned my realm, people & subiectes, ẏ I haue omitted nothing apperteinīg to ẏ office of a iuste price, nor you haue pretermittted nothing belōgyng to ẏ duty of wise & sage counsailers. So ẏ I may saie & truely affirme, that your approued fidelite & tried constancye, maketh me to beleue firmely & thinke, ẏ I am an vndoubted kyng & an indubitate prince. And although in ẏ adepcion & obteinyng of ẏ Garlāde, I being seduced & prouoked by sinister coūsail and diabolical temptaciō did commyt a facynerous and detestable acte. Yet I haue with strayte penaunce and salte teryes (as I trust) expiated and clerely purged the same offence, which abhominable crime I require you of frendship as clerely to forget, as I dayly do remember to deplore and lament thesame, yf you wil now diligently call to remembraunce in what case and perplexitie we nowe stand, and in what doubtfull perell we be now intricked? I doubt not but you in hart will thinke and with mouth confesse, that yf euer amitie and faythe preuailed betwene prince and subiectes or betwene subiecte and subiecte: or yf euer bond of allegians obliged the vassal to loue and serue his naturall souereigne lorde, or yf any obligation of dewtie bound any prince to ayde and defende his subiectes? All these loues, bondes and deuties of necessite are this daie to be experimented, shewed and put in experiēce. For if wyse men say trew, there is some pollycie in gettyng, but much more in kepyng. The one beyng but fortunes chaunce, and the other high wyt and pollicie, for whiche cause, I with you: and you with me, must nedes this daye take labour and payne to kepe and defend with force, that preheminence & possession which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten and obteyned. I dought not but you know, howe the deuel continuall enemie to humane nature, disturber of concorde and sower of sedicion, hath entered into the harte of an vnknowen welshman, (whose father I neuer knew nor hym personally sawe) excitynge him to aspire and couet oure realme, crowne and dignitie, and thereof clerely to depryue and spoyle vs and our posterite: ye se farther how a compaigne of traytors, thefes, outlawes and ronnegates of our awne nacion be ayders & partakers of his feate and enterprise, redy at hand to ouercomme and oppresse vs: You se also, what a nōber of beggerly Britons & faynte harted Frenchmen be with hym arriued to distroy vs our wyfes and children. Which Imminent mischifes & apparaunt incōuenientes, if we wil withstond & refel, we must liue to gether like brethern, fight together like liōs, & feare not to dye together lyke men. And obseruyng and kepyng this rule and precept, beleue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faster before the gredy greyhoūd, nor ẏ sylye larke before ẏ sparow hauke, nor the symple shepe before the rauenous wolfe, then your proud bragging aduersaries astōned & amased with ẏ only sight of your manly visages, will flee, ronne & skyr out of the felde. For yf yow consider and wisely ponder al things in your minde, you shall perceyue that we haue manifeste causes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie. And to begyn with the earle of Richmond Captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh mylkesoppe, a mā of small courage and of lesse experience in marcyall actes and feates of warr, brought vp by my brothers meanes and myne like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Fraunces duke of Britaine, and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in marcial affaires, by reason whereof he neither can nor is able on his awne will or experience to guyde or rule an hoste. For in the wyt and pollecie of the capitaine, consisteth the chefe adeption of the victory and ouerture of the enemyes. Secondarely feare not and put a way all doubtes, for when ẏ traitors & runagates of our realme, shall see vs ẇ banner displaied come against them, remēbryng there oth promise & fidelitie made vnto vs, as to ther souereigne lord & anoynted kyng, they shal be so pricked & stimulate in ẏ botome of there scrupulous consciences ẏ they for very remorce & dread of ẏ diuine plage will either shamefully flye, or humbly submitte them selfes to our grace and marcie. And as for the Frenshmē & Brytons, there valiātnes ys suche, ẏ our noble progenitors & your valiaunt parētes, haue them oftener vāquished & ouercome in one moneth, then they in ẏ beginnyng imagened possible to cōpasse & fynishe in a hole yere. What wil you make of thē, braggers ẇout audacite, dronkards ẇout discrescion, rybaudes ẇout reason, cowardes ẇout resistyng & in conclusion ẏ most

 effeminate

effeminate & lasciuious people, ỹ euer shewed them selfes in Frunt of battaile, ten tymes more coragious to fly & escape then ons to assaut ỹ brest of our stronge & populous army. Wherfore, considerynge al these auaũtages, expell out of your thoughts all doutes & avoide out of your mindes al feare, & like valiaunt chãpions auaũce furth your standards, & assaye whither your enemies can decide & trie ỹ title of battaile by dent of swerde, auaunce (I say againe) forward my captains, in whom lacketh neither pollicie wisdome nor puissaunce. Euery one gyue but one suer stripe, & suerly ỹ iorney is ours. What preuayleth a hãdfull to a hole realme: desiryng you for ỹ loue ỹ you beare to me, & ỹ affeccion ỹ you haue to your natiue and naturall coũtrey, & to ỹ sauegard of your prince & your self, ỹ you wyll this day take to you your accustumed corage, & couragious spirites for ỹ defence & sauegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this day I wil triũphe by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortal fame. For thei be maihmeed & out of ỹ palice of fame disgraded, diẽg wout renoune, which do not as much preferre & exalte ỹ perpetual honor of their natiue coũtrey, as ther awne mortal & transitorie life. Now sent George to borowe, let vs set forward, & remẽber well ỹ I am he which shall w̃ high anaunncementes, rewarde & preferre ỹ valiaunt & hardy chãpions, & punishe and turment the shameful cowardes & dreadfull dastardes. This exhortacion encouraged all such as fauoured him, but suche as were present more for dreade then loue, kissed thẽ openly, whome they inwardely hated, other sware outwardely to take part with suche, whose death they secretely compassed and inwardly imagened, other promysed to inuade the kynges enemies, whiche fled and fought with fyrce courage against the kyng: other stode stil & loked on, entendynge to take part w̃ the victors and ouercommers: So was his people to him vnsure and vnfaithfull at his ende, as he was to his nephewes vntrew and vnnaturall in his beginnyng.

When therle of Richmond knew by his forriders that the king was so nere embattayled, he rode about his armye, from ranke to ranke, from wyng to wyng, geuyng comfortable wordes to all men, and that finyshed (beyng armed at all peces sauynge his helmet) mounted on a lytell hyll so that all his people myght se and beholde hym perfitly to there great reioysyng: For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gyftes and lyniamentes of nature that he semed more an angelical creature then a terrestriall personage, his coũtenaunce and aspecte was cherefull and couragious, his heare yelow lyke the burnished golde, his eyes gray shynynge and quicke, prompte and ready in aunswerynge, but of suche sobrietie that it coulde neuer be iudged whether he were more dull then quicke in speakynge (such was hys temperaunce.) And when he had ouer loked hys army ouer euery syde, he pawsed a while, and after with a lowde voyce and bolde spirite spake to his compaignions these or lyke wordes folowyng.

The oracio of Kyng Henry the. vii.

If euer GOD gaue victorie to men fightynge in a iust quarell? or yf he euer ayded such as made warre for the welthe and tuicion of ther awne naturall and nutritiue countrey? or if he euer succoured them whyche aduentured there lyues for the relefe of innocentes, suppressynge of malefactores and apparaunt offenders? No doubt my felowes and frendes, but he of hys bountefull goodnes wyll this daye sende vs triumphaunt victorye and a luckey iourney ouer our prowde enemyes, and arrogant aduersaries: for yf you remember and consider the very cause of our iust quarell, you shall apparantlye perceyue the same to be trewe, Godly, and vertuous. In the whiche I doubte not but GOD wyll rather ayde vs (ye and fyght for vs) then se vs vanquished and profligate by suche as neyther feare hym nor his lawes, nor yet regarde iustice or honestie. Our cause is so iuste that no enterprice can be of more vertue, bothe by the lawes diuine and ciuile, for what can be a more honest, goodly or Godly quarell then to fight agaynste a Capitayne, beynge an homicide and murderer of hys awne bloude and progenye? An extreme destroyer of hys nobylytie, and to hys and oure countrey and the poore subiectes of the same, a deadly malle, a fyrye brande and a burden vntollerable? besyde hym, consyder who be of his bande and compaignye, suche as by murther and vntreuthe committed agaynste there awne kynne and lynage, ye agaynste theyr Prynce and soureygne Lorde haue disheryted me and you and wrongefully deteyne and

vsurpe ouer lawefull patrymonye and lyneall inherytaunce. For he that calleth hym selfe kynge, kepeth from me the Crowne and regymente of this noble realme and countrey contrarye to all iustice and equitie. Lykewyse, hys mates and frendes occupie your landes, cutt downe your woddes and destroy your manners, letting your wifes and children range a brode for their liuyng: which persones for ther penaunce and punishment I doubte not but GOD of his goodnes will eyther deliuer into our handes as a great gayne and booty, or cause them beinge greued and compuncted with the pricke of ther corrupt consciences cowardely to flye and not abyde the battaill: besyde this I assure you that there be yonder in that great battaill, men brought thither for feare and not for loue, souldiours by force compelled and not ỽ good will assembled: persons which desyer rather the destruccion then saluacion of ther master and captayn: And fynally a multitude: wherof the most part will be our frendes and the lest part our enemies. For truely I dout whiche is greater the malice of the souldiours towarde there captain, or the feare of hym conceyued of his people: for suerly this rule is infallible, that as il men daily couyte to destroy the good, so God appoynteth the good to confounde the yll, and of all worldly goodes the greatest is, to suppresse tirauntes, and releue innocences, wherof the one is euer as muche hated as ỽ other is beloued. If this be true (as clerkes preche) who will spare younder tyraunt Richard duke of Gloucester vntrewely callyng hym self kyng, considering that he hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God & man, what vertue is in him which was the confusion of hys brother and murtherer of his nephewes, what mercy is in him that sleythe hys trustie frendes aswell as his extreme enemies: Who can haue confidēs in him which putteth diffidens in all mē. Yf you haue not redde, I haue hard of clerckes saie, ỽ Tarquyne ỽ proude for the vice of the body lost the kyngdome of Rome, and the name of Tarquyne bannyshed the Citee for euer: yet was not his fault so detestable as the facte of cruel Nero, which slew his awne mother and opened her entrayles to be holde the place of his conception. Beholde younder Richarde whiche is bothe Tarquine and Nero: Yea a tyraūt more then Nero, for he hath not only murdered his nephewe beyng his kyng and souereigne lord, bastarded his noble brethern and defamed the wombe of his verteous and womanly mother, but also compased all the meanes and waies ỽ he coulde inuent how to stuprate and carnally know his awne nece vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimony, whiche lady I haue sworne and promised to take to my make and wyfe as you all know and beleue. If this cause be not iuste, and this quarel Godly, let God the geuer of vyctorie iudge and determine. We haue (thankes be geuen to Christ) escaped ỽ secrete treasons in Brytaine, and auoyded the subtyll snares of our fraudulēt enemies there, passed the troublous sees in good and quiet sauegarde, & with out resistence haue penetrate the ample region and large countrey of Wales, and are now comme to the place which we so much desyred, for long we haue sought the furious bore, and now we haue found him. Wherfore, let vs not feare to enter in to the toyle where we may suerly sley hym, for God knoweth ỽ we haue liued in the vales of myserie, tossynge oure shippes in daungerous stormes: let vs not now dread to set vp our sailes in fayre wether hauyng with vs bothe hym and good fortune. If we had come to conquer Wales and had acheued it, our praise had bene great, and our gayne more: but yf we wyn this battaill, ỽ hole riche realme of England with the lordes and rulers of the same shall be oures, the profit shall be oures and the honour shall be oures. Therfore labour for your gayne and swet for your right: while we were in Brytaine we had small liuynges and lytle plentye of wealth or welfare, now is the time come to get abundaunce of riches and copie of profit which is the rewarde of your seruice and merite of your payne. And this remēber with your selues, that before vs be our ennemies, and on ether syde of vs be suche as I neither suerly trust, nor greatly beleue, backwarde we cannot fly: So that here we stande like shepe in a folde circumcepted and cōpassed betwene our enemies and our doubtful frendes. Therefore let all feare be set a syde and lyke sworne brethern let vs ioyné in one, for this day shalbe thende of our trauayle and the gaine of our labour eyther by honorable death or famous victory: And as I trust, the battaill shall

not be so sowre as ỹ profyt shalbe swete. Remember ỹ victorie is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hartes and valiauntnes of myndes. The smaller that our nombre is, the more glorie is to vs yf we vanquishe, if we be ouercome, yet no laude is to be attributed, to the victors, consyderyng that. x. me fought agaynst one: and yf we dye so glorious a death in so good a quarell, nether fretyng tynne, nor cancarding obliuiō shal be able to obfuscate or race out of the boke of fame ether our names or our Godly attempt. And this one thyng I assure you, that in so inste and good a cause, and so notable a quarell, you shall fynde me this daye, rather a dead carion vppon the coold grounde, then a fre prisoner on a carpet in a laydes chamber. Let vs therfore fight like inuincible gyantes, & set on our enemies like vntimerous Tigers & banish all feare like rāping lions. And now auaūce forward trew men against traytors, pitifull persones against murtherers, trew inheritors against vsurpers, ỹ skorges of God against tiraūtes, display my banner with a good courage, marche furth like strong & robustious champions, & begyn ỹ battaill like hardy conquerers, the battaill is at hande, & ỹ victorie approcheth, & yf we shamfully recule or cowardly flye, we and all our sequele be destroyd & dishonored for euer. This is ỹ daie of gayne, & this is ỹ time of losse, get this day victorie & be cōquerers, & lese this daies battail & be villains & therfore in ỹ name of God & saīct George let euery mā coragiosly auaūce forth his stādard.

These cherefull wordes he sett forthe with suche gesture of his body and smiling coūtenaunce, as though all redye he had vanquyshed hys enemies and gotten the spoyle.

The battaile betwene king Richard, and kyng Henry the. vii.

He had scantly finyshed his saienge, but the one armye espyed the other, lord how hastely the souldioures buckled their healmes, how quikly the archers bent their bowes and frushed theire feathers, how redely ỹ byllmen shoke there bylles and proued there staues, redy to approche & ioyne when the terrible trompet should sownde the bluddy blast to victorie or death. Betwene both armies ther was a great marrysse which therle of Richemond left on his right hand, for this entent that it should be on that syde a defence for his part, and in so doyng he had the sonne at his backe and in the faces of his enemies. When kynge Richard saw the earles compaignie was passed the marresse, he commaunded with al hast to sett vpon them, then the trompettes blew & the souldiours showted and the kynges archers couragiously let fly there arrowes, the erles bowmē stode not still but paied thē home againe. The terrible shot ons passed, the armies ioyned, & came to hande strokes, where nother swerde nor byll was spared, at whiche encounter the lord Stanley ioyned with therle. The erle of Oxforde in the meane season feryng lest while his cōpaignie was fightyng, they should be compassed & circūuented w ỹ multitude of his enemies, gaue cōmaūdemēt in euery ranke ỹ no mā should be so hardy as go aboue. x. fote from ỹ standard, whiche cōmaundement ons knowen, they knit thē selfes together, & ceased a littel frō fightyng: the aduersaries sodainly abashed at the matter and mystrustynge some fraude or deceate, began also to pause and left strikyng, and not against the wylles of many whiche had leuer had the kyng destroyed then saued, and therfore they fought very faintlye or stode stil. Therle of Oxforde bringing all his bend together on the one part, set on his ennemies freshly, agayne, the aduersaries perceiuyng that, placed ther men slender and thyne before and thicke and brode behynde, begynnynge againe hardely the battaill. While the two forwardes thus mortallye fought, eche entendyng to vanquishe & conuince ỹ other, Kyng Richard was admonished by his explorators and espialles, ỹ therle of Richmōd accompaignied with a small nomber of men of armes was not farre of, & as he approched and marched toward him, he perfitely knew his personage by certaine demonstracions & tokens whiche he had learned and knowen of other. And being inflamed with ire and vexed w outragious malice, he put his spurres to his horse & rode out of the syde of ỹ range of his battaile, leuyng the auantgardes fightyng, & like a hungery lion ran with spere in rest toward him. Therle of Richmonde perceyued wel the king furiously commyng toward him, and by cause the hole hope of his welth and purpose was to be determined by battaill, he gladly proferred to encountre with him body to body and man to man. Kyng Rychard

set

set on so sharpely at the first Broũt ỹ he ouerthrew therles standarde, and slew Sir William Brandon his standarde bearer (whiche was father to sir Charles Brandon by kynge Hēry ỹ viii. created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand w sir Ihon Cheinye, a man of great force & strength which would haue resisted him, & the saied Ihon was by him manfully ouerthrowen, and so he making open passage by dent of swerde as he went forward, therle of Richmond with stode his violence and kept him at the swerdes poincte without auantage longer then his compaignions other thought or iudged, which beyng almost in dispaire of victorie, were sodainly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, whiche came to succours with. iii. thousand tall men, at whiche very instant kynge Richardes men were dryuen backe and fledde, and he him selfe manfully fyghtynge in the mydell of his enemies was slayne and brought to his death as he worthely had deserued.

In the meane season therle of Oxforde with the aide of the Lord Stanley, after no long fight discomfited the forward of king Rychard, whereof a greate nomber were slayne in the chace and flight, but the greatest nomber whiche (compelled by feare of the kyng and not of there mere voluntarie mocion) came to the feld, gaue neuer a stroke, and hauyng no harme nor domage sauely departed, whiche came not thyther in hope to se the kynge prosper and preuaile, but to here that he shoulde be shamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

In this battaill died fewe aboue the nomber of a thousande persones: And of the nobilitie were slayne Ihon Duke of Norfolke, whiche was warned by dyuers to refrayne from the felde, in so much that the nyghte before he shoulde set forwarde towarde the kynge, one wrote on his gate.

Iack of Norffolke be not to bolde
For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde.

Yet all this notwithstandynge he regarded more his othe his honour and promyse made to king Richard, lyke a gentleman and a faythefull subiecte to his prince absented not him selfe from hys mayster, but as he faythefully lyued vnder hym, so he manfully dyed with hym to hys greate fame and lawde. There were slayne besyde him Water lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Rychard Ratclyffe, and Robert Brakenburie Leutenaunt of the Tower and not many gentlemen mo. Sir Willyam Catesbey learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the cheffe counsailers to the late king, with diuers other were. ii. daies after behedded at Leycester. Amongest them that ran away were Sir Fraunces Vicount louell and Humfrey Stafford and Thomas Stafford his brother which toke sanctuary in saynct Ihones at Gloucester. Of captiues and prysoners there was a greate nomber, for after the death of kynge Rycharde was knowen and publyshed, euery man in manner vnarmynge hym selfe and castynge a waye his abilimentes of warre, mekely submitted them selfes to the obeyssaunce and rule of therle of Richemond: of the whiche the more parte had gladly so done in the beginnynge yf they myght haue conueniently escaped from kyng Richardes espialles, whiche hauynge as clere eyes as lynx and as open eares as Mydas raged and serched in euery quarter. Amongest these was Henry the. iiii. erle of Northumberlande, whiche whither it was by the commaundement of kyng Rycharde puttynge diffidence in him, or he dyd it for the loue & fauor that he bare vnto the Earle, stode still with a greate compaignie & intermitted not in the battaill, whiche was incontinently receyued in to fauour and made of the counsail. But Thomas Haward erle of Surrey whiche submitted hym selfe ther, was not taken to grace by cause his father was cheffe cousailer & he greatly familiar with kyng Richard, but cōmitted to the Tower of Londō, where he long remained & in conclusion deliuered, & for his treuth and fidelity after promoted to high honors offices & dignites. On therle of Richmōds part were slaine scace one hundred persones, amongest whome the pryncipall was Sir William Brandon his standard bearer.

This battaill was fought at Bosworth in Leycester shire the. xxii. daye of August in the yere of our redempcion a. M. CCCC. lxxxvi. the hole conflicte endured lyttell aboue two howres. Kyng Richard as the fame went might haue escaped and gotten sauegarde by fl-

ynge. For when they which were next about his person saw and perceyued at the first ioynyng of the battaill the souldiours faintly and nothing courageously to set on their enemies, and not only that, but also that some wdrewe them selfes pryuely out of the prease and departed. They began to suspect fraude and to smell treason, and not only exhorted but determinatly aduysed hym to saue hym selfe by flyght: and when the losse of the battayle was imminent and apparante, they brought to hym a swyfte and a light horse to conuey hym away. He which was not ignorant of ỹ grudge & yll will ỹ cõmõ people bare toward him, casting awaye all hope of fortunate successe & happy chaũce to come, answered (as men saye) that on that daye he woulde make an end of all battailes or els ther finish his lyfe. Suche a great audacitie & such a stowte stomake reigned in his body, for suerly he knew ỹ to be the day in the which it should be decided & determined whither he should peaseably obteyne & enioye his kingdom duryng his life, or els vtterly for go & be depryued of thesame, with which to much hardines he beyng ouercome hastely closed his helmett, and entered fiercely in to the hard battail, to thentent to obteine that day a quiet reigne & regiment or els to finishe there his vnquiet life & vnfortunate gouernaũce. And so this miser at ỹ same very poinct had like chaunce & fortune, as happeneth to suche whiche in place of right iustice & honesty folowyng ther sensuall appetite, loue, vse, and embrace, mischiefe, tirranny, and vnthriftines. Suerly these be examples of more vehemencye then mans tonge can expresse, to feare and astũne suche yuell persones as wil not lyue one houre vacant frõ doyng and exercisyng crueltie myschiefe or outragious liuyng.

When therle had thus obteigned victorie and slain his mortal enemie, he kneled doune and rendred to almightie God his harty thãkes ẅ deuoute & Godly orisons, besechyng his goodnes to sende hym grace to auaunce & defende the catholike fayth & to mayntaine iustice & cõcorde amõgest his subiectes & people, by Gõd now to his gouernaũce cõmitted & assigned: Which praier finyshed, he replenyshed ẅ incomperable gladnes, ascended vp to the top of a littell mountaine, where he not only praysed & lawded his valiaunt souldiours, but also gaue vnto theim his harty thankes, ẅ promyse of cõdigne recompence for their fidelite & valiaũt factes, willing & commaundyng al the hurt & wouded persones to be cured, and the dead carcases to be deliuered to ỹ sepulture. Then ỹ people reioysed & clapped hãdes cryyng vp to heauen, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. When the lord Stanley sawe the good will and gratuite of the people he toke the crowne of kynge Richard which was founde amongest the spoyle in the felde, and set it on therles hed, as though he had byne elected king by the voyce of the people as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath been accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicite. I must put you here in remembraunce how that kynge Richarde puttynge some diffidence in the lord Stanley, which had ẅ hym as an hostage, the lorde straunge his eldest sonne, which lord Stanley as you haue hearde before ioyned not at the firste with his sonne in lawes armye, for feare that kynge Rycharde woulde haue slayne the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When kynge Rycharde was come to Boswoorth, he sent a purseuaũt to the lord Stanley, commaundyng hym to auaunce forward with hys compaignie and to come to his presence, whiche thynge yf he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he woulde stryke of his sonnes hedde before he dined. The lorde Stanley aunswered the pursiuaunt that yf the kynge dyd so, he had more sonnes a lyue, and as to come to hym he was not then so determined: when kynge Richarde harde this aunswere he commaunded the lorde Straunge incontinent to be behedded, whiche was at that very same season when both the armyes had sight eche of other. The counsaillers of kyng Rychard pondering the time and the cause, knowynge also the Lorde Straunge to be innocente of his fathers offence, perswaded the kynge that it was now time to fight and not time to exẽcucion, aduisynge him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a prisoner tyll the battayll were ended, and then at Leyser his pleasure might be accomplished. So as God woulde kynge Rycharde enfrynged hys holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the kepers of the kynges tentes to be kept as a prisoner, whyche when the felde was done and their master slayne and proclamacion made to knowe were the childe was, they

they submitted them selfes as prysoners to the Lord Straunge, and he gently receyued them and brought them to the newe proclamed king, where of him and of his Father he was receyued with greate ioye and gladnes. After this the hole campe remoued with bagg and baggage and thesame nyght in the euenyng kynge Henry with great Pompe came to the towne of Leycester. Where aswell for the refreshynge of his people and souldioures as for preparynge all thynges necessarie for hys iourney towarde London, he rested and reposed hym selfe twoo dayes. In the meane season the deade corps of kynge Rycharde was as shamefully caryed to the towne of Leycester as he gorgiously the daye before with pompe and pryde departed owte of the same towne. For his bodye was naked and despoyled to the skyne, and nothynge left aboue hym not so muche as a clowte to couer hys pryue members, and was trussed behynde a persiuaunt of armes called blaunche sengliер or whyte bore, lyke a hogge or a calfe, the hed and armes hangynge on the one syde of the horse, and the legges on the other syde, and all by spryncled with myre and bloude, was brought to the gray fryers church within the toune, and there laie lyke a miserable spectacle: but suerly consyderyng his mischeuous actes and Facinorous doynges, men may worthely wonder at such a caytiue, and in the sayde church he was with no lesse funeral pompe, and solempnitie enterred, then he wouldē to be done at the beryng of his innocent nephiwes whome he caused cruellie to be murthered and vnnaturally to be quelled.

When his death was knowē, few lamented, & many reioysed, ȳ proude braggyng white bore (whiche was his badge) was violently rased and plucked doune from euery signe and place where it myght be espied, so yll was his lyfe that men wished the memorie of hym to be buried with his carren corps: He reigned. ii. yeres. ii. monethes and one daie.

The discripcion of kyng Richard yᵉ iii.

As he was small and litle of stature so was he of body greately deformed, the one shoulder higher then the other, his face small but his cūtenaunce was cruel, and such, that a man at the first aspect would iudge it to sauor and smel of malice, fraude, and deceite: when he stode musing he would byte and chaw besely his nether lippe, as who sayd, that his fyerce nature in his cruell body alwaies chafed, sturred and was euer vnquiete: beside that, the dagger that he ware he would when he studied with his hand plucke vp and downe in the shethe to the middes, neuer drawing it fully out, his wit was pregnaunt, quicke and redy, wyly to fayne and apte to dissimule, he had a proud mynde and an arrogāt stomacke, the whiche accompaignied him to his death, whiche he rather desyrynge to suffer by dent of swerde, then beynge forsaken and destitute of his vntrewe compaignions, woulde by cowarde flight preserue and saue his vncertaine liffe: Whiche by malice, sickenes or condigne punishment might chaunce shortly after to come to confusion.

Thus ended this prince his mortall life with infamie and dishonor, whiche neuer preferred fame or honestie before ambicion tyranny and myschiefe. And yf he had continued still Protectoure and suffered his nephewes to haue lyued and reigned, no doubt but the realme had prospered and he muche praysed and beloued as he is nowe abhorred and vilipended, but to God whiche knewe his interior cogitacions at the hower of his deathe I remitte the punishment of his offences committed in his lyfe.

THE POLITIQUE GOUERNAUNCE OF KYNG HENRY THE. VII.

CONSIDERING now that I haue sufficiently declared what mischief kyng Richard the third wrought with in this realme after ỹ death of his noble brother kyng Edward the fourth: and how the nobilite of his kyngdom maligned and conspired against him, and abandoned and left him in maner desolate at the day of his most nede & tribulaciō: Also how miserable he ended his lyfe at ỹ toune of Bosworth, and how vnreuerētly he was enterred at ỹ toune of Leicestre which I doubt not but is sufficiently declared vnto you. And now only resteth to shewe you what happened after his fall and confusion to him, that both vanquished & depriued him from his princely powre & royall dignitie.

When kyng Henry had not only obteyned this triumphant battaile at the plain of Bosworth against his malicious enemy kyng Richard, but also by the glorious victorie gatt the diademe and possession of thestate royall and princely preheminence of this famous Empire and renoumed kyngdome. He hauyng both the ingenious forcast of the subtyl serpent, and also fearyng the burning fire like an infant that is a litle synged with a small flame: and farther vigilantly forseyng & prudently prouidyng for doubtes that might accidentally ensue: deuysed, studyed and compassed to extirpate and eradicate all interior sedicious & apparant presumpcions whiche might moue any tumulteous route or sedicious coniuracion against him within his realme in tyme to come. And to obsist the first likely mischiefe, he sent before his departure from Leycestre Sir Robert wylloghby knight to the maner of Sherybutton in the county of Yorke, for Edward plantagenet Erle of Warwike sonne and heire to George duke of Clarēce then beyng of the age of. xv. yeres, whom kyng Richard had kept there as a prisoner duryng the tyme of his vsurped reigne. And surely ỹ kyng was not afeard without a cause, for he much mistrusted least by this yoūg man, some euill disposed and enuious persones of his glory and auaunceмēt might inuent some new occasion of renuyng of battaill against him, which beyng euen from his infancy with many encombrances and troubles vexed & endaungered, desired nothyng more hartely then nowe to lyue in quyetnes, peace and tranquilite. Sir Robert wilioghby accordynge to hys commission receaued of the conestable of the castle the Erle Edward, and him conueighed to London, where the youngelynge borne to perpetuall calamitie was incontynent in the towre of London putt vndre safe & sure custody. There was beside him in thesame Castell of Sherybutton the lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward, whom kyng Richard foolyshly phantasiyng and deuelyshly dotynge did entende to mary as you before haue heard, but the damosell dyd not alonly disagre and repudiate that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abhominable desyre. At whiche most importunate and detestable cōcupiscence, the cōmon people of the realme so much grudged and maligned that they did not only attribute ỹ faute & cryme to the kyng, but much more culpate & blame his preuy coūcellers which did not dissent, but consent to so pernicious a counsaill & so shamefull a conclusion: But God of his only goodnes preserued ỹ christē mynde of that verteous & immaculate virgin, & from their flagicious & facinerous acte, did graciously protect and defende: The which lady not long after accōpanyed with a great nombre aswell of noblemē as honorable matrones was with good spede conueighed to London and brought to her mother.

In the meane ceason the kyng remoued forward by iorneyes toward London, and euen as he passed, the rusticall people on euery syde of the wayes assembled in great nombres & with

great ioye clapped their handes & showted, criyng, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. But whē he approched nere the cytie. the Mayre, the Senate & the magistrates of thesame beyng all clothed in violet, met him at Shordiche, & not only saluted and welcomed him with one voyce in generall, but euery person perticulerly preased and aduaūced him selfe, gladly to touche and kysse that victorious handes whiche had ouercome so monstruous & cruell a tyraunt, geuyng laudes & praysynges to almightye God, and rendryng immortall thankes to him, by whose meane & industry the cōmen wealth of the realme was preserued frō finall destruccion & perpetual calamite, and the auctiores of ȳ mischiefe sublated & plucked awaye. And with great pompe & triumphe he roade through the cytie to the cathedral churche of S. Paule wher he offred his iii. standardes. In the one was the ymage of S. George. in the secōd was a red firye dragō beaten vpō white and grene sarcenet, ȳ third was of yelowe tarterne, in thewhich was peinted a dōne kowe. After his praiers saide & Te deum song, he departed to the bishoppes palays & there soiourned a ceason, during whiche time, playes, pastymes & pleasures were shewed in euery parte of the cytie. And to thentent that their good mynd toward God should not be put in obliuion, they caused general processiōs solemply to be celebrate to rendre and yelde to God their creator & redemer their hartye and humble thankes whiche had deliuered them frō miserable captiuite & restored them to libertie and fredome. Besyde this, they that fauoured and loued the kyng were inwardly ioyous to se & perceaue that their aduersaries and back frendes were all redy or like to be suppeditate & ouerthrowen.

When these solempnities & gratifications were done & passed: accordyng as other kynges had been accustomed, he cōgregated together the sage councelers of his realme, in which cōsaill like a prince of iust faith and true of promes, detesting all intestine & cyuel hostilite, appointed a daye to ioyne in matrimony ȳ lady Elizabeth heyre of the house of Yorke, with his noble personage heyre to ȳ lyne of Lancastre: whiche thyng not onely reioysed and comforted the hartes of the noble and gentlemen of the realme, but also gayned the fauour & good myndes of all the cōmen people, much extollyng and praysyng the kynges constant fidelyte and his pulletique deuyce, thinkyng surely that the daye was now come that the seede of tumulteous faccions & the fountayne of ciuyle dissencion should be stopped, euacuate and clerely extinguished.

After this he with great pompe was cōueighed to Westmynster, and there the thirtye daye of Octobre was with all ceremonyes accustomed, enoynted & crouned kyng by the whole assent as well of the cōmons as of the nobilite, & was named kyng Henry the. vij. of that name, which was in the yere of our redempcion. M. cccc. lxxxvi. Frederyke the. iij. then beynge Emperour of Almayne, Maximilian his sonne then beynge newely elected kyng of Romanes, Charles the. viij. reignyng ouer the Frenche nacion, & Iames the iij. rulyng the realme of Scotland. Which kyngdome he obteyned & enfoyed as a thyng by God elected & prouided, and by his especiall fauoure & gracious aspecte compassed and achieued. In so muche that mē cōmonly reporte that. vii. C. xcvii yeres passed, it was by a heauenly voyce reueled to Cadwalader last kyng of Brytons that his stocke and progeny should reigne in this land and beare domynion agayn: Wherupō most men were persuaded in their awne opinion that by this heauenly voyce he was prouided & ordeyned longe before to enioye and obteine this kyngdom, whiche thing kyng Henry the. vi. did also shewe before as you haue heard declared. Wherefore he beynge by right and iust tytle of temporal inheritaunce, & by prouision of deuyne puruey aūce thus crouned and proclaimed kyng: First of all vsyng the antique example of the Athenienses, whiche is to perdon and put out of memory all crymes and offences before tyme agayust hym or his lawes perpetrated or cōmitted, he called his high court of parliamēt at Westmynster the. vii. daye of Nouembre for thestablishyng of all thinges aswell cōcernyng the preseruacion and maintenaūce of his royal person, as the admynistracion of iustice and preferment of the cōmon wealth of this realme and dominion, in the which he caused to be proclaimed that all men were perdoned, acquited & clerely discharged of all offences, peynes of death and execucions, and should be restored to their landes and moueable goodes whiche woulde submit them selfes to his clemency

mency and by othe be obliged truly to serue and obeye hym as their souereigne lorde, & who woulde be obstinate & refuse to returne to his parte, should be accepted and taken as a publike enemy to hym and his countrey. By reason of which proclamacion, a great nombre that came out of diuerse sanctuaries and priuileged places obteyned grace, forgetting clerely the diuersite of faccions & voyce of partakyng. After this he began to remembre his especiall frendes & fautours, of whome some he aduanced to honoure & dignite, & some he enriched with possessions & goodes, euery mā according to his desert & merite. And to begynne, Iaspar his vncle Erle of Penbrooke, he created duke of Bedforde, Thomas lorde Stanley he promoted to be erle of Darby, & ỹ lord Chandew of Briteine his especiall frende he made erle of Bathe, Sir Gyles Dawbeney was made lorde Dawbeney, Sir Robert Willoughby was made lord Brooke which be in their degree barons and peeres of the realme. And Edward Stafford eldest son to Henry late duke of Buckingham, he restored to his name dignitie and possessions, which kyng Richard did confiscate and attaynted. Beside this in this parliamēt was this notable acte assented to and concluded as foloweth.

"To the pleasure of almighty God, wealth, prosperite & suretie of this realme of England, and to the synguler comfort of all the kynges subiectes of thesame, in aduoydyng all ambiguyties & questions: Be it ordeyned, established and enacted by this present parliamente, that the inheritaūce of the croune of this realme of England and also of Fraunce with all the preheminēce and dignitie royall to thesame apperteignyng and all other seigniories to the kyng belonging beyond the sea with the appurtenaūces therto in any wyse dewe or apperteignyng, shall rest, remayne and abyde in the most royal person of our nowe souereigne lorde kyng Henry the vij. and in the heires of his body lawfully cōmyng, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other."

And beside this acte al attainders of this kyng, enacted by kyng Edward & kyng Richard were adnichilated, and the record of thesame adiudged to be defaced & put out of memory, and al persons attainted for his cause & occasion, were restored to their goodes, landes & possessions. And in cōclusion, diuerse of the actes made in the tyme of kyng Edward and kyng Richard were adnulled & reuoked, & other more expedient for the vtilitie of the cōmen wealth were subrogated and concluded. When all thynges necessary were discretely ordred and the parliament for the tyme dissolued, the kyng thought it not necessary to put in oblinion his frendes and hostages beyng beyond the sea, wherfore with all diligent celeritie he redemed the Marques Dorcet & sir Ihon Bourchier whom he had lefte as pledges at Parys for money there before borowed. And sent also into Flaunders for Ihon Morton bishop of Ely.

These actes perfourmed, he established in his house a graue counsaill of wyse and pollitique men, by whose iudgement, ordre & determinacion the people might be gouerned accordyng to iustice and equitie, and that all causes might be finyshed and ended there, without great bearyng or expence in long sute. And for hearyng & decydynge these causes iustly and spedely, he sware of his counsaill dyuerse noble and discrete persones, whiche for their pollecy, wit & synguler grauitie, were highlyesteemed and renoumed, whose names folowe, Iaspar duke of Bedfoorde, Ihon erle of Oxford, Thomas Stanley erle of Darby, Ihō bishop of Ely, Sir Wyllyam Stanley lord Chamberleyn of his houshōlde, Sir Robert Willoughby, lord Brooke, lord Stuard of his houshold, Gyles lord Dawbeney, Ihon lord Dynham after made tresorer of England, Sir Reignold Brey, Sir Ihon Cheiney, Sir Richard Guyldforde, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richard Egecombe, Sir Thomas Louell, Sir Edward Pownynges, Sir Ihō Risley, with diuerse other wyse men, whiche as the tyme required he called to his counsayll and seruyce nowe one and nowe another.

Although by this electiō of wyse and graue councellers all thinges semed to be brought to a good & perfight conclusion, yet there lacked a wrest to the harpe to set all the strynges in a monacorde and tune which was the matrimony to be finished betwene the kynge and the lady Elizabeth daughter to kyng Edward, which lyke a good tyince accordyng to his othe and promes, he did both solempnise and cōsummate in brief tyme after, that is to saye on the

the xviij. daye of Ianuary. By reason of whiche mariage peace was thought to discende oute of heauē into England, considerynge that the lynes of Lancastre & Yorke, being both noble families equiualēt in ryches, fame and honour, were now brought into one knot and connexed together, of whose two bodyes one heyre might succede, which after their tyme should peaceably rule and enioye the whole monarchy and realme of England.

These thynges thus passed, albeit that apparauntly all thynges semed to be reduced to a good poynte and set in a sure steye: Kyng Henry beyng made wyse and expert wyth troubles and myschiefes before past, remembred that it was wisedome to feare & prouide for the crafty wyles and lurkyng trappes of his secret enemyes, remembring all mē for the moost parte embrued & exercysed in plantyng of dyuision and sowynge dissencion, can not lightely leaue their pestiferous appetite & sedicious occupacion. Wherfore, for the sauegarde and preseruacion of his awne body, he cōstituted & ordeyned a certayn nombre aswell of good archers as of diuerse other persons being hardy, strong and of agilitie to geue dailye attendaunce on his person, whome he named Yomen of his garde, which president men thought that he learned of the Frenche kyng when he was in Fraūce: For men remembre not any kyng of England before that tyme whiche vsed such a furniture of daily souldyoures. Yet forasmuche as to auoyde and eschewe all doubtfull daungers and perelles vnlooked for, lyue auayleth outward warre, except there be a sure staye, and a stedfast backstaude at home, aswel for the sauegard & securite, as for the good gouernaūce of such as be left behynde: He therfore sommoned agayne his great courte of parliament, whereto he would that there should be elected the most prudent & grauous persons of euery countie, cytie, porte and borough, and in especiall such as he in all his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumulteous affaires, vsed, trusted and fauoured, as partakers, councelers, and compaignions both of his woo and aduersitie, and also of his triumphe & glorious victory, whose myndes and studyes he perfightly knewe to be fixed and set in the poletique regiment and prudent gouernaūce of the publique wealthe of his realme and dominion. Not forgettynge, but hauyng in fresh memory that he for that cause principally was so sore desyred, and instantly called of the Englishe nacion his naturall countreymen: Estemynge it as a chiefe and principall parte of hys duetie to se his realme both adourned and decored with good and profitable lawes and statutes, and also to florishe in verteous operacions and good and cyuile maners, which should be an occasion to cause all men to hope, that all thynge would continually amend, from euyll to good, from good to bettre, and from bettre to the best. This sure foundacion kyng Henry layde at the beginning of his reigne, entending theron continually to buylde.

The first Yomen of the garde.

THE SECOND YERE.

In this same yere a newe kynde of sicknes came sodenly through the whole region euē after the first entryng of the kyng into this Isle, which was so sore, so peynfull, & sharp that the lyke was neuer harde of, to any mānes remembraūce before that tyme: For sodenly a dedly & burnyng sweate inuaded their bodyes & vexed their blood with a most ardēt heat, infested the stomack & the head greuously: by the tormentyng and vexacion of which sicknes, mēn were so sore handled & so painfully pangued that if they were layed in their bed, beyng not hable to suffre the importunate heat, they cast away the shetes & all the clothes lyyng on the bed. If they were in their apparell and vestures, they would put of all their garmētes euen to their shirtes. Other were so dryc that they dranke the colde water to quenche their importune heate & insaciable thirst. Other that could or at the least woulde abyde the heate & styntche (for in dede the sweate had a great and a strong sauoure) caused clothes to be layed vpon them asmuch as they coulde beare, to dryue oute the sweate if it might be. All in maner assōne as the swente toke them, or within a short space after, yelded vp their ghost. So that of all them that sickened ther was not one emongest an hundreth that escaped: in somuche, that beside the great nombre which deceased within the cytie of London, two Mayres successiuely dyed of the same desease within viij. daies and vi.

The Sweat-ynge-sickenes.

Aldermen. And when any person had fully and completely sweat. xxiiij. houres (for so long did the strength of this plague hold them) he should be then clerely delyuered of his dysease: Yet not so cleane ryd of yt, but that he might shortly relaps and fall agayn into the same euyll pit, yea agayne & twyse agayne as many one in dede did, whiche after the thyrd tyme died of the same. At the length by study of the Phisicians & experience of the people, dryuen therunto by dreadfull necessytie, there was a remedy inuented: For they that suruyued, considering thextremytie of the peyne in them that deceased, deuised by thynges mere cōtrariaunt, to resist and withstand the furious rage of that burning furnesse, by luke warme drynke, temperate heate, & measurable clothes. For such persons as relapsed again into the flame after the first delyueraunce, obserued diligently & marked suche thynges as did theim ease and cōfort at their first vexacion, & vsyng the same for a remedy & medicine of their peyne, addyng euer somewhat therto that was sanatyue & wholsome. So that if any person euer after fell sicke agayn, he obseruyng the regymēt that emongest the people was deuysed could shortly helpe him selfe, & easely tempre and auoyde the strength and malyce of the sweate. So that after the great losse of many men, they learned a present & a spedy remedy for the same desease and malady, the whiche is this: If a man on the daye tyme were plagued with the sweate, then he shoulde streyght lye downe with all his clothes & garmētes and lye styll the whole. xxiiij. houres. If in the night he were taken, then he should not ryse out of his bed for the space of. xxiiij. houres, & so caste the clothes that he myght in no wyse prouoke the sweate, but so lye temperately that the water myght distille oute softly of the awne accorde, & to absteyne from all meate if he might so longe susteyne and suffre hungre and to take no more drynke neither hote nor colde, then wyll moderately quentche and delaye his thrustye appetyde. And in this his amendynge, one poynte diligently aboue all other is to be obserued and attended, that he neuer put his hand or foote out of ỹ bed to refreshe or coole him selfe, the which to do is no lesse peine then short death. So you may plainly see what remedy was by the daily experience excogitated and inuēted for this straunge and vnknowen desease, the which at that tyme vexed and greued only the realme of England in euery toune & village as it dyd dyuerse tymes after. But. Iv. yere after, it sayled into Flaunders and after into Germany, wher it destroyed people innumerable for lack of knowlege of the English experience. This cōtagious & euell plague chaunced in the first yere of kyng Henryes reigne as a token and a playne signe (if to the vaine iudgemēt of the people whiche cōmonly cōmen more fantastically then wisely, any faith or credite is to be had geuē or attributed) that kyng Henry should haue a harde and sore beginning, but more truly if vayne superstition can set furth any truthe, it pretended & signified that kyng Henry to the extreme poynte and ende of his naturall life should neuer haue his spirite and mynde quyet, considerynge that nowe in the very begynnyng of his new obteyned reigne he was (as you shall shortly heare) with sedicion and cōmocion of his people, troubled, vexed and vnquyeted, and it was in maner a manifeste profe that hereafter he should lyue in small rest and great mistrust of suche rebellious and sedicious cōspiracies. These were the phantasticall iudgementes of the vnlettred persons whiche I ouerpasse, and retourne to my purpose.

When al thinges by ỹ kyng were appeased at London & that he had set & appoynted all his affaires in good ordre and sure state, as he with him self cōiectured, he thought it best to make a peregrinaciō & take his progresse into ỹ other quarters of his realme, ỹ he might wede, extirpate and purdge the myndes of mē spotted & cōtaminate with the cōtagious smoke of dissencion, & preuy faccions, & especially the countie of Yorke which were preuy fautoures and cōforters of the cōtrary part, and not without a cause. For kyng Richard more loued, more estemed & regarded the northern mē then any subiectes within his whole realme, which thyng to kyng Henry was not vnknowē. Wherfore he the more studied to kepe thē in dew obeisaunce & faithfull obsequy, whō he knew of long custome to haue borne their hartes & fauourable myndes to his aduersaries: therfore in ỹ prime time of theyere he toke his iorney towardes Yorke, & because the feast of Ester approched, he diuerted to the cytie of Lyncoln. where he taryed durynge the solēpnite of that

that high feast: & makyng there his abode, he was certified ỹ the lord Louel & Homfrey stafforde were departed out of Sanctuary in Colchestre: but to what place or whether, no man as yet could tell. For which cause the kyng lytle regardyng the tale went forthe his appointed iorney to Yorke. And assone as he was there receaued & settled, it was bruted, and openly shewed to the kyng him selfe that Fraunces lorde Louell was at hand with a strong and mightie powre of men, and would with all diligence inuade the cytie: also that the forenamed Homfrey Stafford & Thomas his brother were in worcettre shyre and there had raysed a great bande of rude and rusticall people, & had cast lottes what parte should assaute the gates, what mẽe should scale the walles of the cytie of Worcestre, & who should kepe the passages for lettyng of reskewes and aiders.

At the first heryng of this the kyng estemed it for vaine & vncertain, and therfore was with it but litle moued: but after that he was certified by the letters of credẽce sent frõ his frendes, that all was true that was by the cõmen voice spoken and published, he was afflicted with no small feare. And surely not without a cause for he wisely cõsidred that he had neither a competẽt army ready prepared, nor harneys nor weapons for them that were present. And also he was now in such a doubtfull place, where he nether might nor could cõuenently gather an hoost together, cõsideryng that in the same cytie, the memory of kyng Richard his mortall enemy was yet recent and lyuely & not all forgottẽ of his frendes, but because the matter requyred dilygent celerytie, least that by long tariyng the powre of his aduersaries by daily aides might be encreased and multiplied, he cõmaunded the duke of Bedforde with iii. thousand men not strongely armed to do a great enterpryce (for their brest plates for the moost part were made of tanned lether) to encountre & set vpon them with all hast and diligence, and made him preuy what he him selfe entended to doo. After this, the kyng congregated together an hoost in euery place where he might retayne theim. The duke settyng forwarde after the fassion of an eger & fierce captaine came nigh to the tentes and campe of his enemyes where he consulted and cõmunycated his mynde with certayne capitaynes & sage souldioures of his compaigny, by what waye he might treyne & allure them to peace, without battaill or bloodsheddyng. After whiche deliberacion and aduysement had, yt was decreed that the Heraulides should proclaymе openly, that all such should haue grace and pardon that would cast downe their weapons and harneys, and as faithfull subiectes submyt them selfes to their naturall souereigne lord. The which proclamacion auayled & muche proffited: For the lord Louel, either for some feare or diffidence that he had in his people and souldyours, or fearyng hym selfe on his awne behalfe, fled preuily in a night from his compaignye and left them without a head, as a flocke of shepe without a shepard, which departure when it was to his armye disclosed, they put of their armure and came directly to the duke, euery man humbly submittyng hym selfe and desiryng pardon for their offences, wholy trusting in the kynges mercy & fauourable goodnes. So by this pollitique wisdome & ingenious meanes of the good duke, this great rage and fierce route of sturdy and valyaũt traytours whiche was prepared against the kyng, and were lyke to haue been the slaughter of many a man, were pacefyed & repressed and brought to good conformytie and obedient subieccion. And the lorde Louell cheueteyne and chiefe leader of this tumult & rebellion, fearyng more perell and daungier, then desiryng renoune or fame of cheualry, neuer tariyng ỹ doubtfull chaunce of battaile, fled in all post haste into Lancashire, and there for a certayne space loytred and lurked with sir Thomas Broughton knyght, whiche in those quarters bare great swynge, and was there in great auctthoritie. Homfrey Stafford also hearyng of this myschaunce happened to the lord Louell, in a great dolor and agony, and for feare, in lyke maner fled and tooke sanctuary in a village called Culnaham, two myles from Abyndon. But because the sanctuary was not a sufficient defence (as it was proued before the iustices of the kynges benche) for traytoures, he was taken by force from that place, & brought to the towre, and from thence conueyghed to Tyborne and there put to execucion: but his younger brother Thomas, that was with him, was perdoned & remitted because he was thought not to haue done it of

his awne wyll and malicious mynde, but thorowe the euell counsaill and mischeueous persuasion of his Eldre brother.

After that the kyng had thus by pollecy of his cōsaill appeased and repressed this tumulteous sedicion whiche greatly vexed & vnquyeted his spirites, and had reduced to reason and cōformitie the rude and babiyng people of the north parties, and in especiall thinhabitaūtes of the countye of Yorke, he returned to London, & shortly after that to Wynchestre, where quene Elizabeth his wife was deliuered of a fayre prince named Arthur at his baptyme. Of whiche name Englishemen nomore reioysed then outwarde nacions & foreyne prynces trymbled and quaked, so muche was that name to all nacions terrible & formidable: And from Wynchestre he returned back agayn to London.

The birth of prince Arthur.

In this meane tyme, of a smal matter and thesame altogether beyng false & feyned, ther was an open pathe & a apparaūt high weye made for a greater inconuenience to ensue. The which matter for the subtyl iuggelyng & craftie cōueighaunce of thesame, no lesse deceytfull then ligier de meyne in the hand of a iuggeler, was to be estemed emōgest all wyse meu at the first a very bold & ouer presumpteous an acte to be attēpted: but ỹ tyme well weyed & considred it was not so mōstreous that it were worthy great wonderyng & admiracion, cōsyderyng that many persons of late, either borne in the wōbe of cōtinual dissencion, or nerished with the mylke, or suckyng the pappes of ciuile sedicīō, could not lyue well in rest, & lesse forbeare their vsual custome of moying strife & daily debate. But they somtime sittyng at home cōpassyng & ymaginyng hurte & dāmage toward suche as they in their hartes disdeyned, somtyme remembryng that by the libertie & priuilege of warre, all is fishe that cōmeth to the net; euer delityuge in spoylyng, robbyng & reuynge, vehemētly thristyng for the distruccion & losse of such as thei would be reuēged of, willyng to lyue without lawe in tyme of peace & warre, wisshyng the world neuer to be at a bettre staye. And as persons only dedicate & geuē to mischief & scelerous inuenciōs, either for hatred, euell wyl or malice of thē that they fauoured not, or for some emolumēt, proffite and cōmoditie of such ỹ they thought to set vp & auaunce, were by fraude, couyn & crafty collusiō prone & ready to disquiet euery day the kyng & his whole realme, thinking ỹ heaūē had to much peace & quietnes, & hel to litle trouble and vexacion. And there was furthercrs & setters on, none lackyng, in so much that xx. persons would soner pricke them forward with a sharpe spurre, then one plucke thē back w a dull snaffle. Emong the which mōstres & lymbes of the deuell, xthere was one sir Richard Symond priest, a man of a base & obscure familie, which frō his birth delited in fraude and craftie conucighyng, & yet was he well learned, but not so well learned as wilye, nor so wilye as vngracious. Which sir Richard Symond had elected a scoler called Lambert Symenell, one of a gentle nature and pregnaūt wyt to be the organe & conduyte by whom he would conuey his false feigned enterprice and attempt. The deuel chiefe master of mischiefe put in the wicked mynde and venemouse brayne of this moost pernicious disloyall and trayterous person, to cōmence, feigne & deuyse how he might make his childe and scolar Lambert to be the right inheritour to the croune of England, & so therof to make him kyng & to promote him self to the chiefe Archebishopricke or some high potestate win the realme. The chiefe foundacion of his occasion was (by thewhich he was the more bolde) that the fame went & many menne surely supposed kyng Edwards chyldrē not to be dead, but to be fled secretly into some straunge place & there to be liuyng, and that Edward erle of Warwike sonne & heire to ỹ duke of Clarēce, either was or should be put to death shortly. These rumoures although they were friueleous & vayne & with out all likelyhode of verite or truthe, animated & encouraged this priest much, to thinke and iudge the tyme to be come that this Lambert might assume & take vpon hym the person & name of one of kyng Edward the fourthes chyldren, and to clayme and make title both to the realme and kyngdome, hauyng sure knowlege that neither frendship should want nor aide shoulde lacke: and considerying that cancard hatred rooted and founded vpō facinorous faccions & sedicious deuysions be so perdurable and in maner euerlastyng that they can neuer be clerely extirpate or digged out

A Prouerbe.

of

of their rottē hartes, but that they wylle with hand & foote, toothé and nayle further if they can their pretensed entreprice. And this poore priest brought into this foolishe paradice through his awne fantasticall ymaginacion, informed & taught the chyld diligētly at Oxenforde where he went to scoole, both instructyng him with princely behaueour, ciuyle manner & fruitefull literature, declaryng to him of what high parentage and of what noble progeny he was lyneally descended, thus persuadyng and teachyng hym his lesson clerckly and craftely, for his purpose, that ỹ people hearing the chyld thus rehersyng his stocke so sagely, might the rather geue credite to his deceitfull pretēce & false coloured inuencion: Sone after the rumour was blowen abroade that Edward ỹ younge erle of Warwike was broke out of prison. And whē sir Symōd heard of this, he now intēdyng therby to bring his inuēted purpose to a cōclusion, chaūged ỹ childes name of baptime & called him Edward after ỹ name of the yoūg Erle of Warwike, ỹ which were both of one yeres & of one stature, & then he w his pupille sailed into Irelād, there openyng his mynd, & declaryng his matter to certain of the Irishe nobilitie, whō he knew by true fame & reporte to beare but litle fauour to kyng Henry nor his partakers, & hauyng othe and promes of aide to him sworne & made, he shewed them that he had saued and preserued the duke of Clarēce son frō death, & had for very good will brought him into that countrey & region where he knew that both kyng Edward and all his stock were fauoured & loued above all other. This matter was beleued straight of the nobilitie which so shewed & published this feigned fable and ymagined iuggelynge from one to another tyll at the last it was accōpted to be as true as the Gospell without any cōtrouersye, ambiguitie or question. In so much that the lord Thomas Gerardyne chaunceloar of all ỹ country defrauded by his illusion vndre the colour of plaine truthe receaued him into his castell and with honoure & reuerence him entreteyned as one that descended frō the high progeny of the sangue royall, and begā much to aide & helpe him. First calling together all his frendes & louers & suche other as were of bande or affinitie, declaring first to them the cōmyng of this child, & after affirmyng that the croune and sceptre of the realme of right apperteyned to this yoūge prynce as solo heyre male lefte of the ligne of Richarde duke of Yorke: Exhortyng and desiryng them bothe for the childes sake and his awn, as he was true inheritoure to the croune, to helpe and assyst hym to obteine the garland and possession of thesame by his graundfather to him lyneally descended. And so after communicatyng thesame matter with other of the nobilitie, euery man promysed accordynge to hys powre, aide of monye, menne and municyons. By thys meanes the same was shortely brūted throughout all Irelande, and euery man was willynge to take his parte and submyt them selfes to him, callyng him of all handes kynge. So that nowe they of this secte thus compassed and sortyd, thought to haue in other places their compaignyons and furtherers of their malicious purpose & most pestiferous faccion, and straight foorth they sent to England certayne preuy messengers to desire theim, whome they knewe to haue been true faythfull and frendes to kyng Richarde, now to cōtinue in their accustomed loue and faithfull frendship toward his nephewe and to helpe the childe with treasure & substaunce as farre as they conueniently might. And that his powre might be the stronger to ouercome his enemies & to obteyne his pretensed purpose, he and his confederates sent messengers into Flaunders to the lady Margaret suster to kyng Edward and late wyfe to Charles the duke of Bourgoyne to further his purpose with al her powre and helpe. This duke Charles hauyng no chyldren by this lady Margaret, left one sole daughter named Mary behynde hym, begottē of his first wyfe daughter to the duke of Burbone, whiche was maried to Maximilian sonne to Frederick the Emperour, on whiche wife he had engendred two children, the one Philip, and the other Margaret. The whiche two chyldren after the deathe of the lady Mary their mother this lady Margaret late wyfe to duke Charles so entierely be loued, so tenderly brought vp, and so motherly norished, beside the dailye peyne that she toke in ordrynge their affaires and busynes for the mayntenaunce of their honoure and preferment of their proffite, that she both for her motherly loue toward the yoūge children, & also for the good administracion of iustice in their countries

tries was highly reputed and estemed & bare great auctheritie & swynge through all Flaunders and the lowe countries therto adiacēt. This lady Margaret, although she knewe the familye and stocke of the house of Yorke to be in maner distroyed & vtterly defaced by her brother kyng Richard, yet not being saciate nor content with the long hatred & continual malice of her parentes which subuerted and ouerthrew almost the progeny and lignage of kyng Henry the. vi. and the house of Lancaster, nor yet remembryng the newe affinitie & strong alliaunce that was lately cōcluded, by the whiche the heyres of bothe the houses and progenies were vnited & conioyned together in lawfull matrimony, lyke one forgettyng bothe God & charite, inflamed with malice diabolicall instinction, inuented & practised all mischiefes, displeasures and dāmages that she could deuyse against the kyng of England. And farther in her fury and frantyke moode (accordyng to the saiyng of the wise man, there is nō malice equiualent nor aboue the malice of a womā) she wrought all the wayes possible how to sucke his bloud and cōpasse his destruccion as the principal head of her aduerse parte & contrary faccion, as though he should be a dewe sacrifice or an host immolated for the mutuall murder & shamefull homicide cōmitted and perpetrated by her brother and progeny. So vehemēt, so full of poyson and so strong is the powre of ciuyle dissension and preuy hatred, that sometyme it wyll auerte and withdrawe the wisest and moost sapient men from goodnesse, honestie & their bounden allegeaunce. Therfore this lady knowyng of this tumulteous secte and conspiracye, prepared and sedenly deuysed against kyng Henry (although she knewe it to be but a feigned & peinted mattre & not woorth twoo strawes) yet (hauyng suche an occasion to worke her malice vpon) she promised gladly to the messengers not only to maynteyne, aide, further and succoure their purposed entent with money and substaūce, but with all the laboure & peyne that she might, to encourage, stomacke and entyce many other to be aiders, assisters & partakers of thesame conspiracy, and shortly to ioyne with the cheuetaines of thesaide enterprice.

Whē king Henry was certefied of these doynges by messengers sent into England, no meruell although he was none other wise then he had occasion, sore vexed & moued, cōsideryng that by the disceate and fraude of suche a dongehyll knaue and vyle borne villeyne, so great a sedicion should be excited and sturred against him: Neuertheles, he lyke a circūspect, ingenious and prudent prynce, well considerynge and pollitiquely forseynge, ymagined that if this enterprice came to passe, that the finall ende would be the bluddy darte of mortall warre, & yf they should ioyne and combate in open battaile, in the which for the moost parte, the large campe of all mischiefe is commonly opened and shewed, many innocent menne on both partes should perishe and come to ruyne and confusyon without desert or offence. For which reason, before all thynges he determyned to attempt and proue yf that he might without anye battayle or stroke stryken (thende whereof is euer ambiguous and doubtful) pacefye and reduce these rebels to rule, reason, & dewe subieccion, before that this euell newly planted wede should straye and wander ouer the good herbes of his whole realme. Therfore he called his whole cōsaill together at the Chartrehouse besyde lis royall manner called Richemonde, and there consulted how to pacefye this sodeyne rage secretly begonne, without any more disturbaunce or open trouble: whiche mocion of all menne was thought mete, necessary & proffitable to be assayed and prosecuted with celerite and effecte. And that before any other thynge were attempted and begonne, that a generall pardon should be published to al offenders that were content to receaue thesame & after would be true, louyng & obedient to the kyng their soureigne lord accordyng to their bounden dutie and allegiaunce: Thinkyng that if that pardō were any lenger space procrastened or prolonged, that in the meane ceason (as the prouerbe sayth, taryenge draweth and ieopardeth perell) Sir Thomas Broughton knyght whiche had hyd and kept the lorde Louell from the kyng a great ceason, and was at hand with diuerse of his frendes, in so trobleous & perelous a tyme vtterly dispeiryng of pardon and remission, and as men without hope of any grace settynge all on. vi. and. vii. should sodeynly moue a newe insurrecion against him, & vnpoyet him in some place where he had left least resistaūce. For although

though they were thought to haue been conferates and Iurates of this newe conspiracy, yet because there was no sure profe nor apparaunt argument therof, yt was supposed to be moost profitable for that tyme present, to extende no maner of extremytie nor cruelties agaynste theim by anye coloure or pretence, partely that by suche lenytie and gentle sufferaunce, the rebellyous powre should not augment and increace, and partely that if hereafter they shoulde be founde to drawe backe, and be negligent in doynge their due duetye and allegiaunce, that then by this polletique prouision they shoulde be rewarded with punyshmēt accordyngly as they had deserued, and accordyng to the cōmen saiynge, suche breade as they bake, suche muste they eate: Whereupon the kynge gaue a generall pardon throughoute all Englande (without exception of any offence) yea euen to them that had commytted high treason agaynst hys maiestie and royall person. Furthermore, after longe consultacion had and all thynges maturely decyded, it was thought by the whole senate for the tyme then present moost necessarye and conuenyent to auoyde that erronyous rumoure, rumblynge and blastynge abroade, that the sonne of the duke of Clarence was in Englande, and that he personally shoulde be shewed abroade in the cytie and other publique places whereby the vntrue opinyon falsy affyrmynge that he was in Irelande mighte be emongest the cōmynaltye repressed, put downe, and accompted as a comment and vayne ymagyned fable.

In this solempne counsaill dyuerse and many thynges of the realme were there debated and concluded: and emongest other, yt was determyned that the lady Elizabeth wyfe to kyng Edwarde the. iiij. shoulde loase and forfeyte all her Landes and possessyons, because she had voluntarely submytted her selfe and her daughters wholy to the handes of kyng Richarde, contrarye to the promes made to the lordes and nobles of thys realme in the begynnyng of the conspiracy ymagyned agaynst kyng Richard, which at her desire and request lefte all that they had in England and fled to kyng Henry into Briteyne, and there receaued a corporall othe of him to mary her eldest daughter, whiche offre she abode not by, but made it frustrate and voyde, through whose double doynges yt had lyke to haue succeded, that neyther the mariage coulde take place, nor yet the noble men whiche at her request toke kyng Henryes parte, might not returne agayne without ieopardie of lyfe, but lyue styll in perpetuall banyshement and myserable exyle. This was a greueous offence and a heynous cryme: howbeyt the sequele thercof well dygested, yt was thought by some man that she deserued not by equytie or iustyce so great a losse and so great a punyshment: For surely she dyd not so great hurte or hynderaunce to kynge Henry and hys confederates by her reconciliacion to kynge Richard, but tenne tymes more she proffyted theim and auaunced theyr cause. For her submyssion made to hym, he neglectynge Goddes lawes, honest order and Christyan religion, presumynge to accumulate myschiefe vpon myschiefe, desyred of her the mariage of her daughter hys naturall nyece, whiche thynge he wolde not haue thought lykely to haue obteyned: The quene and her daughters styll for feare of him contynuyng in sanctuary. Whiche vnlawfull desyre (consyderynge for that enfent he had ryd his wyfe oute of the worlde) prouoked the Ire of God and the swoorde of vengeaunce agaynste hym, whereby hys fynall ruyne and fatall faile shortely after ensued and succeded to hys myserable confusyon and to the exaltacyon of Kynge Henry and auaunccmente of hys whole company.

Hereby a manne may perceaue that wycked and maligne persones be not brought to ruyne by the hande of a temporall iudge, but by the wyll of God led and thereto apoynted, as menne that make hast to approche and to come to that ende that they haue deserued. By thys folye and inconstancy of the quene, she incurred the hatred and displeasure of many men, and for that cause lyued after in the Abbey of Barmandsey besyde Southwarke a wretched and a myserable lyfe, where not many yeres after she deseassed and is buryed with her husbande at Wyndsore. Suche are all worldly chaunces, nowe in prosperyte and aboundaunce, mutable and chaungeable and full of inconstancy: and in aduersityc often chaunge from euell to good and so to bettre, to the entent that they that be in wealthe and flowe in the aboundaunce of all thynges, shall not thynke theim selfes in suretye to tarye styll in that degree and state: and that they that be inmisery and calamytie shall not despayre nor mystrust

trust God, but lyue in hope, that a better daye of comfort and gayne wyll once apere and come. And yet although fortune ruleth many thynges at her wyll and pleasure, yet one woorke that this quene hathe made cannot bee forgotten nor put in oblivion. At what tyme that kyng Edward her husband reigned, she founded and erected a notable College in the vniuersyte of Cambridge for the fyndynge of Scholers desyrous of good litterature and learnynge, and endued it with sufficient possessions for the longe mayntenaunce of thesame, whiche at this daye is called the quenes College, a name surely mete for suche a place, wherin Scholers diligently studyeng in all doctryne and sciences, proue excellent clerckes and come to great honoures.

When all thynges in this counsaill were seriously concluded and agreed to the kynges mynde, he returned to the cytie of London, geuynge in commaundement that the nexte sonday ensuyng, Edward the young Erle of Warwike to be brought from the towre through the moost publyke and vsuall siretes of London, to the cathedrall churche of saynt Paule. This younge gentleman (as he was cõmaunded) shewyng him selfe openly to euery body in the procession tyme, taried there the high masse, banynge communicacion openly with many noble men, and with theim in especially that were suspected and thought to haue been partakers of the commocio agaynst the kyng, to this purpose and effect, that they myght perceaue the fonde Iryshemen, for a vayne shadowe and vntrue fyccyon vnaduysedly to excytate and moue warre agaynst him and his realme, without any iust cause or laufull occasion. Howbeyt to euell dysposed persones or brayneles men, thys medecyne nothyng auayled nor proffyted. For the erle of Lyncolne sonne to Ihon de Lapoole duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth syster to kyng Edwarde the fourth, thinkyng it not mete to neglect and omyt so open an occasion of new trouble & mischiefe offred and exhibited, determined to vpholde, fortefye, & bolster the enterpryce of the Irishemen, least that they might be seduced, and caused to desyst & leaue of their incepted enterpryce, and attempted purpose: And doubteles the man beyng of great wyt and intelligence, and of no small iudgement, but halfe infected with the venemous skabbe of the late ciuyle battaile, coulde not with a quyet mynde suffre kyng Henry beynge principall head of the contrary faccion to reigne in quyet, but cõsultyng with sir Thomas Broughton, and certeyne other of his trusty frendes, purposed to saile into Flaũders to his aunte the lady Margaret duches of Bourgoyne late wyfe to duke Charles, trustynge by her healpe to make a puyssaunt army of men, and to ioyne with the compaignyons of the newe raysed seditiõ. Therfore, after that the kyng had dissolued the Parliament, which then was holden: he fled secretly into Flaunders to the lady Margarete, where Fraunces lorde Louell landed certeyne dayes before. And there they beyng altogether, euery man accordyng to his mynde reasoned, argued, and debated what was best to doo. After longe cõmunycacion had, this fynall conclusyon was agreed vpon, that the erle of Lyncolne and the lorde Louel should go to Irelande, and there attende vpon her countrefeacte nephewe, and to honor him as a kyng, and with the powre of the Irishemen to brynge hym to England, and sendyng for all their frendes, should without delaye geue battaile to kynge Henry: So that if their doynges had good and prosperous successe, then the forsayde Lambert (mysnamed the Erle) shoulde by the conseat of the counsaill be deposed, and Edwarde the true Erle of Warwyke to be delyuered oute of pryson, and after by the auctboritie and aide of his frendes of the nobilitie, should be published, proclaymed, and anoynted kynge.

But kyng Henry thynkyng his nobles to be well appeased with the syght of Edward the very sonne of the duke of Clarence, nothynge mystrustyng any man to be so folishe to inuent, feigne, or countrefeate any thynge more of him, or any so mad or vndiscrete (especially of his realme) as to beleue that Lambert was very Edward, onely myndynge the suppressyng of the Flagicius Irishme, studied how to subdewe and represse their bolde enterprice and sedicious coniuracion. And hearing sodeynly that the Erle of Lyncolne with other were fled & gone to his aduersaries, beynge therwith sodeynly moued: thought euen with stronge hand and marciall powre, to ouercome hys enemyes and euell wyllers, whose

maliciousnes he could by no counsaill nor pollecy eschewe nor auoyde: And beyng thus determyned, he commaunded certeyne of his capitaynes to prepare an hoste of men oute of euery parte of his realme, and them to bryng and conduyte into one place assygned, that when his aduersaries shoulde come forwarde, he might with his populous multitude & great powre sodeynly set on theim, & so ouercome and vanquishe them altogether. And mystrustyng that other would folowe the erle of Lyncoln into Flaunders, he caused the East partes, and all the borders theraboutes to be diligently kept, that none other might escape or geue them succoure. And cõmynge to the toune of saynt Edmondes bury, he was certifyed that the lord Thomas Marques of Dorcet was cõmyng to excuse & purge hym selfe before him, for certeyne thynges that he was suspected to haue done lightely when he was in Fraunce. To whom the kyng did sende the Erle of Oxenford to intercept him ridyng on his iorney and to conueigh him to the Towre of London, to trye his truth and proue his pacięce. For if he were his frende as he was in dede, he should not be miscontented to suffre so lytle a reproche & rebuke for his princes pleasure. If he were not his frend there to tary in sauetye that he might do no dãmage nor hurt to him. And from thence the kyng went furth to Norwiche, & tariyng there Christmas day, departed after to Walsyngham, and cõmyng there into the churche of oure lady, prayed deuoutly and made supplicaciõs to almighty God, that by his diuine powre and through the intercession of our lady, he might eschew the snares & preuy workynges of his enemies, and preserue him selfe and his country from the imminẽt daungier, and to reduce agayne the streiynge shepe to their right folde and true shepard, that be amysse: his orysons fyneshed, from thence by Cambridge he returned shortly to London.

In this meane tyme the Erle of Lyncolne and the lord Louell, had gotten by the aide of the lady Margaret, aboute twoo thousand Almanyes, with Matyne Swarde a noble man in Germany, and in marciall feactes verye expert, to be their cheueteyne, and so sailyng into Ireland. And at the cytie of Dyuelyn, caused younge Lambert to be proclaymed and named kyng of England, after the most solempne fassyon, as thoughe he were there of the verye heyre of bloud royall lyneally borne and discended. And so with a great multitude of beggerly Irishemen, allmost all naked and vnarmed sauynge skaynes and mãteles, of whom the lord Thomas Gerardine was capiteyne and conductor, they sayled into England with this newe founde kyng, and landed for a purpose at the pyle of Fowdrey within lytle of Lancastre, trustynge there to be ayded with mony by Sir Thomas Broughton one of the chiefe compaignions of this vnhappy conspiracy.

The kyng not slepynge his matters, but mystrustyng and smellyng the storme that folowed, before the enemies arryued, he dispatched certeyne horsemen throughout all the west partes of the realme, chiefely to attende the cõmyng and arryuall of his enemyes, secondarely to wayte for suche espialles as came out of Ireland, & them to apprehend & compell to shew & declare the secretes of their enemies. When he had gathered all his hoste together, ouer thewhich, the duke of Bedforde & the erle of Oxenforde, were chiefe capiteynes, he went to Couentry, where he beynge, his light horsemen accordyng to their duetie returned & certefyed him that ỹ erle of Lyncoln was landed at Lancastre with his new kyng. Thewhich when the kyng vnderstode was so, he consulted with his nobilitie and councellers to knowe if it were for the best to encountre with theim oute of hand, or let them dragge awhile, for this mattre bothe requyred counsaill and also celerite. After they had layed their heades together and well debated the matter, it was determyned that they should set vpõ theim without any further delaye, least that their powre by longe sufferaunce & delaiyng of tyme myght be augmented & greatly multiplied. And so after such aduysemẽt takẽ, he remoued to Nottyngham, and there by a lytle wood called Bowres he pytched his feelde: to whom shortely after came the lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, the lorde Straunge, Sir Ihon Cheyney valeaunt capitaynes, with many other noble and expert mẽ of warre, For the kyng had cõmaunded and geuen in charge before, that all persons of the counties adioynyng that were hable & of strengthe to cary weapon should be ready in an houres warn-

ynge, in case that any nede should requyre. Therfore pycked felowes and hardy personages and suche as were lyke menne, were chosen in all the haste, and of this sorte a great armye was coacted and gathered together: So the kynges army was wondrefully encreased, & from tyme to tyme greatly augmented.

In this space, the erle of Lyncoln beyng entred into Yorkeshire, passed softely on his iourney without the spoylyng or hurtyng of any man, trustyng therby to haue some company of people resorte vnto him: but after that he perceaued fewe or none to folow him, and that it was to no purpose to returne backe, considryng his enemyes were all ready to set vpon him, he determined firmely to trye the fortune of battaile, remembryng that the chaunce of Mars dothe stande euer vpō. vi. or. vii. & that kyng Henry not. ii. yeres before with a small powre of men vanquished kyng Richard & all his mightie army. And heruponputtyng a sure confidence vpō his compaigny directed his waye from Yorke to Newarke vpō Trent, to thentent that there he (as he trusted) augmētyng his cōpaigny might set vpon the kyng, whō he knew to be but. ii. daies iorney from him. Albeit, before he came there, kyng Henry was in his bosome and knewe euery houre what the Erle did, came the night before that he fought, to Newarke, and there approched nere hys enemyes soner then they loked for him, and there taryng a lytle went. iij. myles further and pitched his feelde & lodged there that night. The erle of Lyncolne certefyed of his commyng, was nothynge afearde, but kepte styll on hys iorney, and at a lytle village called Stoke nygh to the kyng and his armye planted hys campe. The next daye folowynge, the kynge deuyded hys whole nombre into three battailes, and after in good arraye approched nigh to the toune of Stoke, where was an equall and playne place for bothe parties to darreigne the battaile.

The battayle of Stoke.

When the place was apoynted and ordeined to trye the vttermost by stroke of battaile, the erle set furth his army, and geuyng a token to his compaignie, set upon his aduersaries with a manly courage, desirynge his souldyours that daye to remembre his honoure, and their awne lyues. And so both the armyes ioyned and fought earnestly and sharply, in so muche that the Almaynes beynge tryed and expert menne in warres and marciall feates, were in all thynges, aswell in strengthe as pollecye egall and equyualent with the Englishemen: but as for Martyne Swarde theyr chiefe capitayne and leader, not many of the Englyshemen, bothe for valyaunt courage of a stoute stomack and strengthe and agylyte of body was to be compared or resembled with hys manhoode. Of the othersyde, the Iryshemen, although they foughte hardely and stucke to it valyauntly, yet because they were after the manner of theyr countrey almoste naked, without harneys or armure, they were stryken downe and slayne lyke dull and brute beastes, whose deathes and destruccyons was a great discouragynge and abashement to the residue of the company. Thus they fought for a space so sore and segrely of bothe partes, that no man coulde well iudge to whome the victory was lyke to encline: But at length, the kynges forward beynge full of people and well fortefyed with wynges, whiche onely bothe beganne and contynued the fyght, set vpon the aduersaryes with suche a force and violence, that fyrst they oppressed and kylled suche capitaynes one by one as resysted theyr myght and puyssaunce, and after that put all the other to fearfull flyght, thewhiche were eyther apprehended as captyues and prysoners in theyr flyght runnynge awaye, or elles slayne and brought to confusyon in a small moment. But when this battaile was fynished and fought oute to the extremytie, then it well apered what high prowes, what manly stomakes, what courageous hartes and what valyaunt courage was in the kynges aduersaryes. For there their chiefe capiteynes the erle of Lyncolne and the lorde Louell, Syr Thomas Broughton, Martyn swarde & the lord Gerardyne capiteyne of the Irishemen were slayne and founde dead. Howbeyt, some affyrme that the lorde Louell toke his horsse & would haue fled ouer Trent, but he was not hable to recouer the fartherside for the highnes of the banke and so was drowned in the ryuer. There were kylled at that battaile with their fyue capiteynes before reherced of that partye aboute foure thousand: Of the kynges parte there were not halfe of them which foughte in the forward and gaue the onset slayne or hurt: Then was Lambert the yonglynge which was falsely reported to be the dukes sonne of Clarence, and his master

Martyn Swarde slayne.

sir

sir Richard Symond prieste bothe taken, but neither of them put to death, because that Lambert was but an innocēt poore soule, a very chylde, and was not o :age to do any suche entreprice of his awne deuyce, and the other was a priest, which yet to thentēt he might remēbre that the stone oftē tymes falleth oñ the head of hym that casteth it into ỹ ayer, & that many a man maketh a rod for his awn tayle when he entendeth it for another, this priest for penaunce was cōmitted to perpetual pryson & miserable captiuitie. But this Lambert in cōclusion was made the kynges faulkener, after that he had been a turne broche and executed such vile offices in the kynges kytchyn & suyllarye for a space. And thus was all the high entrepryce that lady Margaret had deuised & set furthe at this tyme, turned to nought and brought to none effect, & to an euell cōclusion. Of which chaunce, when she was aduertysed & enformed in the countrye of Flaunders, she was very sorye at the harte & much lamented and deplored, that her ymagined purpose sorted to suche an infortunate ende & effect, incontinently deuisyng, practisyng and ymagenyng some greate and more difficile enterpryce, by the which she might vexe and perturbe yet once agayne the kyng of England and his whole region: Whiche purpose, euen as she inuented yt, so she set yt forwarde as shalbe shewed herafter plainly.

After that kyng Henry had thus asswaged and appeased these matters beynge of so great a moment and weight, with no great mocion, tumulte or trouble, & had not only escaped and defaced the apparant and ymminēt perell with a small conflict, and no great daungerous brunt or ieopardy, but also repressed & suppeditate the cyuile dissencion and interior stryfe, in maner as he woulde haue wyshed it, he might thynke hym selfe at one tyme cleane ryd & delyuered from two euelles together, both from feare present & also that was to come. For certeynly when he pondred & diligently consydered his aduersaries (whose puissaunce he both in nombre and force, farre did surmount and precell) at the very poynte so fiercely to ioyne and to byd him battaile, he much suspected & no lesse mistrusted that they had some preuy fautoures and secret cōcelers (the which when tyme and place should requyre or expostulate) would with their strength, aide, succoure and assyst them agaynst him and his puyssaunse. But when he perceaued and sawe the hoost of his enemyes manifestly vanquished and put to flight, he cōmaunded that no mā should kyll or sleye the Erle of Lyncolne, but that he should be brought to hym alyue, to thentent that he might shewe & bewraye bothe the foūtayne and originall begynnyng, and also the confederates, aiders and comforters of his late practysed sedicious cōspiracy. But the fame is, that the souldyours woulde not so do, fearynge least paradūture the sauyng of his only lyfe (as yt should haue been in dede) the lyfe of many other should haue been lost, or at the least in ieopardye. This battaile was fought on a saturdaye beyng the. xvj. daye of Iuyn the yere of our lord thousand foure hundreth. lxxxix. and towarde thende of the second yere of the reigne of this kynge: In the whiche yere also Thomas Burchier Archebishopp of Cauntourbury dyed, into whose rome Ihon Moorton late bishop of Ely, a manne of egall learnyng, vertue and pollecye with hys predecessours, whome Alexander of that name the. vi. bishop of Roome created Cardinall, and the kynge preferred hym to thoffyce of the highe Chauncelour of England: Now to returne to my purpose.

After this victory obteyned, & after the kynge had gathered and collected the prayes and spoyles of the Feelde together, and buryed theim that there were slayne, he remoued to Lyncolne, and there reposed hym selfe thre dayes, and caused euery daye one processyon to be celebrate, to rendre humble thankes to almightie God, for his tryumphant victory and ouerthrowe of his enemyes. Then dyd he execucion of suche rebelles and traytoures as were taken in the felde, either at the battaile, or in the chace. And shortely after he went into Yorkeshyre, and there costed the country ouerthwart, searchynge by exploratours and preuy enquyries, where hys aduersaryes gathered theyr army agaynst hym, entendyng earnestly to wede oute, and purge his land of all sedicyous seede, and double harted fruyte yf yt were possyble: and suche as were founde culpable in any one poynte, were committed to pryson, and other mulcted by fyne or extinct by deathe.

¶ THE THIRDE YERE.

IN the myddest of August entrynge into the. iij. yere of his troubelous reigne, he by ioyneiyng arriued at Newcastell vpō Tyne a very propre towne, situate on the hether part of Northumberland, where he taryed the remnaunt of the somer, and beynge there, sent in Ambassade into Scotland to kyng Iames the thyrde kyng of Scottes, Richard Foxe whiche not longe before was made bishoppe of Excettre, and with him syr Richard Edgecombe knyght comptroller of hys house. The summarye of their commyssion was to conclude a truce for a tyme, or a longe league and an amytie. For kyng Henry estemed it bothe honorable and proffytable yf he myght haue perfyght peace and assured amytie with prynces adioynyng and his next neighboures. And before all other with kyng Iames of Scotlande to thentent that his subiectes hauynge knowledge of the amytie, and despairyng vtterly to haue any refuge, comforte or succoure of the Scottes, or other their neighboures circumuosyn & adioynyng cōtrary to their old vsage trust and expectacion, might the better be cōtinued in the faithe, duetie & loyaltie towardes their prynce and souereigne lorde. The Ambassadours whē they were come into Scotland to the kyng, were of him both gently entreteined & after the most louyng fassyō receaued & fully harde. To whom at the fyrst he shewed his good hart, his true mynde, tendre zele, and fraternall affeccīō, that he hym selfe contynually bare, and yet dyd entende to shewe towardes kyng Henry, although his subiectes were of a contrary mynde and opinyon, playnly protestyng & declaryng to them his vasselles to be bothe by nature and wylfull disposicion, diuerse and cōtrary euer to the English nature and English naciō: thinkyng surely that they for the most part, would neuer cōsent & longe agree with the Englishmen, accordyng to their olde vaffrous varietie: wherfore least that he should offend or ministre cause of occasiō to them (as in dede all mē were not his frendes in Scotlād at that tyme) he desyred ȳ Ambassadours to cōsent w̄ truce & abstinēce of warre for seuen yeres, not onely in open audience, but on his honor he promysed firmely in secret communicacion (as secret as a confession made to a priest) that he for his parte would kepe contynuall peace with the kyng of England durynge their lyues, but apparauntly he promysed that or these. vii. yeres should be passed and fully fyneshed that he would renue agayne the truce for other. vii. yere, so that kynge Henry & he should be and lyue in peace, concorde, and moste assured amitye, durynge their naturall lyues. And this dyd kyng Iames conclude with kyng Henry, because that he knewe hym selfe, his actes, yea and hys name to be had in suche despyte and hatred of the more parte of hys dysloyall people, that nothynge (whatsoeuer he dyd) was estemed, regarded, well spoken of or had in anye pryce: Suche was the malicious hartburnynge of the Scottes against their naturall lorde. The ambassadours perceauyng the hartye mynde and faithful beneuolence of this kyng towardes their master kyng Henry, accepted and assented to his offre, and ratefyed thesame: And returnyng home shewed the kyng all the matter in ordre as yt was proponed assented and concluded. With whiche tydynges, he perceauynge the kyng of Scottes good mynde towardes hym, and apparauntly perceauynge that as that tempestyous and stormy ceason requyred, yt was not to hys small commoditie and proffyte, reioysed meruelously that hys Ambassade came to so good an effecte: and shortely after reculed backe agayne from Newcastell to Yorke, and so towarde his cytie of London. And in the waye beynge at Leycestre, diuerse ambassadours sent from Charles the Frenche kyng came to his presence, whiche declared and shewed to hym that theyr kyng Charles had recouered manye Tounes, Cyties and garrysons whiche before that tyme were possessed and holden of Maximilian kynge of Romanes and Archeduke of Austryce, and that he nowe moued battaile against Fraunces duke of Briteyne, because he kepte, ayded and succoured in his territorie and dominion diuerse noble prynces and high personages of the realme of Fraunce, whiche were treytoures and rebelles againste hym, his realme and seignyory, of the which the chief leader was Lewes duke of Orlyaunce: And

therfore he desyred hym for the olde frendshyp and familiarite practysed betwene them, tha he wolde either aide, assyst and helpe hym, or elles stand neuter betwene bothe parties, neither helpynge nor hurtyng any of bothe partes, lyke a cypher in algorisme that is ioyned to no figure but onely occupieth a place.

Kynge Henry well remembryng that although he had founde muche frendshyp at the Frenche kynges hand in his necessitie and that by him partely and his he obteyned his kyngdome, yet forasmuche as he espyed vpon what vnsure ground this querell was begonne against the Brytones, with this message was not well contented nor yet pleased. For he whiche sawe as farre in the Frenche kynges brest as hys Phisicion did in his vryne, knewe perfightly that he had neyther occasyon by any iust tytle to inuade the duchy of Briteyne, nor yet any displeasure myuistred to hym, by reason whereof he might iustly haue any shadowe to make a quarell to the duke of Briteyne, but onely to delate, amplifye and propagate farther his auctoritie, domynion and possession. For the Frenche kyng and his counsail knewe well that duke Fraunces was an impotent man, lyngerous, sore deseased and well stryken in age, and had neuer anye heyre male to inheret and possede hys duchy, wherefore they determyned by some meanes easely to compasse that the duchy of Bryteyne should brenely come vndre their lure and subiecciō, and so without grounde, without cause or reasonable demonstracion, vncompelled, he intymated and made open warre against the duke and Brytanicall nacion. Kyng Henry perceauynge that this newe attempted enterprice nothyng sounded to his proffit or emolumēt, callyng to mynd and consyderynge that yf the Duchy of Briteyne and the people of thesame whiche had been euer frendly & louyng to Ihenglishe nacion, and was alwaies for their entrecourse to his realme bothe necessary and proffytable, should come vndre the thraldome & subieccion of the Frenche kyng that dammage more then proffite were likely to ensue and folowe, determyned with him selfe to aide and take parte with the duke, perceauyng well that all his affaires was nowe in perell and sett in a broyle and hasard. The occasion that moued him thereunto was, the kyndelyng of the paternall lone and tendre affeccion whiche the duke euer shewed hym, sith his fyrst arriuall and emryng into Briteyne, and his fidelite to him alwaye apparauntly shewed duryng the tyme of hys there abydynge and resydence. On the other parte, when he remembred the greate benefyte that he had accepted and receaued at the Frenche kynges hand by his bountyfull and pryncely liberalitie, thought it bothe necessary, honest and consonant to reason to forgett the vngrate offence agaynst the duke of Briteyne committed and perpetrated, and to persuade and aduyse the Frenche kyng to desyste from wexynge or inuadynge the duke of Briteyne, least anye scruple or sparke of ingratitude might insurge or kyndle betwene them two. This matter was so doubtfull and so full of ambyguities that the kyng in longe consultacion lefte no questyon nor doubte vnasked nor vndiscussed, and yet no aunswere nor no conclusyon coulde satysfye or please hys doubtfull mynde and gentle harte, lothe to offende anye of them, of whom he had receaued eyther benefite or frendship: But in conclusion, he fell to this ful determinacion that yf battaile should nedes succede and folowe, then he of very duetie was bounde and obliged not to denye nor to forsake the duke of Briteyne, to whom he was so much Beholdyng, but to aide, assist & comforte him with all his powre, and openly to kepe from him all wronges and iniuries, and to defende & resiste all his aduersaries & enemyes. Yet in the meane season, least he should of the other parte make his high frend his extreme enemy, his aunswere was to the Ambassadoures that he would take trauayle & study both to his great peyne & coste, that betwene the Frenche kyng their souereigne lorde & the duke of Briteyne both beyng hys indifferent frendes, some gentle pacificacion or amicable accorde might be concluded and accepted. And so assone as the kynges Ambassadours were dunyssed, he sent on message Christopher Vrswike to Charles the Frenche kynge: First to gratulate in his behalfe the victorye that he had obteyned vpon Maximilian kyng of Romanes. Secondarely, and after to declare what tumulte and insurreccion was here in England, and howe by mere force and manhood he had vanquished and repressed the rebelles and traytoures, and eyther dystroyed or brought to subieccion, the whole rablemēt and nombre. Thyrdly, offryng him

selfe

selfe as a meane and intercessor of peace and amytie betwene the Frenche kynge Charles and the duke of Briteyne: geuyng hym farther in charge that yf he should perceaue the Frenche kyng so geue open eare to his request and to enclyne to hys desyre, that then he shoulde withoute delaye resorte to the duke of Briteyne and desyre him to be contented at his desyre to endeuer him self to an honorable peace and concorde, rather then to warre and dubyous dissencion, which peace with Goddes grace he lytle doubted, the duke beynge wyllyng shortely to compasse and bryng to conclusion. Whyle Christopher Vrswicke was traueylynge in thys comissyon, kyng Henry returned with great tryumphe to his cytie and chambre of London, hauynge the victory and ouerhand of hys enemyes and rebellious aduersaries, wherof the cytezens were very glad & reioysed hartely, considerynge that such dāmages, such oppression, such perel and losse as they thought to haue susteyned, was by the death of such disturbers of peace & trāquillitie, as the kyng had late overcome, cleane take away, auoyded & suppressed. Also the kyng hym self trustyng faithfully that all the brādes of mischiefe kyndled before against him, was by this victory vtterly extinguished & brought to ashes, could not but be mery & reioyce. For which cause, he shewed him selfe both lowely & courteous towardes all, rewardyng & promotyng most bountifully & liberally all such persones, which not only did hasarde their goodes, their possessiōs, liuynges and substaunce, but also their lyues and bodyes in his defense and quarell. And not longe after, he delyuered lord Thomas Marques Dorset out of the Towre of London, acceptyng him to his high fauour and olde familiaritie, because his truth and fidelitie had been tryed and proued by soudry & dyuerse argumētes and assaies, In which pastyme, the kyng for the perfyght loue and syncere affeccion that he bare to his quene and wyfe lady Elizabeth, caused her to be crouned and enoynted quene on saynt Katherynes daye in Nouembre withall solempnytie to suche a high estate & degree apperteignyng. In the meane ceason Christopher Vrswike was coue to the Frenche kynge liuyng at Tholouse, & of him after the most louyng and frendely fassyon that coulde be, receaued and entreteined. And assone as he had shewed and declared his message, the Frenche kyng shewed hym selfe outwardly, althoughe inwardly he otherwyse entended, to be therewith contended and that very well pleased that the kyng of Englande shoud be the meane of peace and Arbiter indifferent betwene the duke and him. This answere made, the English Ambassadour tooke his iorney streyght thēce as he was cōmaūded into Briteyne, and shewed the duke vpon hys Masters behalfe all thynges geuen him in charge and cōmissyon: But the duke (because him selfe had bene longe sycke and therby his memory and wyt was decayed and appaired) he appoynted to heare the message with other of his councelers, Lewes duke of Orleaūce whiche was fled thether out of Fraūce. When this duke had heard the Ambassadours declare their message, perceaunge that it touched a peace whiche he thought sounded neither to hys proffyt nor pleasure, wherfore he beyng somwhat tyckeled with the message answered and sayed, that it was more mete & conuenient that kyng Henry (consideryng and remembryng the great kyndenes & humanitie that he had receaued at the dukes hand) shoulde with all the powre and strength he might, helpe the duke of Briteyne beyng by the Frenchemē inuaded with yron, fyre and bloude, then to attempt or procure any fryuelous or vayne composycion or cōcorde. Yea and although he had neither receaued nor remembred any benefyte done to him by the duke, yet should he consydre that the countrey of Briteyne was in maner a bullwerck and a stronge wall for the Englishmen in defence of the Frenchemen, the which yf yt should come into the handes of the Frenche nacion, then were his continuall enemyes next to the gate of his realme, whiche thyng he would not suffre if he remēbred the Prouerbe that sayth, when thy neighboures house is a fyer, thy staffe stādeth nexte the dore. Thus muche was the duke of Orlyaunce beyng of the French bloud, an enemy to hys naturall countrey, because that he beynge next of the bloud royal to the croune of Fraunce, was repulsed from the chiefe estate and gouernaunce of the realme, and the kynges suster put in highest authoritie, duryng the minorite of the kynge, he abandoned his awne natiue countrey, and hauynge onely refuge in the duchy of Britayne for hys awne sauegarde, profyt and emolumēt, spake

these woordes that he declared and opened. For wel he knew, that kyng Henry was not therof all ignorant, that it was neither profitable nor cõmodious for ỹ realme of England, to haue the duchy of Briteyne possessed of the Gaules, considering the sea costes of bothe the countreys, to lye directelye one agaynst the other. Then returned this Christopher agayne into Fraũce, and there taried certayne dayes, declaryng to kyng Charles what aunswer was made to hym by the Briteynes, & shortly after returned into England agayn. Whyle these thinges were thus in doynge, the Frẽche kyng beseged with a great puissaunce the stronge citie of Nauntes in Briteyne. And the more gredyer that he was of hys purpose, & the more hast he made for gayning hys praye, so moch the more did he exhorte ỹ kyng of England with letters, writynges and blandymẽtes, by sondrie and diuers messengers, for to treate and conclude a peace, vnytie & concorde betwixt the duke of Briteine and hym, fearing least when he had almost wonne hys race, kynge Henry woulde put hym beside his sadle, whome he did halfe suspect to be a backe frende of hys, and prone and ready to take the Brytones parte.

Wherfore he sent in Ambassade Bernarde a Scotte borne, called ỹ lorde Daubeney, in all the hast to kyng Henry, to desire hym in any wise to make some ende whatsoeuer it were, of this warre and controuersy. And therupon the kyng beyng desirous of the same, whiche had rather all thinges might be ended by peace rather then by dynt of sweard, least that he should be driuen to take parte with the Brytons agaynste the French naciõ, elected emong all other. iii. oratours. The first was Ihon sainct Abbot of Abyndon, Ihon Lilye borne in Luke, the bishop of Romes collector, doctor of lawe, and Rychard Edgcõbe knyght, both for age and prudent sagacitie, fatherly, a wyse & a graue personage, which for renuyng of the olde amitie, were commaunded first to go to repaire to the Frenche kyng, and after that to the duke of Briteyne, to whome he gaue a longe commission with sufficient instruccions. But or euer these Ambassadours proceded ouer their iorney, Ihon Lilie fel sicke orr the gowte, so that he was not able to trauelye in so long a iorney, and so weightye a busynes, for whome was elected and choosen Christopher Vrswike, and so they. iii. sayled into Fraunce (as they were cõmaunded) and when they had communed a space with the Frenche kyng, concernyng the forme of the peace & concorde to be concluded, Rychard Egecombe, and Christopher Vrswike, departed streight to the duke of Briteine, thinkinge ye and nothing doubting, but they there shoulde kayt vp the knot, and finall conclusiõ of their Ambassade, according to their awne request and desyre, but all their hope was vayne, and turned to a vanitie. For the duke, vpon great deliberacion, constantly repudiated and refused euery condicion by them offred or demaũded. Which thinges, when they succeded not accordyng to their exspectacion, the Ambassadours deposinge and relinquisshynge all hope and esperance of any peace or concord to sorte to any good effect or purpose, reculed backe to the Frenche kyng agayne defrauded and spoyled of their entent and purpose, and there to hym declared what was their aunswer and finall resolucion, and yet makyng there abode in Fraunce, they intimated to the kyng of England by their letters all their actes and exployt. But, or their letters came to the kynges hãdes, syr Edward, lord Wooduile vncle to the Quene, a valyaunt Capitayne, and a bolde Chãpion, either aboorryng ease and ydlenes, or inflamed with ardent loue and affeccio toward the duke of Britayne, desyred very earnestly of kynge Henry, ỹ if it were hys will and pleasure, that he with a conuenient number of good men of warre woulde transport hym selfe into Briteine, for ỹ aide and defence of duke Fraunces, the kynges assured and proued frende. And least it should sowe or kyndle any dissencio or ingratitude betwene the Frenche kyng and him, he sayde that he woulde steale priuely ouer, and without any licence or pasporte, as though no man shoulde thinke or doubte but he were fled, & abandoned the realme without any fraude or male engyn. But the kyng, which had a firme confidence, that peace should be made by the polletique prouision and wyse inuencion of hys elected Ambassadours, woulde in nowise gene the brydle to hys hote, hasty and wilde desire, but streyghtly prohibited hym to attempte anye suche strategeme or enterprice, thinkynge that it stode not with hys honor to offende the Frenche kyng, to whome he woulde shewe as muche

muche amitie and humanitie as he might, for suche a matter that coulde neither greatly pro fite the Bryttones, nor yet cause hym to surceasse of his appoynted inuasion and pretensed enterprice. Yet this lord Woodoile hauyng playne repulse and denyall of the kynge, could not thus rest, determined to worke hys busynes secretly without any knowlege of ỹ kyng, and went streyght into the Isle of wight, wherof he was made ruler and capitayne, and there gathered togeither a crewe of tall & hardye personages, to the number of iiij. C. and with prosperous wynde and wether arryued in Briteyne, and ioyned hym selfe with the Brytons agayust the Frenche power and nacion. The rumor of this doyng was sone blowen into the courte of Fraūce, whiche made the Ambassadours of Englande not smally abassbed, which knowing perfightly ỹ Frenchē hartes to be prone and ready at all tymes to reuenge and do outrage to suche as displeased them, were sodainly afraied least the commō people coulde not withoolde their hādes from quereling or fraiyng. Albeit the lawe of armēs, and the treuth it selfe did defende and preserue them from iniury. But whiles the oratoures were in this perplexite and fear of daungier, and whiles the Frenchmen suspected this facte to be done by a cautell of kyng Henry, there camē other new messengers from him to the French kyng, to purdge hymself to his frend of the suspected ingratitude, certefiyng hym and declaring (by most euident tokens & apparant argumentes) that the lord Wooduile without his knowlege or consent, was sayled ouer into Britayne with so small a number of men, which smal handful, neither it becōmed a prince to sende or se t forward, neither yet coulde do to the Brytaynes any great aide or succoure: To the which message and excuse, albeit the Frenche kynge adhibited but small credence, yet he some what mitigate of his angre and furious agony, dissimuled the matter (accordyng to the Frēch nature) with a flatteryng countenaunce. Sō the Ambassadours renewynge a league and amitie betwene their kyng and hym for. xii. monethes, returned into Englande againe, and shewed the kyng al such thinges that they had either heard or sene there. The kyng of England well perceyued by the report of hys newly returned Oratoures, that the Frenche kynge wrought all hys feates by subtyll craft and cloked collusion, treatyng and mocionynge peace and concorde, when he desyred nothing so much as discorde and warre, and that purpose he auaunced and set forwarde with sayle & ower, to the vttermost poynt of his habilite. Wherfore kyng Henry beyng assured of all the French kynges actes and cogitaciōs, determined now with all celerite to set forth out of hand al such thinges as here before had cōcluded, cōcerning the warre of Britayne, as you haue heard. Wherfore he called his high courte of Parliament, and there fyrst consulted with the peres and cōmynaltie of hys realme, for the aidyng of ỹ duke of Britayne. Then for the maintenaunce of ỹ warres, diuers summes of money were graūted and geuen, beside certayne decrees & actes made for the vtilite of the common wealth. And assone as the Parliament was euded, he caused mustres to be had in certayne places of hys realme, and souldioures mete for the warre to be put in a redynes. Yet least peraduenture he might seme willingly to breake the amitie, which was betwene the Frenche kynge, and hym, he sente diuers notable Ambassadoures into Fraunce, to certefye the Frenche kynge, that of late he hadde kepte a solempne Parliamente, in the whiche it was condiscended and agreed by the lordes temporall and spirituall, and knyghtes of counties, and magistrates of cities, and boroughes of his realme not onely considerynge the relief, comforte and aide that he had receyued at the dukes hande, bothe for the sauegard of his lyfe, and for the recouerynge of hys enheritaunce and kyngdome, but also remembrynge that Brytayne of auncient tyme was subiect & vassal to the realme of Englande, which countrey also hath been frendly, and aiders to the English nacion when it was vexed, bothe with foreyne powers and domesticall sedicion, to aide, comforte and assist the Brytishe nacion with all their strength, might and habilite againste all their enemyes, frendly admonishyng hym that he should either desist from hys warre in Brytayne newly incepted, or els not be greued if he did agre (as reason woulde) to the myndes, iudgement and determinacion of the princes and prelates of hys realme, assuryng hym in the woorde of a kynge, that hys armye should onely discende in the duchy of Brytayne, not to inuade or make warre in the Frenche

kynges

kynges realme or territoryes, but onely to defend the duchy of Britayne, and to profligate and expell all the intrudors & inuasours of the French nacion, whiche iniustly occupied and inuaded the Brytannicall tytles and seignories. With these commaundemētes the English Ambassadours departed, and declared to the Frenche king all the mynde and will of their kyng and souereigne lord. Whiche message he dissimuled as litle to regarde as the bytyng of a flee, as though the Englishmen in the battaile, whiche he knewe to be at hande, coulde do no enterprice (as it happened in dede) either necessary to be feared or worthy to be remembred. The cause of hys so saiyng was thys, he knowynge that hys army was puisi saunt and stronge in Britayne, and that the Britaynes had but a few Englishmen with the lorde Wooduile, of whome he passed litle, and seyng that Englād had not yet sent any army thether for the dukes succour, iudged surely that hys army woulde do some great exployte (as they did in dede) before either the duke shoulde be purueyed or any aide ministred. And as he imagened so it folowed, for the Frenchmen so sore oppressed the countrey of Britayne and brent and distroyed cities, and beseged the toune of Fōgeres, so that the duke of Britayne was encouraged by the duke of Orliaunce, and other rebelles of the Frenche kyng, manfully to fight and geue battaile to ỹ Frēch army. And so the. xxv. daye of July they set forward, & came to a toune whiche the Frenchmen had gotten, called sainct Aulbyne. The Frenchmen were not ignoraunt of their commyng, but put theim selfes in a redynes. Of whiche armye was Capytaines, The lorde Lewes of Treuoyle, vyscount of Thonars, a Gascoyn, Adryan lorde of Mountfalcoysse. On the Brytones parte were cheuetaynes, Lewes duke of Orliaunce, and the prynce of Orenge, whiche because they and other of the Frenchemen were all on horsebacke, were mistrusted of the Brytones, least they woulde at their moost nede flye.

Wherfore they discended on fote, and the duke and the prince put thē selfes in the battaile of the Almaynes: The Marshal of Rieux was appoynted to the vauntgarde. The middle warde was delyuered to the lord Dalebret, and the rereward to the lorde Chateaw Bryand, and to make the Frenchemen beleue that they had a great number of Englishmen (notwithstandynge there wete but foure hundreth with the lorde Wooduile) they appareled a thousand and seuen hundred Brytons in cotes with red crosses after the English fasshion. When bothe the armyes were approchyng to the other, the ordinaunce shot so terribly and with suche a violence, that it sore dammaged and encombred bothe the parties. When the shot was finished, bothe the vantgardes ioyned together with suche a force that it was maruell to beholde. The Englishmen shot so fast, that the Frēchmen in the forward, were fayne to recule to the battaile where their horsemen were. The rereward of the Frenchmen, seyng thys fyrst discōfiture began to flye, but the Capitaynes retired their men together agayn, & the horsemē set fiercely on ỹ Brytaines, and slewe the moost parte of the fotemē. When the forward of the Brytones perceaued that their horsemē nor the Almaines came not forward they prouided for thē selfes & fled, some here, and some there, where they thought to haue refuge or succour. So that in conclusiō the Frenchmē obteyned the victory, & slew all such as ware red crosses, supposyng thē all to be Englishmē. In thys cōflict were slayn almost all the Englishmen, & six. M. Brytones, Emōgest whome were founde dead the lorde Woodulle, & the lord Iames Galeas borne in Napels. And of ỹ Brytones there were slayne the lord of Leon, the lorde Mountfort, the lorde Pontlabbe & many noble & notable persones of the British nacion. Of the French naciō were slayne. xii. C. persones. The pryuce of Orenge, & the duke of Orliaunce were taken prysoners, which duke (although he were next heyre apparaūt to the croune of Fraūce) should haue lost hys head, if lady Iane his wyfe which was syster to Charles ỹ Frēch king had not obteined pardō & remissiō of his trespasse & offence. Howbeit he was lōg after kept prysoner in the great Toure at Bourges in Berry. This infortunate metyng chaūced to ỹ Britaynes on a mōday, beynge the. xxvii. day of July, in ỹ yere of our redēpciō. M. cccc. lxxxviij. & in ỹ. iii. yere of kyng Henry the. vii.

When these newes were brought into Englande, the kynge vigilantly forseyng what was like to chaunce, thought it necessary to accelerate the mattre before concluded, wherefore

with all spede he seht Robert Lord broke, Syr Ihon Cheyny, syr Ihon Middelton, syr Raufe Hilton, syr Rychard Corbet, syr Thomas Leighton, syr Richard Laton and syr Edmond Cornewall, all lusty and courageous capitaynes with. viij. M. men well armed, and warlike furnished to ayde and assist the Brytones agayust the Frenchemen. These iolymen of warre had suche prosperous wynde, that they arryued in Brytayne euen as they woulde wyshe or desyre. And after that they had recreated their spirites, and refreshed them selfes a litle after their labour and iourney, they puttynge thē selfes in good ordre of battaile, marshed forward toward their enemyes, and not farre from them encamped them selfes. But when the Frenchmen knew of their landyng whome they knew by no small experience (and especially so long as they were fresbe and lusty) to be in maner inuincible. And so at the begynnyng they were all blanke, & for feare kept themselfes craftely and politikly within their campe. And after that, they sent forth a smal company of lighte horsemen, the whiche to wery and fatigate the stoute stomackes and haute courages of the English army, made in diuers places of the army, skyrmysshes, outcryes & alaromes. So for a certayne space they vsed thys kynde of daliyng w the Englishmen, but euer the losse turned to the Frenchmen, & they bare the woorse away, by reason of the archers ỹ so sore galled thē and theyr horsses with arowes, that their braggyng incursions were sone left and done. But beholde the mutacion of this worlde, whyle this warre was thus set forward, Fraunces duke of Brytayne departed out of this life, so that the Englishmen were in a doubtfull labirinth, and a great ambiguyte. For the chiefe rulers of the Britaynes, beyng some of them corrupted with money, and some stirred with desire of deuision and cōtrouersie, fell into deuision emonge them selfes, so that they semed not to tendre the defence and proteccion of their naturall countre, but rather myuded the distruccion and vttre confusion of the same. Whiche deuision the Englishmen perceauyng, and also considerying that it was in ỹ middest of wynter, in the whiche tyme it is not wholsome for men to lye in the frosty and moyst feeldes, were compelled in maner by necessitie within. v. monethes that they went forward, to returne backe agayn in to Englande.

After thys Charles the frenche kynge hauyng thus the vpper hand of the Brytones, perceauyng that Maximilian kyng of Romanes laboured to haue in mariage, Anne sole heire to Fraūces duke of Britain for her younger suster was late dead, whiche thoughte was neither for hys profite nor aduantage, concluded a peace with the Brytones. By whiche treatie he had the lady deliuered into hys possession, & after her deliueraunce, he refusyng and repudiatynge the mariage of ỹ lady Margaret, daughter to the forsayd kyng of Romanes, espoused ỹ lady Anne duches of Brytayne, by whiche meanes the duchye of Britayne was annexed to the croune of Fraunce, as here after shall appere when it toke effect, whiche was not two yeres after.

¶ THE. IIIJ. YERE.

NOwe to the mony layde out, as concernynge the sumptcousnes of thys battaile. It was decreed by the. iij. estates (as you haue heard) in Englande before that any souldioures were sent into Britayne, that for the expence of that warre euery man should be taxed and assessed at the some of hys substaunce, and should paie the tenth penny of hys goodes for the maintenaunce of the warre in Britayn. Which money the moost parte of them that dwelt about the Bishoprike of Durham & Yorkeshire, refused vtterly to paye, either thinking thē selfes ouercharged with the greatnes of the same, and therewith greued, or excited and procured through the euell counsayll and sedicious persuasion of certayne persones, whiche preuely conspired agaynst the kynge to put him to new trouble and busines. Therfore suche as were by the kynges cōmaundement made Collectoures and gatherers of the summe taxed, after that they coulde not get the money, accordynge to the extractes to them by the commissioners deliuered, made their complaint preuely to Henry the. iiij. Erle of Northumberland, chiefe

chiefe ruler of the Northe parties. And he immediatly vpō the knowlege therof, signefied the kynges grace by hys letters, that the people greatly grudged and murmured, makynge open Proclamacion that they haue ben charged of late yeres with insupportable incommodities and oppressions, without any defaut or desert, and that now there was a lounge some requyred of them, which neither they were hable to satesfie so great a demaunde, nor, yet wolde once consent to paye any one peny of the sayde summe requyred. The kynge commaunded the erle in any wyse by distresse or otherwise accordyng to hys discrecion, to exacte the money of the people, and by cōpulsion to enforce suche to payment as whyned moost at it, least ỹ it might appere that the decrees, actes and statutes, made and confirmed by him and hys high courte of Parliament, shoulde by hys rude and rusticall people be infringed, despised and vilepended. The rude rashe and vnaduised people, hearynge this aunswer of the kynge, by and by, violently set vpon the erle by the procurement of a symple felowe called Ihon of Chambre, whome the erle intreated with fayre woordes to come to reason, but they laynge to hys charge that he was the chiefe author & principall causer of thys taxe and tribute paynge, both hym and diuers of hys housholde seruauntes, furiously and shamefully murthered & kylled. Diuers afferme that the Northenmen bare against this erle continuall grudge, sith the death of kyng Rychard, whome they entirely loued and highly fauoured, whiche secret serpēt caused their fury to wade farther then reason coulde retract or restreyne. Al thoughe thys offence were great and heynous, yet ther succeded after a more mischief and a greater inconuenience. For incontinent the Northenmē to cloke the homicide and manslaughter, by a violence put on their armure and assembled in flockes, and elected to theim a capitayne called syr Ihon Egremonde knyght, a person no less sedicious then faccious and desirous of trouble, and ordred them selfes lyke men of warre, and passynge by the countreys, they published and declared that they would byd battail to the kynge, onely for the tuicion and defence of their common libertye and fredome, whiche he woulde plucke, and by hys extreme power take & bereue frō thē. But when their cause should be discided with blowes & handstrokes, their fury was asswaged & refrigerate, their hartes were in their heeles, & their stomackes as coulde as any stone, & euery one wished ỹ this tumult were retracted & quēched, which was now al ready not smokynge but enflamed: and in cōclusion, euery man ranne awaye, some this way, & some that way, as men amased when they lacke counsail, skatered & dispersed in diuers places. When euery mā was returned, the mattre was ended as they imagened, but while they diligently laboured to saue their lifes by flight, they sought their awne destrucciō. For the moost parte of thē were punyshed by death or by imprysonment for the same offence. For the kyng heryng of this tumultuous busynes, sent forth Thomas erle of Surrey, whome not lōg after he had deliuered out of ỹ Toure, & receaued to his grace & especiall fauour (as he was both for his wit & fidelite wel worthy) with a cōpetent crewe of mē into the North partes, which skyrmished w a certayne cōpany & discōfited thē, & toke a lyue Ihon of chābre the first beginner of this rebelliō. The kyng hym self roade after the erle into Yorkeshire, of whose cōming the slaues & sturdy rebelles were so abashed & afrayed, that they fled more & lesse, which afterwarde were apprehended & greuously punished accordyng to their demerites & deseruyng. Yet the kyng of hys magnificent mynde, perdoned the innocent & rural people, & plaged & executed ỹ inuenters of the mischief, & the furtherers of the same. For Ihon a chābre was hanged at Yorke, vpon a gybbet set vpon a square paire of gallowes, lyke an archetraytoure, & hys complices & lewde disciples were hāged on the lower gallowes roūde aboute their mayster, to the terrible example of all other. But syr Ihon Egremōd, whome these sedicious persons preferred to be their Capitayn, fled into Flaūders to ỹ lady Margaret duches of Burgoyne, whiche euer enuied the prosperite kynge Henry.

When this folishe enterprice was thus quenched, the kyng gaue cōmission & charge to syr Rychard Tunstall knyght, a man of greate wyt, pollecie & discrecion, to gather and receaue the subsidie to hym dewe of the people, and he hym selfe returned shortely to London, leauynge the erle of Surrey to rule the Northpartes, perceaunynge well the Englishmen, not so

muche to grudge at the paymente of the taxe or tribute, as they did grone at the excessyue and importable some vpon the assessed, remembryng the olde prouerbe loue me litle and loue me longe. And thys was the yere of our Lorde. M. cccc. xc and the fourth yere of thys kynges reigne.

Before this tyme, Maximiliaen kynge of Romanes, whiche as you haue heard in the tyme of kynge Edwarde the. iiij. had contrary to the mynde and will of the French kyng espoused lady Mairie, daughter & heyre to Lewes the French kynge, and by her had issue, a sonne called Philip, and Margaret whiche was affied to Charles the. vii. Frenche kyng and by hym repudiate and forsaken, was sore offended & greatly greued with the Flemynges, but moost of all with the Gauntoys and Brugians, for kepyng from him perforce hys sonne & heyre duke Philip, whiche neither by gentle request nor cruell menace woulde deliuer the sonne to hys naturall father and lawful parent. Wherfore the king Maximilaen assembled a company of Almaynes & Ouerlanders (for he did not greatly put hys confidence in the Brabanders nor Hollanders) and made sharpe warre on the Flemynges, in the whiche he litle preuayled. For the Flemynges sent to the Frenche kynge for aide & succour, whiche beyng glad of that request, sent Philip de Creuecure lorde Desquerdes, commonly called the lorde Cordes into the confines of Flaunders with a great army of men, to aide and succour the Fleminges, trustynge by that meanes to obteyne bothe the possession of ỹ young enfaunt duke Philip, and the whole countrey of Flaunders. Wherfore Maximilian entending to allure the Flemynges from the Frenchmen, beganne first to practise with them of Bruges, of whyche toune the grauous men, sone condiscended and astipulat to reason, requyringe hym to come to their toune, and sent to hym with their request, the Scult called Peter Longoll with diuers other, to aduertise hym that at hys cõmynge thither, he should fynde hym conformable to hys wyll, pleasure and request. Vpon trust wherof he entred into the toune small accompanyed, and came before the toune, thinkyng that the lordes and senate woulde ioyously haue receaued and welcõmed hym. But the whole turned clene contrary, for the lyght witted persons, to whome peace was treason, and concord venemous poyson, takyng this occasion to theim offred, cryed to harneys. When they, whiche had brought the kyng into the toune, sawe the tumult of the people, and that no man came to their relief, they left their lord post alone, and fled into corners. The warden of the smythes was the chief of the route, which bad the kyng to take pacience a whyle, and he should haue a gentle imprysonement, and so conueighed hym to the house of Ihon Grosse, iudge of the audience. Then the Almaynes were all banished, the toune and the lordes of Gaut were sent for, whiche taried not longe. When they had the praye that they espected, fyrst diuers citezens whiche they thought fauourable to Maximiliaen they beheaded. Mathew Spert, one of hys chief counsailours and trusty frendes, was sent to Gaunt, and there put to death. Iames Dudenezell, & Iames of here. ii. wyse burgeses, notwithstandynge that all the priestes and religious of the toune made intercession for theim, were at Bruges executed. Then Ihon Capenoll a busy merchaunt, woulde in all haste haue rydden to induct the French kyng as their souereigne lorde, to whome the moost parte woulde in nowyse a stipulate nor consent, nor yet entended to disheneryt the yonge duke Philippe of hys graundfathers inheritaunce.

When execucion was done of the wyse and sad counsaylers, ỹ newe made rulers caused theyr prynce kynge Maximilien to be broughte to the toune house, and there they layed to hys charge, that he had not obserued the treatie, whiche they of Gaunt and Bruges had concluded w the French kyng. Secondarely, they alledged that he put high Almaynes in officies and great authoritie, whiche without their assent woulde haue chaunged and inhaunced their coyne and money to their great preiudice and detriment. Many other ridiculous articles they layde to hym, whiche the eares of euery honest creature knowynge the duetie of the subiect to hys prynce, woulde abhorre and floccipend, to the whiche he so wisely and boldely aunswered, that in parte he asswaged their malice, and mitigated their rage. In so much that he was more gentler entreated then he was before. For if hys aunswer had been to the displeasaunt, or if he had menaced them but one woorde, I thinke in their furye they woulde haue

haue dispatched him out of hys lyfe and lande. The Gaūtoys woulde haue deliuered hym to the Frenche king, but the Brugiās woulde not assent. They of Gaunt desyred to haue him in their custody in Gaunt, but ỹ citezens of Bruges vtterly denied hys deliuery. Wherfore the Gauntoyes in great displeasure departed. After whose departure the Brugians were content to set hym at libertie, so that he and diuers of hys nobilitie. should sweare on the holy Sacrament, not onely to remit, pardon and forgeue all offences perpetrated and committed by them of Flaunders, but also shoulde sweare and promes, neither to remembre nor reuēge thesame. Thys othe he sware in the great Church of Bruges, and the lord of Raueston called Philip Mounseur, and the lord of Beuers and diuerse other sware thesame, addyng therunto, that if he did attempt any thynge cōtrary to hys othe and promes, then they sware to take parte with the good tounes of Flaunders agaynste hym and his adherentes. And vpon this promes he was deliuered and frākely set at libertie.

But Frederick the Emperour coulde not forget the reproche & despite that was shewed to hym in hys sonne, and the great iniury & wrōg that was done to his sonne partely to hys dishonour, scourged Flaunders with sharpe warre and mortall afflictions (Maximilian liyng in quyet and nothyng attemptynge) but Philip Mounseur, lorde of Raueston, the whiche toke hys othe with kyng Maximilian, to shewe that the warre was renouate without hys knowledge and assente, forsooke Maximilian hys lord, and toke the tounes of Ypere, and Sluse, with both the Castels of thesame hauen, which he manned and viteyled, and kept two yeres agaynst the power of Maximilian, till he rendred theim to syr Edward Pownynges sent thether by the kynge of Englande, as you shall hereafter well perceaue. Beside this, the foresayde Philip not onely exacted and stirred the Gauntoys, Brugians and other tounes of Flaunders, to rebell agaynst their souereygne lorde, but also sent to the lorde Cordes, to aide hym to conquere suche tounes of Flaunders, as were not of their opinion and confederacy. This lord Cordes, which vntruly reuolted from duke Charles of Burgoyne, beyng hys brynger vp and chief preferrer to Lewes the Frēch kyng (as you haue heard before) was glad of thys, and so sent to the aide of the Fleminges. viii. M. Frenchmen, willyng them to take and conquere such tounes, as were in the waye betwene Fraunce and Bruges, or Caleys and Bruges. The Capitaynes folowynge hys deuice, beseged a litle walled toune, called Dipenew, to whome came. iiii. M. Flemynges with vitayle and artillary, sent from Philip Mounseur. They layed siege on the Northsyde of the toune in a marishe groūde then beyng drye, and so depely dyched their campe, and so highly trenched it, on whiche trenche they layed their ordinaunce, that it was in maner impossible to entre into their campe, or to do them any displeasure or dammage. The kynge of Englande was dayly aduertised of these doynges, whiche nothing lesse desyred then to haue the English pale and territory, enuyroned with French fortresses. For he perceaued well that if the Frēchemē gate Dipenewe, they would afterward assaile Newport and Grauelynge, and cōsequently, what ẅ force and what with corruption of rewardes, their purpose was to haue the possession of duke Philip, and all Flaunders, whiche shoulde not be to the profite of hym nor hys subiectes. Wherfore this. v. yere, sodeinly with great expedicion he sent ouer to the lord Dawbeney to Caleys, the lord Morley with a Crewe of valiaunt archers and souldiours, to the number of a. M. men, with preuy instruccions what they shoulde do. When they were lāded, they published and sayed that they came to defende the English pale, if the Frenchemen or Flemynges would attēpt any mastryes there: But their enterprice was all otherwise. For on a Tuesdaye at the shuttyng of the gates at nyghte, the lorde Dawbeney chefetayne of the army, the lorde Morley, Syr Iames Tyrrell, Capitayne of Guysnes, Syr Henry Willoughby, Syr Gylbert Talbot, syr Homfrey Talbot, Marshall of Caleys, and diuers other knightes and Esquyers, and other of the garrison of Hammes, Guysnes and Caleys, to the numbre of two. M. men or there aboute, issued preuely oūte of Caleys, and passed the water of Grauelynge in the mornynge be tymes, and left there for a stale and to kepe the passage syr Homfrey Talbot with. vi. skore archers, and came to Newporte, where they founde ỹ souereygne of Flaūders with. vi. C. Almaynes, and there they commoned and paused that nyght.

On

On the next day as they came secretly toward Dipinew (se ỹ chaũce) at a place of execucion, nere the high waye was a Gaũtoys (which was come out of the army for a spye, and apprehẽded by them of Dipenew) led to hangyng, which emongest the Englishmẽ knew syr Iames Tyrrell, and called to hym for comfort and succoure, promisynga hym that if he woulde saue hys lyfe, he woulde guyde theim where they shoulde entre on the Gauntoys, to their honour and aduauntage, and he woulde be the first assaylaunt of all the company. When hys promes was regarded, after request made to the Borough masters and capitaynes of the toune, he was perdoned but not deliuered. The next daye in ỹ mornyng, after they had ordred their army, their guyde conueyghed theim out at the Southgate of the toune by a high banke set with willowes, so that the Gauntoysses coulde not wel espie them, and so secretly came to the ende of the campe of their enemyes and there paused. The lorde Daubeney commaunded all men to sende their horses & wagons backe, but the lord Morley sayde he woulde ryde tyll he came to handstrokes (but he was deceaued) so they passed on tyll they came to a lowe baneke and no depe dyche, where their ordinaunce laye, and there the archers shote altogether euery man an arrowe, and so fell prostrate to ỹ groũd, their enemyes discharged their ordinaunce all atones, and ouershot thẽ. The archers roase and shot agayn, and bet them from their ordinaũce. The Almaynes lept ouer the dyche with their morisne pykes, the Englishmen in the forefront waded the dyche, and were holpen vp by the Almaynes, and set on their enemies, and slew and toke many prisoners. The other Englishmen hasted by the cawsey to entre in at the Northgate of the campe, where the lord Morley being on horsbacke in a ryche coate was slayne with a gonne. When his death was knowen, euery man kylled hys prisoner and slewe all such as did withstãd them to the number of viij. M. men, in somuch that of ii. M. that came out of Bruges (as the Flemysh chronicle reporteth) there came not home an hundred. There were slayne in the sayd place two chief capitaynes, George Peocanet, and Anthony Nyewnhome. On the English parte was slayn the lord Morley, and not an hundred moo. The Englishmen toke their ordinaunce and sent it to Newport with al their spoyle and great horses. And by the waye, hearyng certayne Frenchemẽ to be at Ostend, they made thetherward, but the Frenchmen fled, and so they burned parte of the toune, and came agayne to Newport, where the lord Dawbeney left all the Englishmen that were hurt or wounded, and caryed with hym the dead corpus of the lorde Morley, and buryed it honorably at Caleys. Thys felde was profitable to the Englishmen, for they that went forth in clothe, came home in sylke, and they that wẽt out on foote, came home on great horsses, suche is the chaunce of victory.

The lorde Cordes, beyng at Yper with xx. M. men, was sore discontent with this ouerthrowe, wherefore he thynkyng to be reuenged, came and beseged the toune of Newport strõgely (the which capitayne, Mõseur de Merwede, before capitayne of Dipenew, and all the gentelmen of Westflaunders, and the thre principall cities of Flaunders, viteyled the Frenche hoost so wel that all thinges was to good chepe) they without shot at the walles, and brake thẽ in many places, and they within sore greued them without with their artillary. But the Englishmen ỹ were hurte at Dixmewe felde before, and might eyther stand or drawe a bowe, neuer came from the walles. One day the Frenchmen gaue a great assaute to a Towre, and perforce entred it, and set vp the banner of the lorde Cordes: but as God woulde, during the time of the assaute there arryued from Caleys, a Barke with. lxxx. fresh Englishe archers, which came streight to the Towre. The womẽ of the toune, perceiuynge the Englishmen come, cryed with lamentable and loude voyces, helpe Englishmen, helpe Englishmen, shote Englishmen, shote Englishmen, so that, what with the helpe of such as before were wounded and hurte men, and of the courageous hartes of the new come Archers, and the stoute stomackes and diligency of the women, which as fast as the Englishmen strake doune the enemyes, the women were ready to cut their throtes, they wanne agayne the Towre, and slewe the Frenchmen, & rẽt the banner of the lorde Cordes and set vp the penon of saynct George. Then the Frenchmẽ, supposyng a great aide of Englishemen, to haue bene come to the toune by sea, left the assaulte. And the night folowyng the couetous lord

Cordes

Cordes (which so sore lōged for Caleys, ỹ he would commonly saye that he would gladly lye. vii. yeres in hell, so ỹ Caleys were in the possession of the Frenchmen) brake vp hys siege and shamefully returned to Hesdyng. And the Englishmen glad of this victory returned agayne to Caleys.

This yere also, the realme of Scotlād suffered an infeccious & mortall plage, because the name of Iames the third kyng of Scottes was so odyous, so hated and disdayned of the whole nobilitie of the realme of Scotlande, chiefly because they perceaued that he set more by vile borne vileyns and light persones, then by the princes and nobles of hys realme, as I haue declared to you in the history of kyng Edward the. iiii. which mischiefe and vngrate discommoditie, after they had tollerated and paciently suffred no small tyme to their great grudge & displeasour. They now thought it most expediēt for their purpose & welfare, euen by force of armes to recouer their pristinate libertie and auncient freedome. Therefore makyng preuely a coniuracio and cōspiracy together agaynst their prynce and soueraigne lorde, cōpassed his death and destruccion. Yet that it mighte not be thoughte that they did intende the destruccion of their natyue countrey, they made the kynges sonne named after hys father Iames, prince of Rothsay (a chylde borne to goodnes and vertue) their Capitayne, in maner against hys will, openly protesting, that they purposed the confusion, affliccion and deposyng of an euell kynge and wretched prynce, and not the subuersion & destruccio of their coūtrey: by which craftie ymagened inuēcion they might eyther cloke or propulse from thē all suspicion, of their purposed vntruthe and shamefull disloyaltye. Wherof the kynge beynge credibly informed, was pensyfe, sorie, carefull, vexed and sore tormēted in his mynd, for this cause in especiall, that he should haue cyuile dissencion with hys awne subiects and native country men, yee & agaynst his awne sonne beynge made Capyteyne of that votrewe and peruerse company, whome next to him selfe he loued, fauoured and honoured, ymagenynge with him selfe that this cōmocyon sounded to none other effect but that the hed should fight and stryue with the other mēbres and partes of the natural body: and yet on the other syde, not to resyst shortly theyr newe incepted entreprice might easely encourage & inflame the malicious heartes of his domesticall enemyes with more boldenes & audacite to attēpt farther mischef & incōueniēce. Therfore to thētent to make a plaster for both these sores to be healed: Fyrst to apease and assuage the fury and rumour of the people, being this in a rage, he prepared an army of mē. After that he sent Ambassadours to his sonne and the nobilitee assembled with him, for a loue, peace, concorde, quietnes and vnitee to be concluded emongest them. Also he sent letters to ỹ kyng of Englande and the French kynge, requyringe them that they wouldе vouchesafe with their good and Godly counsail, helpe & assaye to mitigate and asswage this furious enormitie of his rude and sauage people, which was incepted and begonne thorough the perswasion and procurement of certeine pernicious and sedicious persones. And besides this, he wrote to the bishop of Rome Innocēt for thesame matter, in the which he earnestly obtested, desyred & prayed him that he would of his goodnes, faith & charite sende some one legate to these rebelles of his nobilitie to charge and commaunde, that they settynge aside all warre and hostilite, embrace quietnes, rest and vnitee.

This miserable decrepite and aged kyng, thinkynge that bothe delaiynge and continuaunce of time, and also the entreating and hartye prayers of his frendes and alies would quenche and mollefie their inordinate wildenes and furious rage, and persuade thē to sobriete and good conformite, had rather with these, and other sembleable medecynes remedie this yonge springyng sore, then he woulde haue it experimented, and tryed with cyuyle battaile and intestine destruccion, which he thought to be a thing bothe vngodly, vnnatural and execrable. For all this, no medecyne, no coūsail, no wholsome preceptes could appease or pacefie the angry myndes and ragynge wittes of the Scottishe nobilitie, so much were they addicted and bent too this folye and vnreasonable madnes. In so much, as to the messengers sent from him to thē beyng their soueraygne lorde, they made this vnreasonable and vnhonest aunswer, that is: yf he would resigne the tytle of his croune & realm and depose

pose him selfe of his royall dignite, then they would cõmen with hym of a peace, or els their eares were stopped from heryng of any entreatie or perswasion. Thesame aunswer broughte the Ambassadour of Englande and Fraunce to their princes, whiche sore lamented and deplored the peruerse fortune and mischaunce of their frẽde the Scottish kyng, as though they had bene partakers of his afflictiõ: But Adriã the bishop of Romes legate, of whome we will speake more hereafter came to late, and as who should saye, a daye after the faire.

When nothynge coulde moue or perce these stony hartes or frosty myndes of the nobilitie of Scotland: In conclusion they met together in a pitched feelde, where after great slaughter of many men, the poore sely kynge fled into a Myll for succoure, whether he was folowed and prosecuted, and there shamefully murthered, and vnreuerently, (not lyke a prynce or a crouned kynge) left starke naked lyke a stinkyng caryon. Then the prynces of Scotland beynge saciat and filled with the blood and slaughter of their soueraygne lorde and kynge (thynkinge that they had well reuenged the olde displeasures to theim done and committed by kyng Iames the thirde) set vp in the trone and estate royall, the prince hys sonne, and named hym Iames the. iiii. of that name.

Before this tyme, as you haue heard, Innocẽt bishop of Rome had sent in legacye Adryan of Castella, a man of hetouria borne in ỹ toune of Cornete, called in the olde tyme Newcastel, which should haue gone to Scotlande, too haue pacefied by hys authoritie and commaundement thys troublesome busynes, moued and sturred betwene the kyng and his subiectes. Yet this man, although he made many great iourneys, when he came to England, was enformed of the kynge, to whome he hadde certayne commaundementes and messages to saye from the Romyshe Bishop, that he came to late for too accomplysh the commission of his legacy, asserteynynge him that the Scottishe kynge was dead, gentely aduisinge hym, that he should not moue one foote ferther but tary still in Englande, where he was not past two dayes, but that he was playnly certefied by the Bishops of Scotlande of the kynges death. This Adryan taryed certayne monethes after this in Englãd and was made much of, and highly commended and lawded too the kyng by Ihon Morton bishop of Caunterbury, whiche for the good learnyng, vertue, & humanite, that he sawe and perceaued to be in him shewed to hym all poyntes of humanite and frendshippe, that a frende might do to a frende. And vpon hys commendacion, the kynge thynkynge thys man woorthy to be looked vpon, and mete to do the kynge pleasure, muche phantasied and more fauoured this legate Adryan, in somuche as he was Oratour and solicited his cause, bothe to Innocẽt and also to Alexander the sixt, Bishops of Rome. And after this, for his diligent seruyce, he so loued and fauoured him ỹ he made him Bishop of Herford, and shortely after, that resigned & geuen ouer, he promoted hym to the Bishoprike of Welles and Bathe. And not longe after this Adryan was returned with these honoures to Rome, where he was promoted successiuely by all the degrees of spiritual dignitees into the College and societee of Cardinalles. For Innocent fyrste made him his Collectour in England, and also one of the. vii. Prothonotaries. After this Alexander the. vi. had hym as one of hys priuye counsayll, and promoted him to the degree of a Cardinall: But who is that I praye you that will meruell at this, which aswell may be geue to fooles and dyzerdes as to wise and well learned men: There is another prayse of this Adrian, and thesame in maner eternall: The manne was of profounde learninge and knowlege, not vulgare, but straunge, newe and difficile, and in especial he was a man of a ripe iudgement in electinge and chosynge concinnate termes, and apte and eloquente woordes, whiche firste of our tyme, after that golden worlde of Tully, moued men with his writynge to imitate and foloe the moost approbate, and allowed authours that were of eloquẽcie, and taught ỹ trade and phrase to speake fyne, pure, freshe and cleane latyn, so that by his example and documẽt, eloquẽce flourisheth at this houre in all places of Christendome, wherfore after my iudgemẽt he is not woorthie to be put in obliuion: but now to my purpose.

THE VI. YERE.

THe Britishe affaires in the meane ceason, because that all discorde was not pacefied and appeased, beganne agayne nowe to flowe out and to trouble, and set all thynges in a newe broyle and busynes. For Maximilian kynge of Romaynes beynge without a wife, before this tyme, made suite to Fraūces duke of Briteyne, to haue in mariage the lady Anne hys daughter, to the whiche request the duke gentely condiscended. And one, whiche by proxie wōoed for him: too the entent that the lady shoulde performe that she promised on her faith and honour, he vsed a new inuenciō and tricke, after this maner: When the lady did take her chambre, the night after the affiaunce, she was layed naked in the bride bed, in the presence of diuerse noble matrones and Prynces, called thether as witnesses. The procuratour or Deputie for the husbande whiche represented his person, was layde in the place of her husbande, and put one of his legges into the bed vp to the harde knee, in the sight and compaigny of many noble personages, as who said that the virgin had bene carnally knowen, and so the matrimony perfighte and consummate, and they two as man & wyfe. But this fonde new founde ceremony was little regarded and lesse estemed, of hym that onely studyed and watched, howe to surrept and steale this turtle oute of her mewe and lodgynge. For Charles the Frenche kynge (as no mā can blame hym) was desyrous and gredy too be coupled in mariage, wyth so great an inheritoure, and reputynge the mariage made with Maximilian, to be of no validite and effect, the more busely and incessantly he made sharpe warre, & skourged the Brytōnes, to thentent he might bothe haue the lady and her dominions also at hys will and pleasure. But he imagined that the kynge of Englande woulde caste a trumpe in his waye, and be an impediment to his purpose by sendynge into Britayne a newe army of Englishemen, for he had intelligence by his preuy fautours.

Kynge Henry and Ferdinando kyng of Spaygne, were fully decreed to aide, assist and defende the duches and duchie of Briteyn, in all ieopardies and aduentures, to thentent that they agaynst their will and affeccion should not be by force compelled, to submit them selfes to the subieccion and ponderous yoke of the Frenche kynge. For the whiche cause, these two princes were ioyned in a league and confederacy to resist and propulse this manifest wronge and apparant iniurie. Wherfore he sent in all post hast the lord Fraūces of Luxenborough, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gagime, ministre of the bone homes of the Trinitee, to kyng Henry for a peace to be confirmed & had, which whē they came before the kynges presence, were accepted and entreteyned after the best maner. And when they were demaunded of theffect of their legacion, their request was that kyng Charles, as chiefe and supreme lord ouer the seignorie & duchye of Briteyne, might without any spot of ingratitude to be imagined or conceaued by kynge Henry, lawfully ordre and dispose at his will and pleasure the mariage of lady Anne of Briteyne, as his ward & orphan, without any let and disturbaunce of the kynge of Englād, or any of his alies and confederates. Kyng Hēry thereto would not condiscende, but still barped on this saynge, that the virgyn, whiche was lawfully combyned in matrymony with Maximilian kynge of Romans, shoulde not be compelled agaynste her wil and promes (beynge contrary to all lawe, right and equitie) too take any other person then hym to her spouse and husband, for that it was clerely repugnaunt to all veritie and lawe, both of God and man. So when they had lyngred the tyme, and consumed many dayes in vayne argumentes and superfluous reasons, without any of their requestes obteyned: after longe debatyng and consultacion, they were resolued on this poynte, least it shoulde be thoughte that all their legacion had bene in vayne and brought to no efficacie or purpose, a forme of a league and amitie shoulde be drawen with condicions, clauses and couenauntes. And for the farther furtheraūce of that purpose, it was thoughte necessary and expedient that the kynge of Englande shoulde sende

Ambassadours to the Frenche kynge, whiche in hys name and by his authoritee might brevely conclude and finishe the league and treatie that was in communicacion incepted and begonne. Whereupon kynge Henry dismissed the Frenche Ambassadours laden with ample & large rewardes into their countrey, and dispatched and sent streyghte after them by hys commission and authorite, Thomas erle of Ormond, and Thomas Goldeston prior of Christes churche in Cauntourbury hys Orators and Ambassadours, to Charles the French kyng instructing them fully of all thinges that he would haue either moued or determined.

In this meane space, Alexander bishop of Rome ỹ. vi. of that name wheche succeded after Innocent, a man full of diligẽce and of wit pregnant, sent Lyonell bishop of Concorde legate, to the Frenche kyng for certaine matters, and emong other thinges, gaue him in charge to conclude a peace and vnitie betwene king Charles and king Henry. Whe he had declared his message to the French kynge fully, and had easely obteyned all thinges that he requyred, then he began to moue vnto the French kyng and his nobles, with a longe and prolixe exhortacion to make and conclude a perpetual peace, betwene him and the king of Englande. And when he perceaued the Frenchemen to make no greate denyall to his request, he determyned to attempt and moue kyng Hẽry to concente and agree to thesame desire and peticion: and toke hys iourney towardes England, and at Caleys he encountred the Ambassadours, both of Englande and of Fraunce, which receaued hym into the toune of Caleys, with many ceremonies and great reuerẽce. Where after they had communed the matter a certayn space, as cõcerning their affaires and busynes, they departed toward the Frẽch kyng, & the Bishop was transported into England. The kyng honorably receaued & gentely entreteyned this Orator Lyonell, and gaue good eare to his luculent & eloquent oracion, wherin he persuaded him with many flatteryng and glosinge woordes, to entre into a league and amitie with kyng Charles of Fraunce, and the Frenche nacion. To the whiche request the kyng made aunswer that he would be glad and ioyous, if it might be compassed and brought aboute, after lõge trouble and pernicious dissencion to lyue in peace and mutual amite with all christẽmẽ. Bishop Lyonel perceauyng the kynges mynde and intent, reculed again to Fraunce with all spede and diligence (and as it was mete and decent for the bishop of Concord) he determined to extirpate and dryue out of the kynges memory all olde reconynges and iniuries done too him heretofore, and plant if it might be, in his hart and minde, the very goodly and gracious greyne of concord and vnitie.

The Englishe Ambassadours, then being with the Frenche kynge purposed and setforth articles and conclusions of peace. The Frenchmen prudently made aunswer, so that on bothe parties the matter was pollitiquely and artificially proponed and oppugned. The Englishe Ambassadours, to thentent that thẽy might assente and obtayne a fewe thinges, whiche they muche desired, required & demaunded many great and diuerse thinges. The Frenchmen on the other side, mynding to assent to no one demaund at thend, did denye & repudiate all Thenglishmens desyres, and condicions, and were sore angry and moued with their great requestes and high demaundes. And in the meane ceason, trustyng more to their coffers then to their chevalry, as the manẽr of their countrey is, for to obteyn their purpose, they *spare not* to disburse and launche out treasure, giftes and rewardes innumerable, whiche is the very cause that they conquere more with crounes of gold, then with speare and shylde, or dynt of swerde in battaile. So that shortely after the Frenche kyng, sent to ỹ nõble men of Briteyn great & many rewardes, solicityng, exhortyng, and praiyng them all to become his subiectes and vassals. And in especiall he allured and enticed with moost flatteryngе woordes and trappynge termes, the lady Anne by such honorable matrones and ladies, as had the gouernaunce and educacion of her to confirme her self true to him in due obedience and loue, and not disdeyne to be coupled in such a noble mariage, with so high and mightie a prynce, as kyng Charles was. And least peraenenture the Damosell fearyng the rigour of the Ecclesiasticall lawes woulde not consent too hym for offending her conscience and infringyng her promes: To adnoyde that scruple, he caused

diuerse to inculcate and put in her hed & tyttle in her eare, that the mariage made with Maximilian was of no strēgth and lesse efficacy, considerynge that it was concluded and made without the consent, agrement and will of him, which is the chiefe lorde and ought to haue the gouernaunce ouer her as his warde, & the whole duchy of Briteyne, assuring her that she was deluded, and that the mariage with Maximilian was neuer consummate nor perfight. And this was the very cause that no sure concorde or peace could be concluded & agreed betwene these two Prynces. And where as the Frēch kyng had long kept with hym the lady Margaret, daughter to Maximilian and her solemply espoused at Amboys, he sayde that that mariage might be lawfully dissolued agayne, because the lady was of that age, that she coulde neither be geuen nor yet taken in mariage, for whiche cause he might lawfully repudiate and honestly put her from him.

By this crafte and perswasion they led and entised the fayre mayden, suspectyng none euell and brought her to this poynt, that in conclusion, she beyng proclaimed by diuers, Prynces of Briteyne, subornate and corrupted with mede contrary to their duetie and allegeaūce, was content to condissende and agree to that the Frenchmen demaunded, & not onely to submit her selfe to the French kyng, but also to take him to her make and husband, by the reason whereof the warre mighte ceasse, whiche with violencie and impression of thesame, had infested and afflicted all her whole countrey. To this mariage agreed all the nobilitie of Briteyne, whiche helde of the French parte, thinkinge it verily for the anaūncement of the common weale and their case, because to trust to ẏ power of Maximilian, which was of no puyssaūce, they thought it veyne and of no efficacy. And when the Frēch kyng had composed and ordred hys matters of this fassion, preuely with the lady Anne, he accelerated the mariage with all the expedicion and diligence that was possible: So that the English Ambassadours returned agayn to their contrey, and nothing doen or agreed vpon their matter.

Kyng Henry, still paciently forbearynge and suffryng till such time that he perceaued more playnly what way the worlde went: and vnderstandyng before the returne of his Ambassadours, that the Frenchmen meaned none other but playne guyle, fraude and deceipte, determined no more with peaseable legacions, but with opē warre to finish and determyn all controuersies and displeasures betwene him and the French kyng. Wherfore he sommoned his courte of Parliament, and there declared first ẏ cause why he was iustly prouoked to make warre agaīst the Frenche kyng: And after desyred them of their beneuolent aide of men and money for the maintenaunce of thesame. The cause of this battaill, euery man did allowe and approbate, and to the settynge foorth of thesame, promysed their industrie, labour and all that they could make. The kynge commendynge them for their true and louynge hartes, too thentent he might not aggrauate the common people, with paiynge of great taxes and summes of money, whome his mynde was euer to kepe in fauour, woulde fyrst exacte money by a litle & a litle of ẏ beneuolent mynde of the ryche sorte, and this kynde of exaccion was first excogitated by kyng Edward the. iiii. as it appereth before in his story. Therfore he consulted with his frendes, to inuent howe to gather together a great summe of money, and published abrode that by their open giftes he woulde measure and searche their beneuolent hartes & louing myndes towarde hym, so that he that gaue mooste shoulde be iudged to be mooste louynge frende, and he that gaue litle, to be estemed accordynge to his gifte: By this a man maye apparauntly perceaue as it were for a great common wealth, that that thinge that is once practised for the vtilitee of a prince, and broughte too a president by matter of recorde, maye be turned to the great preiudice of the people, if rulers in authoritie will so adiudge and determyn it. So by thys meanes the kynge gathered innumerable summes of money, with some grudge of the people for the extremitee shewed by the commissioners in dyuerse places.

A benevolence.

You haue heard before how Philip Mounsure, lord of Raueston by the side of Bruges & Gaunt had taken the toune &. ii. castels of Sluys and was become aduersarie to Maximilian, by reason of the. iii. chiefe cytyes of Flaunders: Now ye shall vnderstand that he did not onely so forteſie as well with munitions as men, both the toune and. ii. Castels, but also

gat into the hauen diuerse shippes and barkes, & by this meanes he spoyled and toke prysoners all nacions, passing eyther by sea or by land to the mart at Antwarp, or into Brabant, Zeeland or Frisland and was euer plentifully viteyled out of Fraunce and Pycardy, to the great dammage of the Englishmen, which were spoyled dayly and taken prysoners: Which thinge Maximilian kynge of Romanes coulde not wel remedy, nor the kyng of England without great coste and losse of men. For to it behoued an army, bothe by sea and lande, for when he was set for by lande, he fled to the sea: And when he was chaced on the sea, he soughte refuge in hys twoo stronge Towers, and euer he had succours from Bruges and Gaunt. Now was here a lite toune two myle from Bruges, toward the sea called Damme, whiche was a Bulwerke to Bruges, and a bedsprynge to Sluys. The kynge of Romanes did oftentymes attempt the apprehendinge of this toune, to the entent that the Brugians should haue no recourse to the hauē of Sluys, nor the Sluysians should haue no succour out of the toune of Bruges. But there were slayne a great number of gentlemen of Germany, for they within made no signe of defence, tyl all their enemies were in their daunger, and so slewe and confuted theim. There was a greate duke in Almayne, called duke Albert of the vpper Saxony, a greate frende to the kyng of Romanes, whiche made him selfe Neuter, and neuer intermitted with the affayres of Flaūders, a man of no lesse pollecy then valyaunt hardynes. This duke required of the lordes of Bruges, that he might enter peaceably into their toune, accordynge to his estate with a certayne numbre of menne of armes to communicate with them dyuerse matters of great weyght and no small importaunce, and sent before his cariages and herbingers to make prouision. The estates of Bruges litle doubted to admit so small a numbre into so populous a company, ye though the numbre were duplicate, and especially, because they harde saye that he woulde lodge in the toune all night, wherefore no man thought of that craftie stratageme that he had inuented. His elected and warlike company entred into the cytie in good ordre, and he folowed, they that went before inquyred after ynnes and lodgynges as though they would repose them selfes there all nighte, and so went foorth still in ordre askynge for lodgyng, till they came to the gate that goeth directly towarde the forsayde toune of Dam, distant from Bruges a Flemysh myle, which is called the Bulwerke of Bruges. The Capitaynes and inhabitauntes of the toune of Damme, suspecting no harme to come oute of Bruges, thinkinge that their frendes knowynge some sodeyn chaunce comming to haue sent to them aide and succours, and so nothinge mistrusting, did let them entre, and take the toune of Damme, and so that toune whiche coulde not be wonne by force of armes, was by a sleight & pollecy attrapped and surprised to the great detriment and displeasure of the toune of Bruges, for now had they no recourse to the sea, which stop so continuing, no doubte, but the toune of Bruges must nedes fall in ruyne and vtter exterminion.

When duke Albert of Saxony had gotten Dam, he certefied ỹ king of England ỹ he would besege Sluyse by lād, if it pleased his maiestie to ministre any aide by the sea. King Hēry which was wise, & forcasting in all his affaires, remēbryng that Sluyse was the denne of theues to thē ỹ trauerse ỹ seas toward the East parties, incontinēt dispatched syr Edward Powniges, (a valiaūt knight & hardy Capitayn) w. xii. shippes wel furnished w bolde souldiours & strōg artillary. Which syr Edward sayled ito ỹ hauē, & kept Philip moūsure frō stertīg by ỹ sea. The duke of Saxō beseged ỹ one castel, liyng in a church ouer agāist it, & ỹ Englishmē assauted ỹ lesse castel dayly, & issued oute of ỹ shippes at the ebbe, and although they stode in the water to the knees, yet they neuer gaue their enemies one daye to repose or playe by the space of. xx. dayes, and euery dare slewe some of their aduersaries, and on the Englishe parte were slayne. Vere brother to the Erle of Oxforde & fifty moo.

The lorde Philip of Rauestone, had made a bridge of boates betwene both the Castels, by the whiche one might succour ỹ other, Which bridge the Englishmen in a night set on fyer. Then, he perceauynge ỹ he must nedes lese his castels by force, & that the Fleminges could not aide him, yelded the castels to syr Edward Powninges, and the toune to the duke of Saxony, vpon certeyne condicions. When the duke and the English capitayne met in the

the toune, there was betwene them great salutacions, and syr Edward kept the Castels a while, of whome ỹ Almaynes demaunded stipend and salary, because that the duke had nothynge to paye. Then these two capitaynes so hādled them of Bruges that they were content not onely, to submit thē selues to the lord Maximilian, but also to pay & dispatche the Almaynes. And so syr Edward Pownynges taried there a long space, and returned to the kynge before Boleyne. And so they, which by reasonable ordre, would not be gouerned: by vnreasonable condicions were brought to conformyte and ordre.

The. vi. daye of Aprill this present yere, the kynge commaunded all the nobilite of his realme, to assemble at the Cathedral church of sainct Paule in London, where after Te deum solemply songe, the Cardinal of Caunterbury, standynge on the steppes before the quoer dore, declared to the people, how the famous citie of Granado, which many yeres had bene possessed of the Moores or Mawritane nacion, beyng infideles & vnchristened people, and now of late beseeged by a great tyme by Donfernando and Elisabeth his wyfe, kynge and quene of Spayne, Arragon and Castell. And thesayde infideles, by reason of this siege brought to great penurye and miserie, for lacke of viteile and necessary viand, perceauyng that all succours were clerely estopped and propulsed from them, and so brought into vtter despaire of aide or comfort: after longe consultacion had emongest them, determyned to rendre thē selues and their citie, to thesayde kyng, vpon diuerse couenauntes and condicions, and thereupon sent to hym diuerse Senatours of the citie, fully instructed of their mynd and purpose. The kyng of Spayne and his counsail, considering and sagely pondering that wynter approched and was at hande, and that the Christen hoost had long lyen in ỹ feeldes in sore tempestes and greuous stormes (which they gladly suffred for Christes sake, in whose cause and quarel they made that present warre) remembrynge also that the cytie was of suche ryches, fame and estimacion, that it conteyned an hundred and fifty thousand houses of name, beside other small houses and cotages, and that it was replenished with people innumerable, and furnished with. lxx. thousand good fightyng men. And finally, perceauyng that he might enioye nowe the possession of thesame, without assaute or effusion of Christen blood, by the aduyse of his counsayll, he accepted, accorded, and agreed to theyr offres the. xxv. of Nouember, in the yere of Christes incarnacion. M. cccc.xci. then beyng the daye of saynct Katheryn. By the which composicion, the royall citie of Granado, with all the holdes and fortresses of thē realme, and the Towres and Castels of Alpussarare was rendred into the handes of thesayde kyng of Speygne, & that the kyng of Granado should become subiect and vassall to the kyng of Speygne, and to reliquishe and forsake the vsurped name of a kyng for euer. And ỹ all men of warre should franckly departe out of the citie, and none ther to remayne, but artificers and merchauntes, and all these thinges to be done before the. xxv. day of Ianuary, but the tyme was anticipate, for ỹ Moores on the first daye of Ianuarij, sent. vi.C. notable personages out of the citie with their chyldren for hostages into the campe of the kynge of Spayne, to thentent that he should put no diffidēce nor mistrust in the citezens, but that he might peaceably and quietly with his people entre into the cytie, and take possession of thesame. The which hostages were distributed and lodged in the tentes and pauylions of the Spanyshe armye.

The third daye of Ianuary, the lorde of Gutterins Cardenes, greate Master and gouernour of Lyon, of the ordre of sainct Iames, departed frome the armye, nobly and triumphātly accompanied with fyue hundred horsemen, and three thousande footemen, towarde the citie. And as he approched nere to the suburbes, there issued out dyuerse noble and valiaunt Capitaynes of the Moores, makyng to hym humble obeysaunce, and conducting him to a palace, adioyning to the citie, called the palace of Anaxaras, and from thence conueighed hym to the palace royall of thesame cytie called Alhābra, wherof he toke quiet and peacesable possession, to the behoue of ỹ kinge of Speigne, whome the Moores promised and confessed to take and obey, as to their kyng and souereygne. And in signe and token that they thought in their hartes, that which they promysed by mouth, they prostrated and, humbled them selues before thesayde great Master, and with dolorous lamentacion and salt teares,

ieares, deliuered to him the keyes of thesayd palace. Whē he had the keyes, & was also possessed of that strong and magnificent place, he first of all dispatched the house of all the Moores and paganes, and appoynted a garrison of valyaunt and noble christiās to kepe and defende thesame. And thesame daye caused a masse solemply too be celebrate in a place of thesame palace called Melchira, which done and finished, he toke possession of all the fortresses, Towres and holdes too thesayd citie and toune of Granado, belonging or apperteyning. And then he caused to be eleuated and exalted vpon the highest towre of the palace (where it might best be sene) the signe & token of the crosse, wheron Christe for vs synners suffred his bitter passiō. At the reysing wherof, were present an Archebishop, and thre Bishops and other prelates, whiche deuoutly sange this antheme: O crux, auc spes vnica. Thesayde crosse was. iii. tymes deuoutly eleuate, and at euery exaltacion, ỹ Moores beyng within the cytie, roared, howled and cryed, prosternyng them selfes grouelynge on the grounde, making dolorous noyes and piteful outcryes. The army encamped without the citye, seynge these thynges, humbled them selfes mekely before the crosse, rendryage too almightie God their moost humble and hartie thankes. The kyng of Spayne, beyng mounted on horsbacke, perceauynge the ereccion of the crosse, discended from his Genet, and kneled doune on the bare grounde, and rendred to God, laude, honour and praysing for that noble and triumphant victory. And after that the crosse was thus set vppon the high Towre, the banner of sainct Iames and the kynges banners were pitched and fixed vpon the turrets and pynacles of the cytie: A Herault standyng in the top of the high Towre, proclaymed and published these woordes folowynge.

Saynct Iames, saynct Iames, saynct Iames, Castil, Castil, Castil, Granado, Granado, Granado: By high and mighty power, lorde Ferdinando and Elizabeth, kynge and quene of Spayne, haue wonne frō the Infideles and Moores, the cytie and realme of Granado, through the helpe of our lorde God and the moost glorious virgyn his mother, and the verteous apostle saynct Iames, and the holy father Innocent the. viii. togethers with the aide & succours of ỹ great prelates, knyghtes and other gentlemen borne, & cōmons of their realmes & coūtreys.

When the Herault had finished, the artillary sounded, the mynstrelles blewe, the people applauded and clapped their handes for gladnes, that the earth semed to trymble and quake vndreneth them. After thys ioye ended, these issued out of the citie in maner of procession. vii. hundred, and mo Christians, aswell men as women and chyldren, whyche had bene there prysoners and lyued in bondes, seruitude and miserable captiuitie, wherof the moost parte were naked, wounded and in maner famysbed for hungre. To whome the kyng of his great liberalite gaue bothe apparell, vyand and money. These poore prysoners commynge oute of the cytie sange this Psalme. Benedictus dominus deus Israel, Quia visitauit & fecit redemptionem plebis sue. Blessed be the lord God of Israel, which hath visited and redemed his people, and so singynge foorth the whole Psalme, went to the churche of sainct Feith, which the kyng Ferdinando had caused to be moost sumpteously edefied during the tyme of the siege, beynge distant from Granado twoo or three myle. And as this poore procession passed by the hoost, one espied his sonne and another sawe his brother, and the sonne perceaued the father, and the father founde the daughter, whiche were nowe deliuered out of miserable seruitude and bondage. But they coulde not refrayne nor bridle them selues from distillynge of teares and sobbynge, seynge theyr parentes and kynsfolke restored to libertie and fredome. And whē these people had sayde their Orysons in the churche of saynct Feith, & were come to the army, they kneling before the kyng kyssed his fote, cryynge with one voyce, God graunt to the kyng of Speygne euerlastyng lyfe.

The next daye after the lord Euerus de Mendosa, Erle of Tēdiglie was by the kyng made Capitayn of the house royal, & principal Towre of the citie of Granado, called Alhambra, hauynge to hym appoynted and assigned one thousand men of armes, and twoo thousand fotemen. Vnto the whictie Erle the great Master delyuered to the keyes of the said palace and

and Towre, and other portes and fortreses. On Saturdaye the. viij. daye of Ianuary, in the yere of our Lorde. M. cccc. xcii. Ferdinand kyng of Speyne & Granado, the quene & their eldest sonne done Ihon prince of Speygne, the lord Peter of Mēdosa, archebishop of Toleto, the patriarche of Alexandry, the Cardinal of Speyne, the lord Peter Prynce of Lyon, duke of Gaditane, the Marques of Villena and Moya. The erle of Capre, the erle of Vinenna of Citeutes, and many other Erles, Barones and nobles, whereof seme were Englishemen, whose names I haue not, with. x. thousand horsemē, and fifty thousand footemen wyth greate tryumphe and royaltie entred into the cytye of Granado, and thereof tooke real possessiō and season, and caused masse to be songe in a great place called Meschita, where he caused a solēne churche to be buylded in the honoure of God and hys mother. Whē Masse was ended, the kynge and quene repayred to the palace royall of Alhambra, the whiche was wonderfull, bothe in quantite and sumpteous buyldynge, whyche house was adourned with ryche Arras and Tapestry in euery chambre. The erle of Tendighe Capitaine of the palace feasted the kynge and Quene, and all the nobilitie at hys awne costes and charges. So the kynge of Speygne there remayned tyll the countrey was reduced too a good conformytye and order, and dyuerse Castelles and fortresses were made for the sauegarde and tuycion of the realme. And because thys victory obteyned, was to the glory of God, and to the publique wealth of all Christianite, the sayde Cardinall of Caunterbury declared to the people, that the kyng had sent hym and the other nobles thether that daye, not onely to notefye and declare to them the verite of the fact, but also to exhorte thē to geue laudes and praysinges to almighty God, for deliuering so goodly a cytye, so plentiful a countrey, & so notable a regiō out of the hādes of his enemies & persecutors of his faith & religiō. Which declaraciō ended the Archebishop with the clergie, & the nobles with the cominaltie in moost deuout maner wēt in general processiō, rēdring to God for this greate achened enterprice, glory, honour & moost reuerēt & harty thankes.

Aboute this season, Maximilian kyng of Romanes hauyng the vpper hand of the Fleminges, by aide of the kyng of Englād (as you haue hearde before) entended to reuēge him self of ỹ Frēch king, for ỹ he had repudiate his daughter lady Margaret, & sent her home to him, entēdig as he thought to take to his wife ỹ lady Anne of Briteyn. But because he was not of sufficiēt habilite of him self to susteyne & furnish ỹ warre he determined to desyre kyng Henry to take parte with hym. Whereupon he sent Iames Contibald Ambassadoure, a man of great grauitie to exhorte and requyre the kyng of England, to entre hys company and societee in armes, faythfully promising on his honoure, ỹ he would in sembleable matters of his, take part with. x. M. men at the least, for the space of. ij. yeres whensoeuer he should requyre hym. And because it is his chaunce to atrye the fortune of battaile and to intimate the warre, he promised to certefie kyng Henry. vi. monethes before that he would inuade or occupie the territory of hys enemies. And by this message, Maximilian greatly inflamed and set a fyer kyng Hēryes hart to beare with him. And as he was mynded before this tyme as you haue hard before to aide and assist the Britones in the extremetie of their perill, he now reconed ỹ time to be come, that he must collect an army to helpe them now at a pynche in their moost perell and daungier, to thentēt to restore agayne the Britishe nacion to their auncient libertie, and to expulse the Frenche nacion, which thrusted for the blood, death and destruccion of the poore Brytones, clerely out of that duchy and country. And he was the more ardently thereunto encouraged because he perceaued Maximilian himselfe so earnestly set and bent toward that enterprice, and therfore he made this aunswere to Iames the Ambassadour, ỹ he would be ashamed to be foūde slacke or vnprouided at any tyme of Maximilian his felow & compaignio in armes. And so these matters well brought to effect on both parties, the kyng dimissed the Ambassadoure from hys presence.

THE

THE. VII. YERE.

IN this very ceason Charles the Frēch kyng, receaued lady Anne as his pupille into his hādes, & with great solempnite her espoused, hauing with her for her dower the whole countrey of Briteyne. And so by this meane the Brytones became subiect to the French kyng. Maximiliā beyng certefied of this, fell into a great rage and agony, for ẏ he was not cōtent with the forsaking and refusing of his daughter lady Margaret, but also had takē & rauished away from him his assured wife lady Anne duches of Britayne. And calling vpon God for veugeaunce & ponishmēt for such an heynous & execrable facte, cryed out & rayled on him, wishynge him a thousand deathes. Yet after that he was pacefied, and came to hym selfe agayne, and had gathered hys wyttes together, he thought it was moost expedient to vindicate and reuenge hys honour and dignitee so manifestly touched, with the dyat of sworde. And beyng in this mynde, sent certain Ambassadours to kyng Henry with hys lettres, desyringe him with all diligence to prepare an army, and he hym selfe woulde do likewise, to inuade the Frenche kynges realmes with fyer, swoord and blood.

Kynge Henry bearyng of this, and puting no diffidence in the promes of Maximilian, whome he knew to haue a deadly hatred and lōge grudge agaynst the French kyng, caused a muster to be made in all the partes of hys realme, and put hys men of warre in a redynes armed & weaponed accordyng to their feates: besyde thys he rygged, māned and vyteiled his nauy ready to set forward euery houre, and sent curryers into euery shyre to accelerate and hast the souldiers to the sea side. After the message was declared, there came without any delai an houge army of men, aswell of the lowe sorte and commonaltie as other noble men, harnyssed and armed to battaile, partely glad to helpe their price and to do him seruice and partely to buckle with the Frenchmen, with whome the Englishmen very willingly desyre to cope and fight in opē battail. And immediatly, as monicion was geuen, euery man with hys bande of souldioures repayred to London.

After that, all this army was arrayed and euen readie to set forward wherof were cheuetaynes and leaders, Iasper duke of Bedford, & Ihō erle of Oxforde beside other the kynge sent Christopher Vrswike hys aulmoner, and syr Ihon Ryseley knyght to Maximiliā, to certefie him that the kyng was all in a redines, and woulde shorteiy arryue in the continent land, assone as he were aduertised that Maximilian and hys men, were ready and prepared to ioyne with hym. The Ambassadours sayled into Flaunders, and after their message done, they sent ii. letters in all hast to kyng Henry, the whiche not onely sore vnquyeted & vexed hym, but also caused him to take more thought, care and study on hym then he did before: for they declared that no prince coulde be more vnprouided or more destitute of men and armure, no more lackynge all thynges, apperteignynge to warre then was Maximilian, and that he laye lurkynge in a corner, sore sicke of the fluxe of ẏ purse, so that he had neyther men, horsses, munitions, armure nor money, neuer the lesse his mynd & will was good, if his power and habilite had been correspōdēt & therfore there was no trust to be put in his aide or puissaunce. Their letters bothe appalled, and made sorowful the kyng of Englād, which like a prudent prince did well consider & ponder, ẏ it were both ieopardous and costly, for him alone to enterprice so great a warre. And on ẏ other parte, if he should desist and leaue of his pretensed purpose, all mē might call hym cowarde and recreant prynce. Beside this, he thoughte that his awne nacion woulde not take his tariyng at home in good nor fauourable part, cōsideryng ẏ syth they had geuen so large money for the preparaciō of all thinges necessary and conueniet for the same, they might conceaue in their heddes & ymagin, that vnder colōure & pretēce of a dissimuled warre he had exacted of thē notable summes of money, & now the treasure was once payed, then ẏ warre was done, & his cofers well enryched, & the commōs enpouerisshed. So that at thys tyme he doubted & cast perels on euery side & parte, & beside this he was not a litle sory ẏ Maximi-

lia authour of this warre did absent him selfe, & defraude him of his societe & assistẽce. And while he studied & mused what counsaill he shoulde best take in suche a doubtfull and sodeyne case, he like a graue prince, remembring the saiyng of the wise man, woorke by counsayll & thou shalt not repẽt the, assembled together all his lordes and other of his priuate counsayl, by whose myndes it was concluded and determined, that he shoulde manfully and couragiously perceaue and procede in thys broched and begonne enterprice, recordynge well with them selfes, and affirming playnely that all cheualry and marsial prowesses, the more difficile and heard that it is to attayne to, the more renoumed is the glory, and the fame more immortall of the vanquisher and obteyner. Therfore by this counsayl of his frendes and senate, he made Proclamacion that euery man should set forward into Fraunce, and yet not openynge howe Iudasly Maximilian had deceaued hym, least that they knowynge the whole fact, shoulde not be so courageous to go towardꝫ that battaile and procede forward on their iorney. And therfore to prouide and forse all perels and daungiers that might accidently ensue, he so strengthened, multeplied and augmented his army in such numbre before he toke ship, that he with his awne powre might discourage and ouercome the whole puissaũce of his aduersaries.

When he had thus gathered and assembled his armye, he sayled to Caleys the. vi. daye of October, & there encaped him selfe, tariyng there a certaine space to se his men harnessed & appareled, that neither weapõ nor any engyne necessary for his iourney should be neglected. At which place all the army had knowlege by the Ambassadours, whiche were newly returned out of Flaunders (for they did not knowe of it before) ỹ Maximilian coulde make no preparaciõ for lacke of money, & therfore there was no succour to be exspected at hys hand. At the which report, ỹ Englishmen were nothing abashed nor dismayed, trusting so muche to their awne puissaũce & cõpany: but yet they meruayled and wondered greatly ỹ heard it related, ỹ Maximilian receauyng such great vilany not lõge before at the hand of kyng Charles, was not present to pricke them forward, to crye & call, to moue and excite the Englishmen, ye and if he had had. vi. hundred bodyes to put them all in hasard, rather then to leaue the Englishmẽ, now setting vpon his dayly enemyes & deadly aduersaries. Albeit Maximiliã lacked no hart & good will to be reuenged, yet he lacked substaũce to cõtinew warre, for he could neither haue money nor men of the dronkẽ Fleminges nor yet of the crakyng Brabanders, so vngrat people were they to their sonereigne lorde.

In the meane ceason, although the Frenche kynge was as well with courage replenished as with men furnished mete to trye a battaile, yet all this notwithstãding he made semblaũce, as though he desired nothig more then peace, beyng not ignorãt that peace to be obteined was of no smal valure & price, & yet he determined to make more expẽce in getting of peace then in settinge foorth of warre and hostilitee, and regarded so much the lesse the treasure too be dispensed for the acquyrynge of vnitee and concord, for as muche as he was afrayed that he beyng diligent to resist the inuasion of the Englishmen, that the Britones wherof the moost parte bare the yoke of his subiecciõ contrary to their hartes and myndes, woulde sodeynly rebell and set them selfes at libertie, and plucke out their heddes out of hys colour, and set vp another duke & gouernour. And at the same very tyme he was inuited and desired of Lewes Sforcia duke of Millayn. to warre agaynst Ferdinand kynge of Napels, at whose desyre he was prest and ioyous, thinkynge that he had that occasion sent to hym from God, for the which he longe before thristed & sore wished. The whiche kyngdome he pretended to be dewe to hym by succession, and entended long before to acquyre and cõquere it by force of armes, as hys very right and inheritaũce. For when Rene duke of Angeou last kyng of Scicile, departed without any heire male of hys wyfe lawfully begotten, he did adopt to his heyre of all his realmes & dominiõs, Lewes the. xi. father to ỹ. iii. kyng Charles, to thentẽt that he should deliuer quene Margaret his daughter, out of the hãdes of kyng Edward the. iiij. as you haue well before perceaued, wrõgfully and without cause dishinheriting his cosyn, Godsonne, and heyre, Rene duke of Lorayn & Barre.

Barre. For the which cause he did the more busily procure & labour for ỹ amitie, fauour & fredship of his neighbours roũd about hym, ỹ whē all thiges were appeased & set in good staye at home he might the better employe his whole force & puissaūce on his warre in Italy. Wherfore beyng much desirous to haue all thinges pacefied & set in a perfite cōcorde and securitee, he sent Philip Creueceur lord Cordes his chiefe counsailer and diligēt officier tō entreate, moue and persuade the kyng of Englande to be reconciled & made agayne as a new frende to the French kyng. He not forgetting his message, sent letters to kyng Henry before he passed the sea, & arriued in the fertie land, by the which he notefied to hym ỹ he of his boūde duetie & obseruaūce which he ought to the kyng his master, & to the profite of his realme wouldē take payne to inuent & excogitate some mean & waye, ỹ his highnes & kyng Charles his master being disseuered in amitie, & made extreme enemyes, onely for the cause of Maximilian newly elected king of Romanes, should be reducted & brought agai into their pristyne estate & consuete familiaritee, doubting not to bring his ship to the porte desired, if it might stand with his pleasure to sende some of his cousailers to the confynes & borders of the English pale, adioynyng to Fraunce, there to here what reasonable offres should be demonstrated and proffered: whiche condicions of peace should be so reasonable and so ample that he doubted not, but that he might with his great honoure breake vp hys campe, and retire hys army backe agayne into hys owne seignory and dominion.

The kynge of Englande, maturely considering that Britayne was clerely lost, and in maner irrecuperable, beynge nowe adioyned too the croune of Fraunce by mariage, whiche duchy hys whole myndē was to defende, protect and conferme, and that Maximilian what for lacke of money, and what for mistrust that he had in his awne subiectes, laye styll lyke a dormouse nothynge doynge, perceauynge also that it should be bothe to his people profitable, and to hym greate honour to determyn this warre without losse or bloodshed, appoynted for commissioners the bishop of Exceter, & Gyles lord Dawbeney to passe the seas to Caleys, to cōmen with the lorde Cordes of articles of peace to be agreed vpon and concluded.

When the commissioners were once met, they so ingeniously and effecteously proceded in their great affaires, that they agreed that an amytie and peace should be assented to and concluded, so that the condicions of the league should be egall, indifferent and acceptable to bothe partes as after shalbe declared.

While the commissioners were thus consultinge on the marches of Fraunce, the kynge of Englande, as you haue heard, was arryued at Caleys, where he prepared all thinges necessary for such a iorney. And from thence he remoued in iiii. battailes, nere to the toune of Boleyne, and there pytched hys tentes before the toune, in a place propice and cōueniēt and determined to geue a great assaute to the toune. In ỹ which fortresse was such a garrison of Warlike souldioures, that valiauntly defended the toune, and the same so replenyshed with artillary and municions of warre, that the losse of the Englishmen assauting the toune, should be greater dammage to the realme of England, then the cōquerynge and gaynyng of the same should be emolument or proffite. Howbeit the kynges daily shot, rased & defaced the walles of the saide toune: but when euery man was prest and ready to geue the assaute, a sodeyne rumoure roase in the army, that a peace was by the commissioners taken and concluded, whiche brute as it was pleasaunt and melliluous to the frechmē, so it was to the English naciō bitter, sowre & dolorous because they were prest and ready at all tymes to set on their enemyes, and refused neuer to attempt any enterprice, whiche might seme either to be for their laude or profyt: thei were in great fumes, angry and euel content, rayling and murmuringe emongest them selfes, that the occasion of so glorious a victory to them manifestly offerd, was by certain condicions to no man, nor yet to the kyng commodious or profitable, refused, putte by and shamefully slackēd: But aboue all other dyuerse lordes and capitaynes, encoraged with desyre of fame & honour, trustyng in his iourney to haue wonne their spurres, whiche for to set themselfes and their band the more gorgeously forward had mutuate, and borowed dyuerse and sondry summes of money, and for the repayment of the same, had

Boleyn besieged.

morgaged

morgaged and impignorate their landes & possessions, sore grudged and lamented this sodeyne peace, and returne of them vnthought of, and spake largely agaynste the kynges doynges, saiynge and affirmyng, that he as a man fearyng and dreading ỹ force and puyssaunce of his enemyes, had concluded an inconuenient peace without cause or reasou: But the kynge as a wise man and moost prudent prince, to assuage the indignacion and pacefie the murinoure of ỹ people, declared what damage and detriment, what losse & perdicio of many noble Capitaynes and stronge souldioures must of necessitee happen and ensue at the assaute of a toune, and especially when it is soo well fortefied with men and municions, as the toune of Boleyn at that present tyme was: protestyng farther, that he might be iustly accused & condempned of iniquite & vntruthe, except he did preferre the sauegard of their lyues, before hys awne wealth, health and aduauntage.

When he had thus prudently cōsolate and appeased the myndes of hys mē of warrre, he returned backe agayn w his whole army, to ỹ toun of Caleys, where he beganne to smell certayn secret smoke, whiche was lyke to turn to a great flame, without it were well watched and polletiquely sene to. For by the crafte inuencion and deuelishe ymaginaciō of that pestefferus serpent lady Margaret, duches of Burgoyne, a new ydoll was sett vp in Flaunders, and called Richard Plantagenet, secōd sonne to kyng Edward the. iiii. as though he had bene resuscitate from death to lyfe, whiche sodeyne newes more stacke and fretted in his stomack, then the battaile which now was set late forward & more payne he had (not without great ieopardie of him selfe) to appeache & quēche this newe spronge conspiracy, then in makynge peace with the Frenche kyng his enemy. And so he was content to accept and receaue (and not to offre and geue) the honest condicions of peace of his enemy proffred and oblated, except he woulde at one tyme make warre, bothe at home in his owne countrey, and also in foreyne and externe nacions. Wherfore kynge Henry forseynge all these thinges before (and not without great counsayll) concluded with the French kyng, to thentēt that he beyng deliuered of al outward enuytie mighte the more quickly prouide for the ciuyle and domestical cōnocions, which he perceaued well to be budding out. The conclusion of the peace was thus, ỹ the peace should continue bothe their lyues, and that the Frenche kynge should pay to kynge Henry a certayne summe of money in hand, accordyng as the cōmissioners shoulde appoynt for his charges susteyned in his iourney:

Whiche (as the kynge certefied the Mayre of London by hys letters the. ix. daye of Nouembre) amounted to the summe of. vii.C.xlv.M. ducates, whiche is in sterlynge money. i.C. lxxxvi.M.ii.C.l.l, and also should yerely for a certayne space paye or cause to be paide for the money that the kynge of England had sent and expended in the tuycio & aide of the Britones. xxv.M. crounes, which yerely tribute, ỹ Frēch kynge afterwarde vexed and troubled with the warres of Italy, ye rely satisfied, contented and payde, euen to the tyme of hys sonne kynge Henry the. viii. to thentent to pay the whole duetie and tribute, and for the further cōseruacion and stablishyng of the league & amitie betwene bothe the realmes.

Shortely after that kyng Henry had taryed a conuenient space, he transfreted and arryued at Douer, and so came to his maner of Grenewiche. And this was the yere of our lorde a. M.CCCC.xciii. and ỹ. vii. yere of his troubleous reigne. Also in this soiournynge and besegynge of Boleyne (whiche we spake of before) there was few or none kylled, sauyng onely Ihon Sauage knyght, which goyng preuely out of hys pauylion with syr Ihon Riseley, roade about the walles to viewe and se their strength, was sodeynly intercepted and taken of hys enemies. And he beyng inflamed with yre, although he were captyue, of his high courage disdeyned to be taken of suche vileynes, defended his life to ỹ vttermost and was manfully (I will not saye wilfully) slayne and oppressed, albeit syr Ihon Riseley fled frō theim & escaped their daunger.

When kynge Henry was returned into England, he first of all thinges elected into the societe of maynct George, vulgarely called the order of the garter, Alphōse duke of Calabres sonne, accordyng to his desire whiche Alphonse was sonne and heyre to Ferdinand kyng of Naples, & after kyng of thesame realme, til he was ouercome by kyng Charles. And after,

the kyng sent Christopher Vrsewike, Ambassadour with ỹ gartier, coller, mantell, and other habiliamentes apperteyninge to the companyons of thesayde noble ordre. Which Ambassadoure arryuing at Napels, deliuered to the duke the whole habite, with all the ceremonies and dewe circumstaunces therunto belonging. Whiche duke very reuerently receaued it, and with more reuerence reuested him selfe w thesame in a solempne presence, thinkyng that by this apparell and inuestiture, he was made a frende and compaygnion in ordre with ỹ king of England, whose frendship obteyhed, he feared nothing the assautes or inuasions of hys enemies. And this was the cause that he desyred so muche to be compaygnion of that noble order, fermely beleuyng that ỹ kyng of England souereygne of that ordre, should be aider and mainteyner of hym agaynst the Frenche kyng, whome he knew woulde passe the mountaynes and make warre on hym. But this custome of assistẽce in ordres was, eyther neuer begonne, or before clerely abholished: For in our tyme there haue bene many noble men of Italy, compaignios as well of the golden Flese in Burgoyne, as of the ordre of sainct Mighel in Fraunce, that haue bene banyshed and profligate from their naturall countrey, and yet haue not bene aided by the souereigne nor cõpanyons of thesame order. For surely the statutes and ordinaunces of all thesayde orders dothe not oblige and bynde them to that case, but in certayne poyntes. After this the duke dimissed the Ambassadour, rewardyng hym moost pryncely.

Shortely after this Charles the Frenche king concluded a league with Ferdinand kyng of Spayne, and also beyng entreated and solicited with the oratoures of diuerse princes, which persuaded and mollefied the stony hart of a frosen prince, caused him to come to communicacion and treatie with Maximilian kyng of Romanes, and to cõclude a peace with hym for a season, to the entẽt that he might without disturbaunce of hys neyghboures adioyninge, prosperously & safely make warre on Ferdynand kyng of Napels, & on all Italy, as he before had mynded and excogitated.

And so Charles, beyng furnished with men, of armes, horsemen, fotemen, nauye, and aide of some Italians, passed through Italy by Rome and without any great laboure wanne the citie of Napels. When he had obteyned this victory: in hys returne beynge assailed with the Venicians at the toune of Fornouve, he had a great daungerous victory. And so lyke a conquerour, with great triũphe returned into his realme and countrey. After hym Lewes the. xii. beyng kynge, when he founde oportunitee and sawe the gappe open, inuaded the Italians agayne, & recouered again the realm of Napels, whiche Frederyck the sonne of kyng Alphonse, not longe before had gotten from the French nacion: & after that he subdued and conquered the whole duchy of Millayn. Albeit not long after (fortune turnynge her whele) he lost bothe the kyngdome of Napels, and the fayre citie and duchy of Millayne both together. And so the Frenchmen warrynge vpon the Italians had no better successe in their cõquestes, then their parentes and predecessours heretofore haue ben accustomed. For vndoubtedly, as many places as they vexed and sacked with murder and spoylinge, so many or more in conclusion they did enoble and decorate with their blood and slaughter. Which small recompẽce little profited and lesse releued, such as before were robbed and spoyled of all their goodes, substaunce and ryches. After this the Spanyades arryued in Italy, and their puttynge too flighte the Frenchemen, obteyned the possession of the realmes of Napels and Sicile, the which they possesse and enioye at this houre. And at length a certayne nacion of Germany, called the Swytsers, called to be partakers of the spoyle of Italy, wane certayn tounes there, whiche they possesse and enioye at this present tyme.

In this warre and tumulteous busynes in Italy, whiche was ỹ most terrible and sorest plague, that any man can remembre of that nacion, there was no person, no place, no priuate house, no noble familye, no capitayne or prince, but he was oppressed either with the heapes of the dead carcasses, or with the bloud of his frendes or subiectes, or els suffred some affliccion Iniurie or detryment. And insome wise at one tyme or another, euery man did tast and suffre all the mischeues that apperteyned to the victory gotten by their enemyes. The which defacing & blottyng of the beutye of that countrey, sometyme called the quene

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of ỹ earth, and floure of the worlde, chaunced not of her awne selfe of her awne cause or desert, but the Italians her awne suckyng chyldren opened the gappe, and made the waye of her destruccion. For at that tyme thus it chaunced, that when the potẽtates and seignories of Italy perceaued, that all thinge vnder them succeded, euen as they woulde desire and wishe, to their great exultacion and reioysinge: by reason whereof they sate still at home lyke sloggardes (as women be accustomed to do) skoldyng and brawlyng, exercisyng and practisyng preuy displeasure and malice, not agayn their enemyes as they were accustomed, but emong them selfes one against another, castinge out of memory & drownynge their auncient renoune, glory and honoure with desyre of rule and appetite to be reuenged, and so destroyed the common weale, and subuerted the olde monumentes and actes of their forfathers and predecessors. And because some of them, thinkynge them selfes, not of force and puissaũce sufficient inough to bring their purpose to effect, and to reuenge their quarell, they entysed, stirred and procured with giftes, rewardes and promyses, straungers and forreyne nacions to their aide and assistence. The other seynge them so desirous to haue their helpe, partely moued with their giftes, partely with desyre of rule, spoyles & prayes, gathered together a great company and entred into Italy, and there distroyed, spoyled and possessed the better parte of it. And so the Italians, as men out of their wit, where as they thought one to noye & hurte another with hatefull warryng, they destroyed their natyne cõtrey, beynge of nature enclosed and munyte with hygh hilles and the mayne sea rounde aboute, and opened the waye to straungiers to their vttre ignominy and finall destruccion, which thei might haue kept out of all dangier, if they had bene their awne frẽdes, and loued their awne wealth and commodite. Therefore I maye saye: O progeny, aswell wicked as vngodly, hath discorde and dissencion pleased the so much that thou wouldest vtterly extinguishe and confoũde the glory and honour of thy natiue countrey? And in conclusion, thou thyselfe art come to the depest pyt of wretchednes, because that thou perceauing the ruyne that thou hast caused and procured, thou arte more repentaunte for the begynninge of it, then glad to desist and leaue it, and so accordynge to thy desert thou hast thy penaunce and guardon. The grand capitayne and beginner of thys mischief was Sforcie, whiche at that tyme ruled at his will the duchy of Millayne vndre duke Ihon Galeas his nephew: but for a truthe this Lewes ruled al, and the duke did nothing. Wherfore Alphons duke of Calabre, and after kyng of Napels, grudgynge that this duke Ihon his sonne in lawe, should be defrauded of his superiorite and dominiõ, threatened sore this Lewes Sforcia. Where he fearyng to be put from his authoritee, solicited and by great entreatie procured Charles the French kyng to inuade the realme of Napels. By reason of whiche procurement, Alphonse duke of Calabre, whiche succeded his father Ferdinand in the kingdome of Napels (which also as you haue heard, was made knight of the garter) was first depryued of his kingdome by thesaide kynge Charles, and shortely after of his lyfe. But Lewes Sforce had no longe ioye after the deathe of hys ennemy, for he was betrayed and taken by the Swytzers whiche warred vnder kynge Lewes the twelfth, then beynge Frenche kynge, and caryed into Fraunce, where he in the Castell of Lothes miserably finished hys lyfe, accordynge to the saiynge of the Gospell, woo be too hym by whom a slaundre begynneth. Thys mischiefe beganne at that tyme when Charles came thether, and contynueth yet, which is the yere of oure Lord. M.D.xliii. for an example to other, ỹ straungers inuited to a prosperous countrey be lothe to departe from the swete sauoure once therof tasted.

This yere was borne at Grenewiche lord Henry, seconde sonne to ỹ kyng, whiche was created duke of Yorke, and after prynce of Wales, and in conclusion succeded his father in croune and dignitee. Nowe let vs returne to the newe founde sonne of kynge Edwarde, coniured by mennes pollicies from death to lyfe.

And first to declare hys lignage and beginning, you must vnderstãd that the duches of Burgoyne so norished and brought vp in the sedicious and scelerate faccions of false contryuers & founders of discorde coulde neuer cease nor be in quyet (lyke a vyper that is ready to burste with superfluyte of poyson) except he should infest and vnquyet ỹ king of England, for

no desert or displeasure by hym to her committed, but onely because he was propagate and descēded of the house of Lācastre, euer beyng aduerse & enemy to her lyne & lynage. For which only cause she compassed, ymagened and inuented how to cast a scorpiō in his bosome, and to infect his whole realme with a pestiferous discorde. To thentent that he beyng vanquyshed and brought to confusion, both the boylynge heate of her malicious harte might be fully saciated with hys innocent blonde, and also auaūce and preferre some darlyng of her faccion to his Empire rule and dignitee. And principally remembring that the erle of Lyncoln, which was by her set foorth and al his cōpany had small fortune & worsse successe in their progression and enterprice, contrary to her hope and expectacion, she lyke a dogge reuertynge to her olde vomyte, beganne to deuyse & spynne a new webbe, lyke a spyder that dayly weaueth when hys calle is tome. And as the deuell prouydeth venemous sauce to corrupt banckettes, so for her purpose she espyed a certayne younge man of visage beutiful, of countenaunce demure, of wit subtile crafty and pregnaūt, called Peter Warbecke. And for his dastard cowardnes of the Englishmen, in derision called Perkyn Warbeck, accordyng to the duche phrase, whiche chaūge the name of Peter to Perkyn, to yōgelinges of no strength nor courage for their timerous hartes and pusillanimitee; Whiche yonge man traueylyng many countreys, coulde speake English and many other languages, & for his basenes of stocke and birthe was knowen of none almoost, and only for the gayne of hys liuyng from his childehoode was of necessitee, compelled to seke and frequēt dyuerse realmes and regions. Therfore the duches thinkyng to haue gotten God by the foote, whē she had the deuell by the tayle, & adiudging this yong man to be a mete organe to conuey her purpose, and one not vnlike to be ỹ duke of Yorke, sonne to her brother kyng Edward, whiche was called Richard, kept hym a certayne space with her preuely, and hym with such diligēce instructed, bothe of the secretes and common affaires of the realme of England, & of the lignage, dissent and ordre of the house of Yorke, that he like a good scholer not forgettyng his lesson couldē tell all that was taught him promptly without any difficultie or signe of any subornacion: and besides, he kept suche a princely countenaunce, and so countrefeate a maiestie royall, that all men in maner did fermely beleue that he was extracted of the noble house and familie of the dukes of Yorke. For surely it was a gift geuen to that noble progeny as of nature in the roote plāted that all the sequele of that lyne and stock did study and deuyse how to be equyualent in honoure and fame with their forefathers and noble predecessors.

When this diabolicall duches had framed her cloth mete for ỹ market, and ymagened that all thinges was ready and prepared for the cōfusion of kyng Henry, sodeynly she was enformed that thesayde kynge of England prepared a puissant army agaynste Charles the Frenche kyng. Then she considering the oportunitie of the tyme, as who would saye, a tyme wished and daye desyred to achene and brynge too passe her olde malicious and cancarde inuencions, which alwayes nothinge lesse mynded then peace and tranquilite, and nothing more desired then dissencion, ciuile warre and destruccion of kyng Henry. Wherefore she sent Perkyn Werbeck, her new inuented Mawmet first into Portyngall, and so craftely into the realm of Ireland, to thentent that he beynge bothe witty and wilye might moue, inuegle and prouoke the rude and rusticall Irishenacion (beyng more of nature enclyned to rebellion then to reasonable ordre) to a new conflict and a sedicious commocion. This worshipfull Perkyn, arriuyng in Ireland, whether it were more by hys crafty witte, or by the malicious and beastly exhortacion of the saluage Irish gouernours, within short space entred so farre into their fauoures, and so seriously perswaded and allured them to his purpose, that the greatest lordes and princes of the contry, adhibited such faith and credite to his woordes, as that thing had bene true in dede, whiche he vntruly with false demonstracions setfoorth and diuulged. And as though he had bene the very sonne of kynge Edwarde, they honoured, exalted and applauded hym with all reuerence and dewe honoure, promising to hym aide, comforte and assistence of all thinges to the feat of warre, necessary and appertey nyng.

In the meane ceason these newes were related to Charles the Frēch kyng, then beyng in displeasure

displeasure with kyng Henry, which without delay sent for Perkyn into Irelande to the entent to sende hym agaynste the kynge of England, whiche was inuadyng Fraūce (as you before haue beard). This Flemyng Perkyn was not a litle ioyfull of thys message, thinkinge by this onely request to be exalted into heauen, when he was called to the familiarite and acquayntaunce of kynges and prynces: & so with all diligence sayled into Fraunce, with a very small nauy, not so small as smally furnished. And commynge to the kynges presence was of hym royally accepted, and after a princely fassion entreteyned, & had a garde to hym assigned, wherof was gouernour ỹ lord Cōgreshal. And to hym at Parys resorted syr George Neuell bastard, Syr Thon Tayler, Rouland Robynson and an hundred Englishe rebelles. But after that a peace, as before is sayde was appoynted and concluded betwixt him and the kynge of England, thosayde kynge Charles dismissed the younge man, and woulde no lenger kepe hym. But some men saye whiche were there attendynge on hym, that he fearynge that kyng Charles, woulde deliuer hym to the kynge of Englande, beguyled the lord Congreshall, and fledde awaye from Parys by nyght. But whether he departed without the Frenche kynges consent or disassent, he deceaued in his expectacion, and in maner in despayre, returned agayn to the lady Margaret his first foolishe foundacion.

The duches thinkynge euery houre from his departure a whole yere, vntil suche tyme she heard from hym, and effecteously desiring to knowe whiche waye lady Fortune turned her whele, herynge hym to be repudiate and abiected oute of the Frenche courte, was in a greate agony and muche amased and more appalled: But when she was asserteyned of hys arryuall in Flaunders, she no lesse reuiued, then he that hathe in steade of the sworde of execucion, a perdon and restauracion of hys lyfe and degree to hym delyuered and shewed. And at hys commynge to her presence, she receaued hym wyth suche gladnes, with suche reioysyng and suche comforte (as in dede she coulde dissemble alone aboue all other) as though she had neuer sene nor knowē him before, or as he were newly cropen oute of hys mothers lappe agayne, that what in trust to preferre hym to the prehemynence by her ymagened, and what for the hope that she had to destroye kynge Henry, she fell into suche an vnmeasurable ioye, that she had almost lost her wytte and senses. And that thys her gladnes might be notified and made apparaunt to euery man, she first reioyced of her nephewes health and welfare: And secondarely she much thrusted and sore longed, not once, but dyuerse and sundry tymes in open audience, and in solempne presence to here hym declare and shewe by what meanes he was preserued from deathe and destruccion, and in what countreys he had wandered and soughte frendshippe: And finallly, by what chaunce of fortune he came to her courte and presence. To the entent that by the open declaracion of these feyned phantasies, the people myghte be persuaded to geue credite and belefe, that he was the true begotten sonne of her brother kynge Edwarde. And after thys she assigned hym a garde of thirty persones in Murrey and blewe, and highly honoured hym as a greate estate and called hym the whyte Rose, prynce of Englande.

By reason whereof, the nobilite of Flaunders were to hym diligent, & with dewe reuerence dyd him all the pleasure that laye in their powre or officies. And to be shorte, the more that thys poeticall and feyned inuencion was shadowed with the pretence of sincere veritie, the more faythe and vndubitate credence was adhibited to it. In so muche that many one thought hym to be preserued, onely by the will and mightie powre of almightie God, and to be conueyghed at the fyrste daungier by some faythfull frende of kyng Edward his father into some straūge country, and so escaped the violēt tyranny of his vncle kyng Rychard, whiche vndubitately, hereafter should recouer his fathers possessions & kingdome. The fame & bruyte of thys iuggled myracle was almoost in one momēt blowē ouer all the coūtrey of Flaūders, & the territories therabouts. But in England it was blased in euery place soner then a man could thinke or deuise it: In which coūtrey more than in other places it was receaued for an infallible veritie & moost sure truthe, and that not onely of the cōmon people, but also of diuerse noble & worshipfull men of no small estimaciō, whiche sware & affirmed it to be true, and no coment or fable phantastically ymagened. After this deuulgaciō ỹ Rychard,

sonne to kyng Edward was yet liuyng, & had in great honour emongest the Flēminges, there began sedicion to springe on euery syde, none otherwise then in ỹ pleasaũt time of vere, trees are wōte to budde or blossome. For not onely they ỹ were in sanctuaryes, for great & heynous offences by them committed, but also many other that were fallē in debte, and doubtyng to be brought to captiuitie & bondage, assembled together in a cōpany, and were passed ouer the sea into Flaunders, to their coũtrefeate Richard sonne to kynge Edwarde, otherwise named Perkyn Warbeke. After this many of the noble mē conspired together some through rashnes & temerite induced therunto, some beyng so earnestly perswaded in their awn cōceipt, as though they knew perfightly that this Perkyn was ỹ vndubitate sonne of king Edward the. iij. solicited, stirred & allured to their opinion all such as were frēdes & fautoures of the house of Yorke. Other through indignaciō, enuye & auarice, euer grudginge & thinkynge they were not condignly rewarded for their paynes and partes taken in the kynges behalfe and quarell. Other whome it greued and vexed to see the worlde stande still in one staye, and all men to lyue in peace and tranquilitie, desyrous of some chaunge, ranne hedlinge into that fury, madnes and sedicious cōiuracion.

This rumour and vayne fable of this twise borne duke Richard, deuyded all Englād and drewe the realme into Partakynges & seuerall faccions, so that the myndes of all men were vexed either with hope of gayne and preferment, or with feare of losse and confusion. For no man was quyet in his awne mynde, but his braynes & senses daily laboured & bet about this great & weightie matter, euery man according to their intelligēce, pōdering & weiyng in egal balaūce, the incōmoditie & daungier that might hereof ensue, and the gayne & commoditie that by thesame might be obteyned & gottē. Albeit the kyng, & hys cōusayl & other hys faythfull frendes, not a litle meruayled that any person (beynge in hys ryght wyt) coulde induce in hys mynde or fynde in hys hart falsely to thynke and fraudulentlye too ymagen, suche a pernicious fable and ficcion, beyng not onely straūge and maruеylous, but also prodigious and vnnaturall, to feyne a dead man to be renated and newely borne agayne. By the whiche open fallax and vntrue surmyse setfoorth and palliated with the vesture and garment of a professed veritee. Many of the noble men (as he well then perceaued) toke and reputed it, whiche was folishely and maliciously setforth to vnquyet & perturbe hym and his realme, to be a thinge true, iust and vnfeyned. So that he then sawe as farre as lynce with his bright eyes, that this newe inuented coment and poeticall peynted fable, woulde make some broyle and discorde in his realme. Except it were manifestly published and openly declared to be a fayned fable, a sedicious fraude and a craftye imagened mischiefe. Other persones, to whome warre, sedicion, and stryfe, were as pleasaunt as delicate vyand or Epicures liuynge, were very ioyous of these newes, and beleuing no fraude nor deceate to be hid or cloked vndre this golden tale. But whatsoeuer the fame was and the voice that ranne abrode, that they reputed, syncere, true, and as an opē playne thing, thinking that to redounde both to their aduauntage, cōmoditee and hygh preferment and honoure, whiche thinge did greatly animate and encourage them to set vp the sayles, and lanchefoorth the ower of their pernicious and detestable entreprice. And because the matter was weighty and requyred great aide and assistence. Therfore they determined to sende messengers to the lady Margaret, to knowe when Rychard duke of Yorke might come conueniently into England to thentent that they beyng therof certefied might be in a redynes to helpe and succoure hym at hys first arryuall.

THE. VIII. YERE.

SO by the common consent and agrement of the coniured confederates, syr Robert Clifford knight, & William Barley were sent into Flaunders, which enucleated to the duches all the secrete ententes and preuy counsayles of ỹ frēdes and fautoures of the new founde duke. The duches thys message did gladly accept and louyngly embrace, and of their tydinges was

not

not a litle ioyous, easely by her persuasion inducynge to their heddes, that all thinges that were spoken of duke Rycharde were true & vnfeyned. And afterwarde brought them to the sight of Perkyn, the which countrefeated the cõtenaunce and the maner and fassion of Rychard duke of Yorke, praisyng his vertues & qualities, with ỹ which he was endued aboue the mone. Thesayde syr Robert Clifford, when he had sene & well aduised the yõg man, beleued surely that he was extracted of the blood royall, and the very sonne of kyng Edward the. iiij. & thereof he wrote a lettre of credite & confidence into England to his cõpany & felowes of his cõspiracy, & to put them out of all doubte he affirmed ỹ he knew him to be kinge Edwardes sonne by his face & other lyniamentes of his body. And when these lettres came to England, the cheuetaynes of this busynes, to the entent to styrre the people to some newe commocion and tumult, and to set foorth some cause of mattre apparaunt, caused it opely to be diuulged and published, that it was true and not feigned that was spoken & saide abroade of the duke of Yorke: but it was done by such a secret crafte, that no mã coulde tell who was the authoure and founder of that rumoure.

When the kyng perceaued that this vayne fable was not vanyshed oute of the mad breynes of the commen people, he thought it expedient bothe for the sauegarde of hym selfe and also of hys countrey, whose hurtes were ioyned and mixed together, to prouyde some remedy to represse this Immynent mischaunce, not a litle suspectynge, that some conspiracy had bene concluded and agreed, because that syr Robert Clyfforde had late fled preuely into Flaunders. Wherefore he sent certayne knightes that were chosen and picked men of warre, with a bonde of souldioures into euery parte to kepe the shores & the sea costes surely, that no man might passe ouer into any foreyn lande beyõd ỹ sea nor repasse into this realme without serche, or pasporte or sauecõduyte by hym geuen, and all streytes, passages & by pathes were kept & searched, so that no man vnapprehended coulde passe to the sea coaste nor make any conuenticle or assemble without he were espyed and taken. And to thentent that many men, beyng bothe of England & other places for very malyce by this new inuencion enflamed and indurate, shoulde no farther ronne in their freneticall madnes, he secretly sent wise espialles to all the cytyes of the Gaule Belgique or lowe countrey within the Archedukes dominion, and the confynes of thesame, to searche & prye oute of what progeny thys mysnamed Rycharde was dissended and propagate, promysynge highly too rewarde and thanke suche persones, whiche woulde manifest and open the secrete doubtes and deuyses of thesame matter: and besyde thys he wrote to hys trusty frendes to do thesame. So they sailynge into Fraunce, deuided and seuered themselfes euery man into a lymyte and prouynce. And when certayne of them repayred to the toune of Turnay, they were there certefyed by the testimony of many honest persons, that this feigned duke came but of a lowe stocke, and of a base parentage, & was named there Peter Warbecke. And so shortely after the kynges inquisitoures returned into Englande, reportynge to the kynge what they had knowen and hearde: Of whiche thynge the kynge was also more plainly certefyed by hys trusty and faythefull frendes, both by letters and trusty messengers.

Wherupon seyng that nowe the fraude was openly and apparauntly manifested & espied, he determined to haue it published & declared w all diligent celerite, both in the realme of Englande & also in all partes beyonde the sea, in the prouynces of Foreyn princes and straunge potẽtates. And for thesame cause he sent to Philip archeduke of Burgoyn and to hys counsayllers (because that he was not yet of mature age, apt and conuenient to take the regimẽt of hys countreys and seigniories) Syr Edward Pownynges a valyaũt knight, and syr William Warram doctour of the lawes, a man of great modestie, learnyng and grauite, ỹ they should opely to thẽ declare, that ỹ yõge man, beyng with the lady Margaret was discended of a basse and obscure parentage, and that he had falsely and vntruly vsurped the name of Richard duke of Yorke, whiche long before was murthered with hys brother Edwarde in the Towre of London, by the commaundement of kynge Rychard their vncle, as many men lyuynge can testifie. And to thinke and saye otherwyse then thys that apertly is knowen, it were the hyghest poynte and degree of madnes, for asmuche as it is probable by and inuincible

uincible reason and an argument infallible, that kyng Rycharde their naturall vncle, in dispatching and destroiyng prynce Edward the eldest sonne of kyng Edward his brother, was in no suertie of his realme or vsurped dominion, if he had permitted Richard the yoūger sonne to lyue and continew: For then might he as next heyre to hys brother haue lawfully and by iust title claymed the sceptre and diademe royal, whiche was hys fathers and after dinoluted to hys elder brother. And therfore they shoulde desyre the Archeduke and the prynces of his coūsayl, that it woulde please them to geue no credite, nor them selfes suffre any more to be blynded or seduced with suche mere impostures and craftie illusions beyng full of vntruthe and apparaunte falsehed, nor yet to aide or assist suche a craftye merchaūt, whiche had falsely feigned hys name and stocke, and in especially against him, which in few yeres passed had succoured and relened Maximilian their lorde beynge sore oppressed, and almost ouercome bothe with the extort powre and puyssaunce of the Frenche kyng, also with the cyuyle discorde and intestine rebellion of his awne subiectes and vassals. With these commaundementes the Ambassadoures sayled into Flaunders, and there gētely receaued and louingely enterteyned of the Archeduke Philip and his coūsayll. And after that they were commaunded to declare the entent of their legacion, docter William Warram priest, made before theym a pleasaunt and a luculent oracion, shewyng therin discretely the myndc entent and desyre of the kynge hys master: And in the later ende of hys oracion, he a litle rebuked the lady Margaret and lyt her of the thombes, saiynge that she now in her olde age, within fewe yeres had produced and brought foorth two detestable monsters, that is to saye Lambert (of whome rehersal was made before) and the other Perkyn Warbeck, And beynge conceyued of these two greate babes, was not of theim delyuered in eight or nyne monethes as nature dothe requyre and as all other women commonly do, but in the hundreth and lxxx. monethes, she brought them forth out of her wombe: for bothe these at the least were fiftene yeres of age before that she woulde be broughte in bedde of them, and shewe them openly.

And when they were newely crept out of her wombe, they were no infantes, nor suckyng chyldren, but lusty yongelinges, and of age sufficient to byd battaile to kynges. Although these tautes and lestes did angre and trouble the lady Margaret, yet Perkyn was more vexed and encombered with the thinges declared in thys oracion, and in especiall because his fraude and false feigned iuggelinge was brought to light & opened: yet the duches beynge therwith more incensed then quenched, nothyng refreignynge her olde malice and cancard hatred, but entendyng to caste whote Sulpher to the newe kyndled fyre, determyned clerely to arme and setforward prety Perkyn agaynst the kyng of England with speare and shilde, might and mayne.

When the Ambassadours had done their message, and the Archedukes counsayll had longe debated whether Perkyn were the true sonne of kynge Edwarde the fourthe, they aunswered the Ambassadours: That to the entent to haue the loue and fauoure of the kynge of Englelande assuredly after that tyme, the Archeduke nor they woulde neither aide nor assist Perkyn nor hys complyces in any cause or quarell. Yet notwythstandinge, if the lady Margaret persistynge and continuynge in her roted malice towardes the kynge, woulde be to hym aidynge and helpynge, it was not in their power to let or withstande it, for because she in the landes assigned to her for her dower, might frankely and freely do and ordre all thynges at her awne wyll and pleasure without contradiccion of any other gouernour.

THE. IX. YERE.

WHen thys aunswer was geuen to theym, they returned agayne into Englande. After that, kyng Henry loking circumspectly to his matters, purposed to pacefie the stormes and blastes that he perceaued to be growyng, rather by pollecy and counsayll, then by dubious warre & manslaughter, if his nobilite woulde therunto condiscende. For he well cōsidred

dred that of one busines riseth another, and of one small sparcle commeth a great flame. And therefore straight he sent forth certayne espialles into Flaunders, which shoulde feigne them selues to haue fledde vnto the duke of Yorke, and by that meanes searche foorth and inuestigate, the whole intent of their coniuracion, and after what waye they entended to procede in thesame. Other were sent also to allect and entice syr Robert Clyfford, and William Barly to retorne into Englande, promisynge to theim franke and free pardone, of all offences, and crymes committed, and promocions, and rewardes, for obeynge to the kynges request. These exploratours so trauelled in their affaires and busynes that they brought to passe all thinges to their masters desyre. For first they had perfight knowledge of the names of certayne conspiratours agaynst the kyng. After they persuaded syr Robert Clifford to leaue of that foolishe opinion, whiche had no sure grounde nor foundacion to stay itselfe vpon. Albeit William Barley coulde not be deduced from his begonne enterprice, but that he woulde go forwarde hedlynge with thesame, which taried not long in that deuelish opinion. For within two yeres after this, he repentynge hym of his foly, beyng reclaymed, and hauynge perdone geuen hym of the kyng, repaired home to hys natiue coutrey, detesting hi & hys foolish blindnes. Whē the espialles had sped their purpose, one after another stale away preuely from the feyned duke, and returned into Englande, bringynge with them the names of certayne, which were chiefe of that conspiracy. Other taried still behynd to accompany syr Robert Clifford, when he returned agayne into England, whose tarieynge meruelously debilitated and appalled the courages, & hartes, of the coniuratours. For they perceaued dayly that their enterprice more and more feynted, and that they were by a litle & litle dampnified and hurted. And yet they sawe no man whome they might perfightly put diffidēce in, or yet once mistrust.

When the kyng had knowledge of the chief Capitaynes of this tumulte by the ouerture of hys espyes, which were returned, he caused thē all to be apprehended and brought to London before his presence. Of the which the chief were Ihon Ratclyffe lord Fitzwater, syr Symonde Mouforde, syr Thomas Twhaytz knightes, Willīa Dawbeney, Robert Ratclyffe, Thomas Cressenor, and Thomas Astwood. Also certain priestes and religious men as syr William Richeforde doctor of deuinitee, and syr Thomas Poynes, bothe freers of sainct Dominikes order, docter William Sutton, syr William Worsely deane of Paules, and Robert layborne and syr Rychard Lessey. Other that were giltye of thesame cryme, hearyng that many of their company were taken, fled and toke sanctuary. And the other that were taken were condempned al of treason, of the which there was hedded syr Symond Mounforde, syr Robert Ratclyffe, & Willīa Dawbeney, as aucthoures and chief Capitaynes of this busynes. The other were perdoned, and the Priestes also for their ordre sake that they had taken, but fewe of them liued lōg after. Also syr Ihon Ratclyfe, lord Fitzwater was pardoned of his life, but after that he came to Caleys, and there layde in holde, he was beheadded, because he corrupted the kepers with many promises to haue escaped out of thesame, entēdyng as was thought to haue gone to Perkyn.

Kyng Henry of England, partely greued with the kyng of Romanes for breakyng his promes, when he shoulde haue associated him in hys iorney agaynst the French kyng, and partely displeased, with the Flēmynges, but principally with the lady Margaret, for kepyng and settyng forward Perkyn Warbeck, not onely banished all Flēmyshe wares and marchaundises, out of hys realme and dominions, but also restreyned all Englishe marchaūtes, from their repaire and traffique into any of the landes & territories, of the kynge of Romanes, or the Archeduke hys sonne, causynge the marte of merchaundises and commoditees of this realme to be kept at hys toune of Caleys. Wherfore the sayde kynge and hys sonne banysh- The marte
ed oute of their landes and seigniories all Englishe clothes, yarne, tynne, leade and other kept at Caleis.
commodities vpon great forfeytures and penalities. The restreint made by the king sore greued and hindered the merchauntes, beynge aduenturers: For they by force of thys cōmaundement had no occupiynge to beare their charges and supporte their contynuaunce and credyte. And yet one thinge sore nypped their hartes, for the Easterlynges whiche were at libertie,

brought into the realme such wares as they were wont and accustomed to do, and so serued their customers throughe oute the whole realme: By reason wherof the masters beynge destitute of sale and commutacion, neither reteyned so many couenaūt seruauntes and apprentices as they before were accustomed, & in especiall, Mercers, Haberdassbers and Clothe-woorkers, nor yet gaue to their seruauntes so great stipende and salarie, as before that restreynte they vsed to do. For whiche cause the sayde seruauntes entendyng to woorke their malice on the Easterlynges, the tuesdaye before sayncte Edwardes daye come to the Styliard in London, and beganne to rifle and spoyle such chambres and warehouses as they could get into: So that the Easterlynges had muche ado to withstande and repulse theym oute of their gates. And whē their gates were fermed and closed, the multitude rushed and bete at the gates with clubbes and feuers to haue entred, but the Easterlynges by the helpe of Carpenters and Smythes, whiche came to their aide by water oute of the borough of Southwarke had so strongly shored and fortefied them selfes that they coulde not preuayle. The Mayre of London hearynge of this ryot, assembled ỹ Magestrates and officiers of the citie together, and so beynge furnisshed bothe with men and weapon, set forward towarde the Stylyard. Assone as the cōmyne of ỹ Mayre was intymate and knowen to the ryotous persones, they fledde awaye lyke a flocke of shepe: howebeit he apprehended diuerse of the malefactoures and committed theim too seuerall prysons. And vpon the inquiry before the kynges commissioners, there were founde giltie aboue. lxxx. seruauntes and apprentices (and not one housholder) whyche were confederate together to make this attēpt and sworne in no wyse to discouer or reuele the same: Whereuf some that were the chiefe taynes and beginners of this mischeuous riot, were sent to the Towre, and there longe continued. But in conclusion, because none of their masters were inuented culpable of thys naughtye acte, the kynge of hys goodnes remitted their offence, and restored them to their libertie.

A ryot made vpon the Easterlynges.

¶ THE. X. YERE.

SHortely after, syr Robert Clyfford, partely trusting on the kynges promes, & partely mistrustyng the thing, because he knewe that diuerse that were accused to be partakers of that faccion and conspiracy were put in execucion: & therfore perceauyng that their could not be a more pernicious nor more desperate begonne thinge then that deuelishe enterprice returned sodeynly agayn into England. The kynge beynge certefied before of his cōming went streight to the Towre of London after the daye of Epiphany, and there taryed till suche tyme that syr Robert Clyfford was there presented to hys person, which thinge he vsed vnder this pretence, that if syr Robert Clifforde had accused any of the nobilitie to be partakers of this vngracious fraternitie & diabolical coniuracio that then euery such person might be called thether without suspeccion of any euell, & there streight to be attached and cast in holde.

But before I go any farther I will shew the opinion that at that tyme ranne in many mens heddes of this knyghtes goynge into Flaunders. Some men helde this opinion, that kyng Henry for a policy dyd sende him as a spye to Flaunders, or els he would not haue so sone receaued him into his grace and fauour agayn: Neuerthelesse this is not like to be true by diuerse reasons and apparaūt argumentes, firste after that attempt begonne by syr Robert, he was in no small daūger him selfe, and by that was not a litle noted, & hys fame blemished, but also hys frendes were suspected and had in a gealosy. Secondarely he was not after ỹ in so great fauour, nor so esteemed with the kynge as he had been in tymes past, because he was blotted & marked with that cryme & offence. And therfore he bearing his fauoure to the house of Yorke entendynge in the beginning to administer displeasure to kyng Hery, sayled to the lady Margaret, beyng seduced & brought in belefe ỹ Perkyn was the very sonne of kynge Edward. But to my purpose, when syr Robert came to the presence of the kynge, he knelyng on his knees most humblye, beseched hym of grace and pardone, whiche he

shortely

shortely obteyned. And after that beynge requyred of the maner and ordre of the coniuracion, and what was done in Flaunders, he opened euery pointe to his knowiege, and after disclosed the names, aswell of the aiders and fautoures as of the inceptors and begynners. Emongest whome he accused syr William Stanley, whome the kynge made his chiefe chamberleyn, and one of his preuy counsayll. When he had so sayde, ỹ kyng was greatly dismayed and greued, that he shoulde be partaker in that greuous offence, considerynge first that he had the gouernaunce of his chambre, and the charge and comptrolment of all suche as were next to hys bodye, and also callynge to remembraunce the manifolde gratuities, whiche he had receaued at hys hande, but in especiall not forgettynge that benefite aboue all other, that onely by his side and succoure, he had vanquished and ouerthrowen his mortall enemy kynge Richarde. Wherefore, at the begynnynge he coulde in no wyse be induced nor persuaded to beleue that he was such a preuy conspiratoure or malicious offender, but when the cryme was openly proued and probably affirmed, then the king caused hym to be restrayned from his libertie in his awne chambre within the quadrate towre. And there appoynted hym by his preuy counsayll to be examined. In whiche examinacion he nothinge denyed, but wisely and seriously did astipulate and agree to all thinges layed to hys charge, if he were in any of theim culpable or blame woorthy.

The reporte is, that this was his offence. When communicacio was had betwene hym, and this syr Robert Clifforde, as cōcernyng Perkyn whiche falsely vsurped the name of kyng Edwardes sonne, sir Willia Stanley sayde and affirmed there, that he would neuer fight nor beare armure agaynst the young man, if he knew of a truthe that he was the indubitate sonne of kyng Edward the. iiij. Thys poynte argueth and proueth hym at that tyme beyng moued with melancholy, to beare no great good will to kyng Henry, wherof suspicion first grewe, and after this ensued the accusacion of syr Robert Cyfforde.

Then the kyng doubtinge what to do with him, did cōsulte & breath with hym selfe of this sodeyne chaunce. For he feared least that his brother lorde Thomas Stanley, in whome he had founde great frendship, woulde take this mattre greeuously. And if he should remit that fault, or abusynge his lenyte and mercy, he would be the more bolder to offend and treaspace more highly. Albeit at the last, seueritee tooke place, and mercy was put backe, and so he was arreigned at Westmynster and adiudged to dye, and accordinge to that iudgemente was broughte to the towre hill the. xvi. daye of February, and there had hys head stryke of. What was the occasion and cause why the syncere and faythfull mynde that syr William allwayes before bare to kyng Henry, was turned into cancarde hatred and dispite, and why the especiall fauoure that the kyng bare towarde hym was transmuted into disdeyne and displeasure, diuerse men alledge dyuerse causes, affirmynge that when kynge Henry (what other mutuall benefites the one had receaued of the other, I wyll nowe pretermyt and ouerpasse) in that battaile, in the whiche he bereft kynge Richarde bothe of hys life and hys kyngdom, beynge associate and accompanied but with a small numbre, and circūuented by kynge Rychardes army, & in great ieopardy of his lyfe, thys syr William beynge sent from the lord Standley hys brother with a good company of stronge and hardy men (whiche lorde Stanley was nere the felde with a great army) came sodeynly and fortunately to the succours of kynge Henry, and saued hym from destruccion, and ouerthrewe kynge Rychard as before you haue heard. Surely thys was a benefite aboue all benefites to be remembred, by the which kyng Hēry was not onely preserued alyue, but also obteyned the croune & kingdome, which great benefite, after the kingdome once obteyned, he did neither forget nor yet left vnrewarded. For the lord Thomas Stanley he inuested with the swoorde of the countie of Darby, & beside other great giftes & officies geuen to Willia Stanley, he made him his chiefe chāberleyn. This syr William, although he were in great fauoure with the kyng, & had in great and high estimacion, more remēbring the benefite done to the kyng, then the rewardes and gratuitees of his liberalite receaued, thinking that the vessel of oyle, (according to the Gospel) would ouerflowe the brymmes, & as some saye, desirynge to be crie of Chestre & therof denyed, began to grudge & disdeyne the kyng his high frēd: and one thing encoraged him

him much, which was the riches & treasure of kīg Richard, which he onely possessed at ỹ conflict of Boswoorth: By reason of which haboundance of ryches & greate powre of people, he sent naught by ỹ kyng his souereign lord & Maistre. When the kyng perceaued that his stomack began to canker & waxe rusty, he was with him not a litle displeased, and so when bothe their hartes were enflamed with melancholy, bothe loste the fruite of their longe cōtinued amitie & fauoure. And so it often chaunceth, that when men do not cōsider nor yet regard the great benefites to them exhibited, they rendre agayne hatred for liberalitee, and for breade geuen, they yelde agayne a scorpion. Nowe to returne to the matter.

At this tyme the kyng thought it best, ye & very necessary not onely to take hede about him, but also to vse some sharpe punyshmēt and correccīō of the offences of his subiectes, to thētent ỹ the late begon sedicion might the soner be repressed, & for this cause specially ỹ some persons voyde of all honest feare & reuerent dread, had takē such courage & audacitie to them, that they feared not to speake euell of their kyng & souereign lord, with moost spiteful & contumelious wordes as though they neither feared nor woulde obey him, or his preceptes & cōmaundementes, expecting dayly and hourely the arryuall & landing of the feyned Rychard duke of Yorke, now lately rysen from death to lyfe. But when knowlege of the slaunderous and opprobrious woordes were brought to the kynges eares, he caused dyuerse persones to suffre condigne punyshmēt for their heynous offences, wherby their cōplices wel perceauyng ỹ their entreprice had nō prosperous successe nor toke any good effect, & especially such as temerariously began to make mastries and farther seyng what preparacion was made and prouyded agaynst their tumulteous commocion & frantique enterprice, they of their awne swynge pacefied them selfes, & beganne to turne to theyr kynge and naturall liege lorde.

THE. XI. YERE.

After the death of syr William Stanley, Gyles lord Dabeney, a man of Great fidelitie and circumspeccion was elected and made the kynges chiefe chamberleyne. When the kynge had thus poletiquely wedded out the euell & corrupt hartes of his English subiectes, and had pacefied & brought all his realme to a monacorde and a quyet lyfe. Then he perceaued that it was necessary also to purge & clense his realme of Irelād to thentent ỹ the venemous sede sowen & planted. ii. yeres past emōgest the wilde & sauage Irish persons by Perkyn Warbeck might be cleane eradicated & plucked vp. Wherfore he sent syr Hēry Deane late Abbot of Langtonye, a man of great wyt and diligēce (whome he made chancelour of the Isle) and syr Edward Pownynges knyght, with an army of men into Ireland, to searche & purge all such tounes & places where Perkyn was receaued, releued or fauoured. And if they espied any of hys affinitee or faccion, then he would they should be punished with al extremitie to the terrible example of all other that woulde enclyne too that vnfortunate parte. And first, after their arryuall into Irelande, they called in the kynges name the nobilitee of that country to a cōusayll, where they beyng assembled all together, the Chauncelour with a gentle exhortacion requyred them first to persist in due obedience and fidelitie towardes their kynge, and to aide hys capitayne Syr Edwarde Pownynges with their might, powre & strength agaynst such rebelles whiche eyther through blyndnes and folye, or elles through desyre and appetide to do euell, susteyned and aided Perkyn with harneys, menne or money. Euery man promysed openly to helpe with all their power and might: But they promysed not so quickly, but they performed it as slowely, for fewe or none either aided or assisted him, as who woulde saye, that they loued the English nacion more with their outward cōtenaunce, then in their inward hartes & myndes. But when they heard that syr Edward Pownynges was come to persecute al suche as were fautoures and frendes to Perkyn Warbeck, there was no man, although he were but a litle contamynate wyth that sediciousinfeccion, but he fled oute

of hand into woodes and marises for the defence and sauegarde of them selfes, there consultyng together, after the maner of their countrey, in what places they might best lye in wayte to infest and skyrmyshe with the Englishmen, or els if nede shoulde so requyre to fighte with them hand to hande.

In Ireland there be two kynd of men, one softe, gentle, ciuile & curteous: And to these people, as to the mooste rychest and best nurtured persons dothe many merchaunt men of the countreys adioyning, daily resorte, frequent, contract, bergayne, and make marchaundise. But because the moost resorte thether is of the English nacion, the Irish men folow & coūtrefeate their ciuile maners & honest cōdiciōs. And by reason of ỹ cōmō trade and entrecourse betwene thē, they haue learned ỹ English toūg, & can both speake & vnderstād it. And all this kynde of people is vnder ỹ subiecciō & dominiō of ỹ kyng of Englād. The other kynde is cleane cōtrary frō this, for they be wilde, rustical, folish, fierce, & for their vnmanerly behauior & rude fassiōs, are called wilde & sauage Irishmen. And these men haue many gouernours & seuerall rulers, whiche kepe continual battaile, and dayly warre emongest them selfes. For ỹ which cause they be more fierce, more bolde & hardy then theother Irishmē, and thei be very desyrous of newe thinges & straunge sightes and gasynges, & after robbery, theft & rapyne, in nothyng so much delytyng as with tumulteous sedicion & continual strife. And to these wilde coaltes Perkyn shewed hym selfe first, easely persuadynge theim to beleue that he was thesame verey person whome he falsely fayned and countrefeated.

Wherfore Sir Edward pownynges accordynge to his commission, entending to punishe suche as haue bene aiders and auaūcers of Perkyns foolishe enterprice, with his whole army, marched forward against these wilde Irishmen, because ỹ all other beynge culpable of that offence fled and resorted to theim for succoure and defence, to thentent that they bothe together might be hable to resist & defye their enemies. But when he sawe that his purpose succeded not as he wisshed it, bothe because the Irysh lordes sent him no succour accordynge to their promises, and also considerynge that his nombre was not sufficiente to set on the wilde people being dispersed emongest woodes, mounteyns and marishes, was of neeessitee, compelled to recule and returne, frettyng and vexed in his stomacke, because he suspected ỹ Geralde erle of Kildare beyng then the kynges deputie, was the cause & occasion ỹ he had no succoures nor ayde sent to him, and so he was enformed of suche as bare to the erle no good will. And therfore sodeinly he caused the erle to be apprehended, and as a prisoner brought him in his company into England: Where, when he was examined and certeine matters of treason layed to his charge, he auoyded theim all, and clerely (suche was his wyt and innocency) quit him selfe and layed the burden in other mens neckes: Whome the kyng dimissed and sent hym into Ireland agayne, there to be his deputie and Lieutenaunt as he was before. The kyng like a polletique prince had many greate and weightie consideracions whiche refreyned him from vsynge of any seueritie or extremitie againste this earle, contrary to the myndes and willes of his malicious aduersaries. One was the great auctho[r]itee and swynge that he bare emōgest the Iryshe nacion: Also the condicion and state of the tyme, wherin he sauoured some sedicion to be in brewing: And chiefly of all the assured hope and affiaunce that he conceaued in him.

So that nowe the kyng beyng out of all feare of battaile, dyd take his progresse into Lancasshire the. xxv. daie of Iuyn, there to recreate his spirites and solace him selfe with his mother the Lady Margarete wife to the Earle of Darby, whiche then laye at lathome in that countrey. While these thinges were thus done in England, Perkyn Warbeck then beyng in Flaunders, although he had taken great care and sorowe for that his craftie conueighaunce was espied and openly knowen, and also that kyng Henry had afflicted and punished diuerse of his confederates and alyes, and therby in despaire of all the ayde and succour that was to hym promysed and appoyncted: Yet he determined not to leaue the hope and trust that he had conceaued in his mad head to obteyue the crowne and realme of Englande,

lande, and so gatherynge a greate armye of valyaunt Capiteyns of all nacions, some banqueraūtes, some false Englyshe sanctuary men, some theues, robbers and vacaboundes, whiche leauynge their bodely laboure desyrynge only to lyue of robbery and rapine, came to be his seruauntes and souldioures. And so being furnished with this rablemente of knaues, tooke suche shippes as his frendes had prouyded for hym, and departed oute of Flaunders, entendynge to arryue in England whersoeuer the winde brought hym. And by chaunce of fortune he was dryuen vpon the Kentyshe coaste, where because ỹ see was calmed, he cast his anchors and there made his abode, and sent certeine of his retinewe to the lande to signifie to all the countrey that he was so furnished of all thinges mete and cōuenyēt for his entreprice, that there was no doubt but the victory woulde enclyue to his parte. And by this meanes to make exploracion and enquirye whether the Kentishmen woulde take his parte and folowe hym as their capitayne, whiche before tymes was not tymerous nor afraide of their awne mynde in troublous seasons to moue warre againste their princes. The Kentyshmen hearynge that this feyned duke was come, and had heard that he was but a peinted ymage, doubtyng a space what to do, whether to helpe him or to resist his power, at the last remēbryng what euell chaunces their forefathers had, and how smal a profite such as haue rebelled haue gained, thought it neither expedient nor profitable for theim to aide & assyst hym that came rather to spoyle, destroye & wast the countrey, then to conquere it for their wealthe & cōmodity. And this thei firmely coniectured because he had none other with him but Alienes and straunge people, which would take & accompte euery church toune, chapell, house & euery priuate man as a pray and a lucre, and not as their natyue countrey. Wherfore they fearing the sequele, determyned still to abide trewe to their kyng and prince, & to fall vpon suche as were new come to land out of their shippes. And while thei were assemblyng of theimselues together, other should by fayre promises & frēdly woordes allure & calle vnto theim the great nombre out of the shippes, and so geue theim battaill. And so vsyng this guyle and imposture, they promised all to folowe him and to fight vndre his banner: Howbeit the prolonging of time draue Perkyn into a suspicion, which wel remēbred ỹ a comminaltie is not accustomed sagely to cōsult, but sodeinly & temerariously to ronne hedlyng euer into rebellion & newe stirred cōmocion. Wherfore Perkyn determined not once to set foote oute of his ship till he sawe al thing sure wout any scruple or ambiguitee. And although he minded not to take land him selfe, yet he permitted certeyne of his souldiours to go on land, which persones beyng a prety waye frō their shippes, were sodeinly circūuented & compassed by the Kentyshmen, & at one stroke vanquyshed and dryuen backe to their shippes, & ther wer takē prisoners an hundred and. lx. persons, whereof. v. were named capiteins Mountforde, Corbet, white belt, quyntine or otherwyse Genyn. Whiche rebelles were brought by sir Ihon Pechy shreue of kēt, to Londō raised in ropes like horses drawyng in a carte. And after vpon their arraynement, confessed their offence, and were executed some at London, & other in the tounes adioynynge to the see coaste. Wherfore Perkyn failyng of his purpose fled back into Flaunders and there taried, consultyng with his frendes vntill suche tyme as he had better prepared for thinges to come more prudently then he had done before tyme.

In this verie ceason departed to God Cicile Duches of Yorke, mother to kyng Edward ỹ fourth and kyng Richard at her castel of Barkamstede, a woman of small stature, but of muche honour and high parentage, and was buryed by her husband in the colledge of Fodringey.

The kyng beyng aduertised ỹ his enemies had made entreaunce into his realme, left of his progresse & purposed to returne to London again, but beyng certified ỹ next daie after of ỹ lucky spede & fortunate chaūce continued and wēt fooith of his progresse, sendyng to theim sir Richard Gylforde, bothe to praise the fidelite & manhoode of the people, and also to rendre to theim his most harty thankes for their good seruice to him done, w faithful promes not to forget them herafter in their sutes, requestes & peticions. Also that

thei might not haue any successe herafter into those partes, the kyng cõmaunded the watches to be kept all alõge the see coastes, and bekons to be erected according to the auncïet vsage and custome of the countrey.

Peter and his capiteins takyng coũcel together in Flaundres, were of one assent resolued to this poinct, ẏ there was nothynge more surer to theim, then to procede quickly ẅ all celerite in their incepted entreprice. And when they perceaued ẏ there was neither people toune nor coũtrey in England ẏ would associate them in their phantastical frencsy which nothyng was mitigated, least ẏ by protractyng of tyme and longe space kyng Henry might fortefie & munite all daungerous places, and passages ẅ souldiours & men of warre, which thinge thei heard saye ẏ he neither forgate nor forslowed, & beside ẏ he was not a litle afeard ẏ his lõge tariyng should appalle & discõforte his preuy frendes ẅin ẏ realme of England. Wherfore he gathered together his vngracious cõpany, & determined first to sayle into Ireland, there to augmẽt his nõber. And frõ thence if yt were possible to saile into ẏ west partes of England. And yf there were any let or obstacle in that place, then he determined to saile streight into Scotlãd, knowyng ẏ seldome or neuer is perfight cõcorde & amitie betwene ẏ Scottes & ẏ English naciõ. When this gẽtle coũcel was dissolued, & wind and wether serued, he set vp his sayles, & hauyng a prosperous gale after his phantasy, sayled into Ireland, where he reposed hym selfe a space. And remembryng ẏ the hope of victory cõsisted not whole in the Irish nacion, which beynge naked men wout harneys or armure were not hable to cõbate with the Englishmẽ, wherfore when the wynde serued hym he departed frõ Corffe and arryued in Scotlãd, and commyng to the kyngs presence, with great solempnite, framed his tale after the forme and fassion folowyng.

I thinke yt is not vnknowen to you, moost noble kyng and puissaũt prince, into what ruyne the stock, house and familie of Edward ẏ fourth of that name kyng of England, is nowe of late brought to and fallẽ in, eyther by Goddes permission or by deuine punishment, whose vndubitate sonne (yf you knowe not all ready) I am, & by the powre of almightie God, preserued alyue to this houre from the mighty hãd of a tyraũt. For my father kyng Edward when he dyed, appoyncted his brother Richard duke of Gloucester to be our gouernour, protectour & defendor, whome ẏ more that he loued & studied to auaunce and promote, ẏ better he thought ẏ he would loue, fauoure, and tendre his children. But alas my infortunate chaunce I may saye, howe hath his trust bee turned into treason: and his hope turned to hindreaunce: All men knowe and I feele. Oure vncle was not the tutoure and preseruer of our stocke and lynage, but the confounder and destroier of our blonde and progenye. For that tyraunt blinded and glutted with the cupiditie of ruling and soueregnitie commaunded Edward my brother and me to be slaine and dispatched out of this mortall lyfe. Wherupon that person, to whome the weightie and cruell charge was committed and geuen to oppresse & destroye vs poore innocent enfantes and giltetes babes, the more that he abhorred this heynous and bocherly offence the more he feared to cõmyt yt. And so wauerynge in mynde & dubious what to doo, at the legth, willynge in parte to saciate the bloudy thrust of ẏ vnnatural tyraunt, and in parte to absteyne from so facinorous and detestable homicide, destroyed my brother and preserued me, lyke the good Prieste Iosada which saued lytle Ioas when all the children of the blonde royall were commaũded by Athalia the quene to be slayne and vtterly destroyed. And farther, to thentent that my lyfe might be in a suretie, he apoincted one to conney me into some straunge countrey, where when I was furthest of and had moost nede of comfort he forsooke me sodenly (I think he was so apoincted to do) and left me desolate alone without frende or knowlege of any reliefe or refuge. And so kynge Richarde dyd obteyne the croune as a praye mischeuously gotten by the dispatching awaye of my brother and me. So that I thus escapynge, by reason of my tendre infancy, for gate almost my self and knewe not wel what I was, but after long wanderyng from countrey to countrey, and frõ citee to citee, I perceaued and learned a lytle & litle what was my estate and degree, and so in conclusion came to mine awne aũte the lady Margaret liyng in Flaundres, whiche was sometyme maried to Charles

duke of Bourgoyne, whiche as ioyfully receaued and welcommed me as yf I had come oute of hell into heauen, as the only type and garland of her noble stirpe and lynage, but forasmuche as she being only dowager of ỹ duchy of Bourgoine, and hauyng nothing but her dowre propre vnto her self, was not of powre to helpe me ẅ men & munimẽtes of warre as she wouldе gladly haue done for the recouery of my fathers realme & rightfull inheritaunce, I therefore am dryuen to seke farther ayde and succoure. And therefore by her councell and aduertisement, with this small handfull of men of warre and souldioures, I am repayred to your presence for succours, of whome (as the publike fame is spred ouer ỹ whole worlde) there was neuer man by wrong or iniurie profligated or dryuen oute of his countrey, region or inheritaunce, or by extorte powre and tiranny kept out of thesame (as I my selfe from myne infancie haue bene) whose request was frustrate and repulsed at your hand. Therefore by the maiestie of your realme and countrey I desyre, and heartely with prayer as I can, I beseche and exhorte you to helpe and releue me now in my extreme necessite. And yf yt chaunce me by your ayde and succour to recouer and possede my fathers realme & dignitie, not only I, but all the kyngs of our lynage which her after shall obteyne thesame, shalbe so muche obliged and bound vnto you, that they must nedes thynke that doynge to you al the pleasure and benefites that they can, yet with al the thankes ỹ can be geuen, your great kindenes can neuer be equiualently recompensed.

When he had thus saide the kyng bad hym be of good comforte, and promysed hym that whatsoeuer he ware, yt shoulde neuer repent hym of his commynge to hym. And after this the kynge assembled his councell together, and demaunded of euery man seuerally, what they sayde, of these thynges which perkyn had both enucleated and requyred, or whether they woulde take any farther deliberacion to aduyse theim selfes what to do in so great and weyghtie a matter. They that were of greatest experience and of the wysest sorte did proue by many apparaunt argumentes that his saiynges were but dreames and fantasies and of no force or truthe and therefore they thought it not conuenient to encombre theim selfes with any lengre consultation. Another sort, which was not very great, neyther of wyt nor experiẽce, but greater in nomber, estemed this matter very profitable to the common wealth, considerynge yt ministred to theim occasion to make warre in Englande. And although thei had knowlege what good successe Perkyn had enioyed in all his former attemptes, yet they estemed that nowe all thynges shoulde succede accordynge to their expectacion, yf his cause (although yt were as lyght as a fether) were assumed and taken in hand to be defended, considering that when the warre was once intimate and begonne, and yf perkyn did preuayle, he would deny nothynge conuenient to his frendes and helpers. Or elles at ỹ least thei doubted not but kyng Henry wouldе make to theim large and ample offers & condicions of peace, rather then kyng Iames shoulde take parte with his aduersary and mortall ennemye. When this councell was geuen by the more nomber, yt was well accepted, and the Skottishe kyng, whether he were blynded by errour, or els dyd dissimule the matter, beganne to haue Perkyn in great honour and caused hym openly to be called duke of Yorke. Also, that this might be more apparaunt to the people ỹ he was so in dede, he caused lady Katheryn daughter to Alexaudre erle of Hũtley, his nigh kynsman & of a high lignage in Scotland, to be espoused to him. And this affuite he caused to be made for this ende & purpose, partly ỹ he might extenuate ỹ euell will & malice which was lyke to succede of this matter, for that it might be notoriously blasted and knowen abroade ỹ he had peace & amity ẅ ỹ king of Englãd, & partly least he might be accused of to much light credẽce if Perki were foũd & proued to be another mũ then he was reported.

When all thynges were prepared, ordred and apoyncted for ỹ warre. This Perkyn swellyng with ioye that he after his awne phantasye had made the Scottes to be his partakers. And to thentent that they should put no diffidence in the sequele of his entreprice, & to encourage theim ỹ more he pronounced suerly ỹ he should haue great succour & aide of his frendes in England sent euen from ỹ farthest part therof assone as euer the trompet of warre was blowen. The Scottes although thei had but lytle confidence & lesse trust in his wordes,

yet

yet puttyng their hope more in ỹ gayne of spoyle then in ỹ gainyng of the victory by battayle, armed them selfes in all ỹ hast & marched toward the coũnes and borders of Englãd. Albeit the Scottish kyng myndyng not to be to rashe, mystrusted ỹ the Englishmen knowyng Perkyn to be arryued in Scotlãd had layed some armye for ỹ defence of ỹ frontiers, sent out certeine light horsmen to espie & searche if the husbandmen of the coutrey were assembled in armure to defend their enemies. The horsmẽ rangyng ouer ỹ feldes & playnes belongyng to their enemies, seyng all thinges quiet, returned to their kyng and certified him that now was the tyme moost apte & cõuenient to inuade the realme & set on the English nacion. Then ỹ Scottysh kyng marching toward England with all his puyssaũce, first proclaymed openly, that al such should only be pardoned that would take part and submit theim selfes to Richard duke of Yorke, and fight in his cause and quarell. And to thentent to appalle and daunte the hartes of the poore commons, so that for very feare they should be enforced and compelled to submit them selfes to this newe founde Mawmet, they made so cruell and deadly warre, that not lyke men, whose nature is to be satisfied with the slaughter of men, and to be mercifull to the impotent and sycke persons, brent tounes, spoyled houses and kylled mẽ and children, and allected with the swetnes of spoyle & prayes, wasted al the countrey of Northumberlãd, and had gone foorth farther, but that they perceaued no aide or succoure to come out of Englande to attende vpon this newe duke. And the souldiours beynge fully laden with blood and spoyle, refused to go one foote farther at that tyme, & the countrey roase on euery parte, whiche made the kynge suspecte some army to approche. Wherfore he determined rather to retourne with his assured gaine, then to tary the nuncupatiue dukes vnsure and vncerteine victory, and so he reculed again into Scotland.

It is a woride to remember in this place of a certein kynde of ridiculous mercy and foolish cõpassion, by the which Perkyn was so sore moued that yt semed hym to regarde nothyng more then the commodite of another man. For wile the Scottish kyng thus vexed & haryed ỹ poore inhabitaũtes on the borders of Northũberland, so ỹ nothing was heard but roring, wepyng and lamentyng. This newe inuented duke beyng returned into Scotland, euen lyke him selfe, which wrought all thynge w̃ fraude and deceyte, perceauyng that no concurse nor resorte of Englishmen shewed theim selfes in opẽ apparaunce to ministre to him aide or succour, and fearing not a lytle that the boxe of his crafty dealyng, & bagge of his secrete coũtrefeatyng should be eluedate & set in an open glasse, by reason wherof he should be floccipended and had in cõtempt & disdeygne of the Scottish people, as though he had bene theruto prouoked by a naturall inclinacion and paternal pitie (to thentent to hide and palliate his subtyl subornacion) cryed out openly, Oh, my stony & heard frosen harte which arte not once moued nor yet afflicted w̃ the losse and slaughter of so many of thyne awne naturall subiectes & vassales. And at that glorious sighynge, he beseched the Scottish kyng that frõ thẽce foorth he wouldе not afflicte and plage his people, nor deforme and deface his naturall realme and countrey with such terrible fyer, flame and hauocke. As who woulde saye, that he beynge ouercome w̃ the perfight loue of his natiue region, beganne nowe to haue compassion and to lament the cruell destruccion of thesame. The Scottish kynge whiche beganne to perceaue whiche waye the wynde blewe answered him againe, Sir me thinketh you take much peyne, and very much imagen howe to preserue the realme of another prince which is not youres (but I think you would gladly haue it) but my mynd geueth me that you be as farre from the obteygnyng thesame, as you be nere the soyle and aspect of the countrey, considerynge that you cal England your land and realme, and thinhabitauntes therof your people and subiectes, and yet not one mã, neither gentle man nor yoman will once shewe hym selfe to aide or assist you in ỹ warre begonne for your cause & in your name win your realme to the which you be both (as you saye) inheritoure, and by your people accercited and vocated vnto. And so the kyng reproued the lightnes of this younge fond foundelyng, and euery day more and more neglected and lesse phan-

tesied and gaue credite to him, nothyng well and wisely ỹ neyther his woordes, with his deedes, not the sequele of factes with his promises were neither agreable nor consonant.

The nobles inhabitynge in the north partes herynge the clamour of the common people, and perceauynge that they fled to aduoyde the cruelte of ỹ Scottes, were sodeinly abassbed and fortefied their holds and manned their fortresses ready to defend their enemies, laing embushementes in ỹ waies, where they imagened ỹ there enemies would resorte. And wout delay certified the kyng of ỹ Scottes inuasion & entreprice. The kyng was not a lite abashed at this sodeyne chaūce, & pricked also w̄ his awn domestical busines, not alonely fearig his outward enemies but also his awne nobles & naturall subiectes least any of them would steppe from him to theother parte, and put him to farther trouble & vexacion. Wherefore, assone as he heard these newes, considering the matter to be of no small importaunce and mete to be vigilantly forsene, with all diligence prepared opportune remedies to resist and withstand ỹ first brunt of so great a sourge newely begonne. But the sodeine retreyte of the Scottes agayne assuaged all the Englishe mennes swift acceleracions and spedy prouisions: For when thei were once laden with prayes and spoyles, they returned home agayne or thenglishmē coulde assemble together.

¶ THE. XII. YERE.

WHen the king was truly certefied ỹ the Scotishe kyng was returned, he geuing praise to his captaines and other inhabiting on the bordures of his realme, whiche had duly and truly serued him at that time, did desiste and leaue of for to occurre and repugne the malicious inuasions of the Scottishe king. And yet fearing least his enemies should be encouraged and inflated with this great gaine of spoyles and prayes, he determined by dent of swerde and mortall warre to reuenge and reforme the manifest iniurie and apparaunt wrong to him by kyng Iames and his people done and committed. Wherefore he assemblynge his court of parliament, declared the cause of the instant warre, and what remedy he hym selfe had inuented and deuised, persuadynge with many strong argumentes and reasons inuincible, that it shoulde be for the profite and vtilite of the publique and common wealthe to prosecute and folowe ỹ warre by his mortall enemies begonne and attempted. To this opinion all his nobilitee (whiche were no lesse offended with this proude bragg of the Scottish nacion then he hym selfe) dyd wyllingly agree & gladly assent. And to the maintenaunce of the warre and towarde the charges of thesame, a certeine subsedy and taxe of money was with one assent by the whole parliament liberally & frely geuen & graunted: Which payment although it was but easy and small, yet many of the cōmon people which euer abhorre such taxes and exaccions, grudged sore to paye thesame.

At this parliament also and conuocacion, ther was certeyne lawes, acts and statutes confirmed & made, as were thought moost necessary and expedient for the publique weale of the realme. And thus the kyng dissolnynge his court of parliament, prepared for warre out of hand. In this meane ceason the kynge of Scottes not slepinge hys matters because he perceaued well that the Englishmen wold shortely reuenge theyr losse and harme, with no lesse diligence gathered an hoost & physsant army, that either he might withstand and resist the English powre inuadyng his realme & countrey, or els of freshe entre vpō the bordres: and goyng foorth, spoyle, robbe and make hauoke ageyne. And so these twoo valiaunt princes mynded nothing lesse the one to hurt and preiudice theother. But the kyng of England sore pricked and woūded with the iniurie to him committed, was so sore moued against the Scottysh kyng, that he would not procrastinate nor deferre one houre tyl he were reuenged. And so prepared a puissaunt and vigorious army to inuade Scotland, and therof ordeyned for cheuetayne Gyles lord Dawbeney his chiefe chamberleyn, a man of no lesse wyt then pollecy & of no lesse pollecy then hardines.

When the lord Dawbeney had his army assembled together and was in his iourney forward

ward into Scotlande, he sodeinly was stayed and reuoked agayne, by reason of a newe sedicion and tumult begonne within the realme of England for the subsedy whiche was graunted at the last parliament for the defence of the Scottes with all diligence and celeritee, whiche of the moost parte was truely satisfied and payde. But the Cornish men inhabityng the least parte of the realme, and thesame sterile and without all fecunditee, compleyned and grudged greatly affirmyng that they were not hable to paye suche a greate somme as was of them demaunded. And so, what with angre, and what with sorowe, forgettynge their due obeysaunce, begonne temerariously to speake of the kyng him selfe. And after leuyng ȳ maner, lamentyng, yellyng, & cryyng maliciously, sayd, that the kyngs coũsayll was the cause of this polling and shauing. And so beyng in this rage menaced to death the auctlioures (as they imagened) of this myschiefe and sorowe, whome thei threatened shortely to dispatche out of this worlde. And so beyng in aroare. ii. of thesame affinitee, ȳ one Thomas Flamocke gentleman, learned in the lawes of the realme, and theother Mighell Ioseph a smyth, mẽ of high courages & stoute stomackes, toke vpon theim to be captaynes of this vngracious flocke and sedicious company. And although thei perceaued their cõpany to be accensed & inflamed ẅ fury & malice ynough, yet to augmẽt & encreace their madnes, thei cast oyle & pitche into a fyre & ceased not to prouoke & prick theim forward like frantique persons to more mischiefe eryenge out openly & pronouncynge ȳ it was shame (for a smal cõmocion made of ȳ Scottes, which was asswaged & ended in a moment for they thought poore folishe and ignoraunt fooles, ȳ al tunges was ended and asswaged whẽ it was euẽ at the whottest & most feruent) thei should be exacted and polled, and suche great exaccions layed vpon their necks, and especially on ȳ Cornishmen, which thei affirmed to bee but poore men, and being in a sterile & vnfruitefull countrey gate their lyuyng hardly by mining and digging tynne and metall oute of the grounde both day and night labouryng and turmoylyng. And therefore they had rather dye and suffre extreme punyshment, then lyue in suche calamitee and wretchednes. And they laide the faulte and cause of this exaccion to Ihon Morton Archebyshop of Cauntourbury, and Sir Reignold Breye, because they were chefe of the kinges preuy coũsayll. Suche rewardes haue thei that be in great auctlioritie ẅ kings & princes. For yf any thing succede well accordinge to the mynd & pleasure of the commynaltie, that is euer referred & gratified to the kyng or gouernour. But contrariwise, yf any thing be done, either by chaunce or by councell that soundeth not well in their eares, or is contrary to their opinion or fantesy, they will laye it streight to the councell sayynge that they haue persuaded him to do this & that. Therfore if all men woulde well remembre and diligently pondre in their myndes what is the reward and guerdone, fewe would labour & affecteously desyre to moũte so high, or aspyre to that place of dignitee. But now to the mattre.

These capiteynes exhorted the common people to put on harneys, & not to be afearde to folowe theim in this quarell, promisyng theim that they shoulde do no damage to any creature, but only to se ponyshement and correccio done to such persons which were the auctliours & causers that the people were molested and vexed with such vnreasonable exaccions and demaũds. And if they perceaued any person (as they espied many in dede) which dyd impugne and reproue their mad, vnreasonable and sedicious councell, affirmyng that it was the lyghest poynct of madnes for a mã to put his life in hasard for that thing, which he ought mekely and humbly to requyre and desyre of his prince and souereigne lorde, then they called theim dastardes, fooles, & cowardes, & taunted & rebuked theim with most shamefull reproches, & contumelious inueccions. So these vnhappy capiteynes nothinge more desyred then to bringe their flock & them selues to small perdicion & vttre confucion. With these braggyes & mocyons a great part of the people were elevate and encouraged, and condescended to do as the capiteynes & the moost multitude would agree and appoynct. Then the capiteynes preysinge muche the hardynes of the people, when all thinges were prepared mete for their vnfortunate iourney, set forward with their army, & came to Tawnton, where they slewe the prouost of peryn which was one of the

commissioners of the subsedy, & from thence came to welles, & so entending to go to London where the kynge then so iourned.

When the kynge was aduertised by his collectours, and officiers, of all these doynges, and attemptes, he was meruelously astōned, & especially because at that one tyme he was ennyroned with double warre, both externe and intestyne. And because perell dyd depende on bothe, he was in great doubte which of both he should moost regarde. And as he was musynge of this mattre, he was asserteyned that Iames Twichet lord Awdeley and diuerse other of the nobilitee were associate with the Cornishemen, and were in great hast and no good spede marching towarde London. The kyng perceauyng the cyuile warre to approche & drawe nerer & nerer, almost to his very gates, determined with all his whole powre to resist and represse thesame. And after that tumult appeased & suppeditate, he would ẇ all expedicion set vpon Scotlād. Wherfore he reuoked agayn the lord Dawbeney which as you haue heard, was with a puyssaunt army goyng into Scotland, whose army he encreaced and multiplied with many picked and freshe warryers, that he might ẏ better, and with lesse laboure ouercome these rebelles. Also mystrustynge that the Scottes myght nowe (hauynge good opportunitie seynge him troubled with this ciuile discorde) inuade the realme agayne, and so spoyle, robbe, violate and destroye the borderers, he appoincted the lord Thomas Hawarde Earle of Surrey, a puissaunt and polletyké capyteyne (whyche was taken prisoner at the ouerthrowe of kyng Rycharde as you haue hearde, and after set at libertie, and within two yeres next after was made high treasourer of Englande after the deathe of Ihon Lorde Dynham) to gather abonde of men in the countye palantine of Durham, and they with the aide and helpe of the inhabitauntes adioynynge and the borderers, to driue out and expell the Scottes from of ẏ borders yf they should fortune agayne to inuade, vntyll such time ẏ the Cornyshemen beyng subdued and pacefied (whiche he thought easy to be done) he might sende to theim the forsaide lorde Dawbeney again ẇ all his powre & army. When the nobles of the realme heard of this tumulteous busynes & terrible cōmocion, they came to London euery mā with as many mē of warre as thei could put in aredines to aide ẏ kyng yf nede should be: In the which company, there was the erle of Essex, ẏ lord Mongey with diuerse other.

At this tyme and ceason, Charles the French kyng returnynge from ẏ warres ẏ he had at Napels, sent ambassadoures to enforme the king of the prosperous successe and victorye that he had obteined in Italye, and gaue to theim in charge to desyre of the kyng of England nothing so muche as the contynuaunce of his amitie and fauoure towarde their master and souereigne lord. For the French kyng sore desyred to continue in perfight peace & amitie ẇ the kyng of England. And not without a cause, for he had so vexed and combred him selfe and his people with such Italian snares & craftie engines, out of ẏ which at this day beyng the yere of your lord a thousand. v.C.xliiii. his successors cannot cleane be ryd, and delyuered.

When ẏ king was enformed ẏ kyng Charles orators were come to Calys, he sent certeine of his nobilitie, honorably to receaue theim, & so to cōueigh theim to Douer, & there for a pollecy to make their abode tyl the rebellion were extinct and suppressed, and not one woorde therof to be sounded in the eares of the ambassadours: Which commaundement was circumspectly kept and obserued.

And now ẏ Cornyshmen departyng frō Welles (where thei receaued their chiefe capiteyne, Iames lord Audeleigh) went to Salsbury, & from thence to Winchester, and so to Kent, where they looked for helpe, but they were deceaued in their expectacion. For the erle of Kent, George lord of Burgeiny, Ihon brooke lord Cobham, Sir Edward pownynges, Sir Richard Guldeforde, Sir Thomas Burchier, Ihon Peche, Wyllyam Scott & a great nombre of people were not only prest and ready to defende the countrey from all mischiefe and destruccion, but also bent and determined to fighte and combate with suche as would not be obedient to their naturall souereigne lord, and to his lawes and preceptes. Also ẏ kentysh men them selues, partely remembryng that other commocions haue bene to their

 dammage

dammage and great hindreaunce, and partely beyng vnder the defence of their nobilitie, as vnder the Erle and other, would not so much as come nere to the rebelles, nor yet either make coũtenaũce or once speake to any of theim, to thentent that the kynge shoulde in no wise conceaue any poynct of vntruth or treason in the poorest of theim. Whiche thynge so appalled and dismayed the hartes and courages of many of the brute and rurall Cornishmen (whiche seynge theim selues deceaued and defrauded of their chiefe hope and succours and fearynge the euell chaunce that might happen to them) that thei to saue them selfes fled preuely in the night from their awne company and cõpaignõs. The capitaynes of the rebelles perceaunyng they coulde haue no aide of ỹ Kentish people, putting their only hope to their powre and fortitude (for surely they were men of great strength, & of no lesse force then valiaunt courage) brought them to Black hethe. iiii. myles frõ Londõ, and there in a playne vpon the top of an hill they ordred their battailes, eyther ready to fight with the kyng if he woulde assayle theim, or elles to assaulte and beate the citee of London: For they thought verely ỹ the king was so afraied of their puissaunce, ỹ he minded nothing lesse then to encountre with their armie. And therefore being enflamed with arrogancy, nothyng mystrustyng, but formely beleuynge ỹ the victory was sure in their handes, they determyned to entre into the cytee of London and to assaute the towre, wherin the king (as thei thought) had preuely enclosed hym selfe. But kynge Henry wrought cleane contrary to their mynde and expectacion, for he neuer thought to geue theim battaile tyll he had theim farre from their domesticall habitacions and natiue region, so that they should be out of all hope of aide and comforte. And when they were with their long and tedious iourney wered and tyred, and that their furye were somewhat asswaged and fell to repentaunce of their mad commocion and frantike progressiõ, then he woulde in some place conuenient for his purpose, circumuent & enuyron theim to his auauntage and their destruccion as he did in dede afterward. In the meane ceason there was great feare thorough the citee & cryes were made, euery man to harneys, to harneys, some ranne to the gates, other mounted on the walles, so that no parte was vndefended, and continuall watche was kept by the magestrates of the citee least the rebelles being poore and redy woulde dissende from their campe and inuade the cytee and spoyle, and robbe the riches and substaũce of the marchaũtes. But the kyng deliuered and purged their hartes out of this feare, for after ỹ he perceaued that the Cornishmen were all the daye ready to fight and that vpon the hill, he sent streight thon Earle of Oxforde, Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, Edmond de la Poole earle of Suffolke, and sir Ryes app Thomas, and Sir Romfrey Stanley noble warryers with a great company of archers and horsmen to enuyron the hill on the right syde & on the left, to thentent ỹ all bywayes beyng stopped & forclosed, all hope of flight should be taken from theim: And incontinent, he being as wel encouraged with manly stomacke & desire to fight as furnished w a populous army & copie of artillery, set forward out of the cytee & encãped hym selfe in Sainct Georges felde where he the frydaye at nyght then lodged.

Black hethe felde.

On the saturday in the mornynge, he sent the Lorde Dawbeney with a greete compaignye to set on theim early in the morenyng, which fyrst gate the bridge at Detforde Strande whiche was manfully defended by certeyne archers of the rebelles, whose arowes as is reported were in length a full yarde. While the erles set on theim on euery syde, the lorde Dawbeney came into the felde with his cõpany, & wout longe fightyng the Cornyshmen were ouercome, but first they tooke the lord Dawbency prisoner. & whether it were for feare or for hope of fauoure, they let hym go at librety wout any hurt or detrinent. There were slain of ỹ rebelles whiche fought & resisted. ii. thousand mẽ & moo & iiiC prisoners an infinite nõbre, & emõgest theim ỹ black smyth & chiefe capiteins which shortely after were put to death. This Mighell Ioseph, surnamed ỹ black smyth one of ỹ capteins of this donge hill & draffe sacked ruffians, was of such stowte stomack & haute courage, ỹ at thesame time ỹ he was drawen on the herdle toward his death, he sayd (as men do reporte) that for this myschenous and facinorous acte, he should haue a name perpetual and a fame permanent and immortal. So (you may perceaue) that desire and ambicious cupidite of vaine glorie and

and fame, enflameth, and encourageth aswel poore and meane persones, as ỹ hartes of great lords and puyssaunt princes to trauayle & aspire to thesame. Some affirme ỹ the kyng appoyncted to fight with the rebelles on the Monday, and anticipating the tyme by pollecie set on theim vpon the Saturday before, being vnprouided and in no arraye of battaile, and so by that pollecy obteyned the felde and victory.

When this battaile was ended, the kyng wanted but. iii. C. of all his company that were slayne at that present conflicte. Also the capiteynes apprehended & taken he pardoned, sauyng the chiefe capiteynes & firste auethors of that mischiefe, to whome he woulde neither shewe mercy nor lenity. For he caused the lord Audeleigh to be drawē from Newgate to the Towre hil in a cote of his awne armes peinted vpon paper, reuersed and al to torne, & there to be behedded ỹ. xxviii. day of Iuyn. And Thomas Flamock and Myghell Ioseph he commaunded after the fassyō of treytours to be drawen, hāged and quartered, & their quarters to be pytched on stakes, & set vp in diuerse places of Cornewhale, ỹ their sore punyshemētes and terrible executions for their treytorous attemptes and foolish hardy enterprices, might be a warning for other herafter to absteyne from committing lyke cryme & offence. But because he was certified that their countrey men beynge at home in Cornewale were by this skourge litle mollefied or quieted, & were ready to moue againe and begynne newe commocions and conspiracies, yf any vngracious or euell mynded person would either moue or pricke theim forwarde, he turned his purpose and caused theim to be set vp in London and other places, least that by such meanes he should wrappe him self in more trouble at that tyme when he went about with all his witt and councell to represse and assuage all domesticall and ciuile sedicion, to thentēt that he might the more seriously and intentifely set forward a puissaunt army agaynst the braggyng and vnfaithfull Scottes, beyng content at that time, that fortune had so smyled on his syde.

¶ THE. XIII. YERE.

WHile this busines was thus handled in England, the king of Scottes beynge certefied of it by his espialles, and that there was none army reysed in England either to withstād his powre or destroy his countrey, and herynge also that kyng Henry and his nobles were vexed and sore troubled with the commocion of the Cornyshemen, and in a ciuile discorde and dissencion emongest theimselfes: Wherfore he thought it necessary to anticipate the warre before hand. For wel he knewe that assone as kyng Henry had subdued and ouerturned his aduersaries, that he would with his whole puissaunce inuade his realme and dominions: And therfore he inuaded the frontiers of the realme of England wastynge the countrey, burnyng the townes and murtheryng the people, sparing neither place nor person. And while his light horsmen were ridyng to forrage and destroye the byshoprick of Durham and there burned all about, he with another company went about to expugne and assaute the castell of Norham standyng on the ryuer of Twede, which deuideth England and Scotland. The byshop of Durham which at that time was Richard Foxe, had well furnyshed it both with men and munitions, vigilantly forseyng and imagenyng that the Scottish kyng (assone as he knewe that there was ciuile discorde and vnnatural warre moued win the realme of England,) would with all his powre inuade and harrythe borders and coūtreys adioynyng to his land. This Richard Foxe was before called bishop of Excetter, and for his singuler vertues and great graultie was after that made bishop of Bathe and Welles, and last of all promoted and exalted to the bishoprick of Durham.

The bishop from tyme to tyme aduertised ỹ kyng of all thinges that there chaunced (which then was at Londō) and sent in al post-hast to the Earle of Surrey to come to reskewe, which was then in Yorkeshire and had collected a great army and a warlike compaigny. When the earle heard of these newes, he perceauyng that all thinges were not voyde of ieopardy, made no louge tariyng, but w̄ all diligence marched forward and after him folowed other noble

noble mẽ oute of all quarters of ỹ North, euery one bringyng as many as they coulde gather for the defence of their naturall countrey and region. Emõgest whome the chiefe rulers and leaders were these whose names ensue.

Raufe earle of Westmerland.
Thomas lord Dacres.
Raufe lord Neuell.
George lord Straunge.
Richard lord Latyner.
George lord Lumley.
Ihon lord Scrope.
Henry lord Clifford.
George lord Ogle.
William lord Conyers.
Thomas lord Darcy.

Of knyghtes.

Thomas Baron of Hylton.
Sir William Percy.
Sir William Boulmer.
Sir William Gascoyne.
Sir Raufe Bygod.
Sir Raufe Bowes.
Sir Thomas a Parr.
Sir Raufe Elerker.
Sir Ihon Constable.
Sir Ihon Ratclyffe.
Sir Ihon Sauell.
Sir Thomas Strangueys.

with many other well proued and warlike men, whiche although in degree they were not peregall with these great lordes and knyghtes, yet in manhoode and pollecyes of warre and valiaunte courage, they were to theim in all feactes equiualent. The nõbre was lytle lesse then. xx. thousand men, besyde the nauie, wherof the lorde Brooke was Admyrall.

When the Scottes had dyuerse dayes assauted and beaten the Castell of Norham to the no lytle detryment and dammage therof, and could make no batrye to entre into thesame, they determined of their awne minde to reyse their siege and returne, and that so muche the sooer because they heard saye that the Earle of Surrey was within. ii. dayes iourney of theim with a great puissaũce. Wherfore king Iamy thought it to small purpose to tary any lenger in besegyng the castell, reysed his siege and returned into his awne realme: When the Earle knewe of the kynges retourne, he folowed after ẅ all hast possible, trustyng surely to ouertake him and to geue hym battayle.

When the erle was entred Scotland, he prostrated and defaced the castle of Cawdrestenes. The towre of Hetenhall, The towre of Edington, The towre of Fuldē: and he sent Norrey kyng at armes to the capiteine of Hayton Castell, whiche was one of the strongest places betwene Berwyke and Edynborough, to delyuer him the castel, which he denied to do, affirming that he was sure of spedy succours and swift aide. The erle perceauyng the denial, layed his ordinaunce to the castel, and contynually bet it from two of the clocke till. v. at nyght, in suche wise that they within rendred vp, the fortresse, their lyues only saued. And when ỹ erle had receaued the Scottes, he with his miners rased and ouerthrewe the castell to the playne grounde. The Scottishe kynge was within a mile of the siege, and bothe knewe it and sawe the smoke and yet would not once set a foote forwarde to saue or reskewe his castel. And while the Erle laye at Hayton, the kyng of Scottes sent to him Marchemount & another heraulde, desyryng him at his eleccion either to fight ẅ whole puissaunce against puissaunce, or elles they. ii. to fight person to person and hand to hand, requiring that if the victory should falle to ỹ Scottish kyng, that then the erle shoulde delyuer for his raunsome the towne of Berwyke, with the Fyshegarthes of thesame. The erle ioyously, lyke a courageous capiteyne receaued this message and made answere, that he was ready in the playne felde to abyde the battayle with his whole army, praiyng him to come forward with his puissaunce, and after that he thanked him hartely of the honoure that he offred him, for surely he thought him selfe much honoured that so noble a prince would vouchesaue to admit so poore an erle to fight ẅ him body to body, asserteining hym ferther, ỹ ỹ toune of Berwyke was the kyng his masters & not his ỹ which he neither ought nor would laye to pledge nor gage without ỹ kinges assent, but he would put his body in pledge which was more precious to him then al ỹ tounes of ỹ world, promisyng on his honour that if he toke the kyng prisoner in ỹ singaler combate, ỹ he would release to hym all his parte of his fyne and raun-

some, and if it chaunced the kyng to vanquishe & apprehende him, he would pay gladly such a raunsome as was mete & conuenient for the degree of an erle. And when he had rewarded & dismissed the herauldes, he set his army in a redines abiding ỹ commyng of ỹ kyng of Scottes and so stoode all daye. But the Scottysh kyng not regardyng his offres, nor performyng his great crakes & boastes, beyng afraied to cope w̄ the Englishe nacion, shamefully & sodeinly fled in ỹ night ceason with all his powre & company. When ỹ erle knewe ỹ the kyng was reculed, & had bene in Scotland. vi. or. vii. daies beyng dayly and nightly vexed with continual wynde & vnmeasurable reyne, coulde not cause his people to contynue in that tempestious vnfertile & barayne region, with good aduise retreated again w̄ his whole army to the toune of Berwyke, & there dispersed his army euery mā into his countrey, tarying there him selfe tyll he knewe the pleasure of the kyng in furthering or protractyng the warres of Scotland: But in ỹ meane ceason one Peter Hyalas, a man of no lesse learnyng then prudēt wit and pregnant pollecy, was sent Ambassadour frō Ferdinand kyng of Speyne vnto the king of Scottes to moue & entreate a peace and an vnitie to be had betwene him & the kyng of England. For of kyng Ferdinand and Elyzabeth his wyfe (to which woman none other was comparable in her tyme) there was nothyng more desyred nor wisshed then by the coiunccion of mariage betwene Arthure prynce of Wales heyre apparaunt to kyng Henry, & lady Katheryn the daughter of kyng Ferdynand and quene Elizabeth a new affinitee & aliaunce might be knit and begonne betwene the realme of England and countrey of Speine. And also he fauoured somewhat the kyng of Scottes, for which cause he offred him selfe as a meane and mediatour of a peace betwene bothe the prynces, their territoires and dominions.

This Peter Hyalas sollicited and moued by all honest meanes & deuyces kyng Iames to assent to a vnitee & concorde, and when w̄ long sollicityng he conceaued some good hope to growe in his weighty busynes, he wrote vnto the kyng of Englād, that it would please him to send one of his nobilitie or councel to be associate with him in concluding w̄ the Scottish kyng. The kyng of England which euer (so it were not to his dishonour, hurte or detriment) was not onely a louer of peace, but also a norisher and a furtherer of amity and quietnes, & specially at this time when he was vexed with the ciuile sedicion of his awne propre shepe and flocke, cōmitted the charge of this weighty matter to Richard Fox Bishop of Durham, whiche laye on Thenglish borders in his castell of Norham. The bisshop accordynge to the kynges appointment went honorably into Scotland, where he and Peter Hyalas at ỹ towne of Iedwoorth reasoned with the Scottish commissioners as cōcernyng this peace to be had. Sixe hundred cōdicions were purposed on the one parte and theother, but after lōge protracting of time & much debating and arguing, not one was accepted nor allowed, And one thing aboue all other dasbed the whole treatie: For kynge Henry instantly required to haue Perkyn Warbeck the founteyne and chiefe cause of all this tumult and vnquietnes, the perturber of him and his whole realme: But the kyng of Scottes fermely denyed to cōsent to any article that might sounde to his reproche or dishonour. And also he now began to smell and sauour the iuggelyng & false countrefeatyng of his new gest Perkyn Warbeck. Yet because that Perkyn was alied to him by the holy sacrament of matrimony, he thought it both vnhonest, vnreasonable & vnnatural to betreye his alye & deliuer him to death & cōfusiō. Wherfore when they had reasoned ỹ matter & diuerse other vrgent & weighty causes by diuerse daies of metyng, & ỹ for ỹ contrarietie of opinions, no ferme peace could be cōcluded. In steade of peace, a truce was *cōcluded for* certeine yeres vpon condiciō ỹ Iames kyng of Scottes should conuey Perkyn Warbeck out of his realme, seigniories and dominions.

While these thinges were reasoned & at ỹ last cōcluded in the cōfines of England & Scotlād, kyng Hēry caused ỹ ambassadoures of ỹ Frēch kyng, to be brought to his presence, & he theim receaued w̄ al benignitee which as it is shewed before were stopped at Douer of their iourney vntyll such time ỹ the insurreccion of the Cornish men were suppressed and extinguished. And with the like entreteinement he embraced at ỹ very ceason ỹ lord of Camphire

phire and other Orators of Philip archeduke of Austrich & duke of Burgoyne, cōmyng to him for ẏ conclusiō & cōtinuaūce of an amitie, & to haue the English marchaūtes to resorte to their countrey agayn, which frō thence before were prohibited & forbyddē. Whiche request being verie agreable to ẏ quietnes & tranquilitee of his realme, & especially at ẏ time, he did fauourably graunte & benyngly assent vnto. And so beyng confederate & alied by treatie & league ẇ al his neighbours marching on euery side of his realmes & regions, he gratefied ẇ his moost hartie thanks kyng Ferdinand & the quene his wife, for ẏ they were the mediators, organes & instrumentes by the which the truce was concluded betwene the Scottish kynge and him, and rewarded Peter the ambassadoure moost liberally and bountefully.

So the Englishemen resorted again into the Archedukes dominiōs and were receaued into Andwarp with generall procession, so glad was the toune of their returnyng, whiche was by their absence sore hindered and empouerished at the time that this vnitie and concorde was made, whiche was ẏ yere of our lord a thousand. iiii. C. lxxxxviii. & ẏ xiii. yere of kyng Henryes reigne.

The English merchauntes receaued into Andwarp wt general procession.

Iames the kyng of Scottes seynge that he nowe perceaued howe he was by Perkyn manifestly deluded, accordyng as he had feithfully promised, so he nowe duly performed it. For he callynge to his presence theforsayde Perkyn Warbecke, declaryng to hym what benefites & cōmodities he had receaued of his princely liberalitie & gentlenes, gentely requiring him to departe out of ẏ realme into some other countrey where he might make his abode more surely and more quietly, vntil such tyme as fortune would prouide a more prosperous winde to set forwarde ẏ sayles of his purpose & desire, declaring vnto him ẏ he cōpelled in maner by necessitee had cōcluded a league & cōcorde ẇ ẏ kyng of Englād, & by ẏ treatie, the refuge that he should haue had of him and his coūtrey was not onely to him prohibited and forbidden, but also it was agreed & condiscended that neither the kyng of Scottes, nor any by his procurement or in his name should make warre on the king of England, whiche warre he gladly tooke in hand for Perkins sake, hauyng sure confidēce & perfight trust to haue bene aided and assisted ẇ Perkyns frendes in England. But when he perceaued ẏ al was in vayne & ẏ al his wordes were but wynd, he exhorted him not to be displeased to departe, least his tarlyng might be to him a detrimēt and a breakyng of the treatie betwene hym & kyng Henry lately concluded, wherfore with many fayre wordes he desyred hym to departe. This Perkyn knowyng the kinges pleasure was very sore amased, seyng there was no helpe to be loked for herafter in Scotland. Albeit remēbryng the great benefites which he had receaued hertofore of the Scottysh kyng, which he thought him self neuer hable to requite and deserue, that he might not seme to hym ingrate or not wyllynge to folowe his desyre, he was content at his intercession to departe. And shortly after sayled into Irelād with his wife & family, there determining ẇ him selfe either to sayle into Flaunders to ẏ duches of Burgoyne, or to ioyne and take parte with the Cornyshmen. But howe so euer it was, while he laye in Ireland doubtyng what to do, he had intelligence by certeyne messengers that the Cornyshmen for all their disconfiture and plage not to be appeased, but sore to grudge and murmoure against kynge Henry, and that they were prone and ready to renue the warre agayne the kynge and the prynce: Where he not entendyng to forsake so faire an occasion so manifestly offred, he hauing with him. iiii. smal shippes & not aboue. vi. skore men. sayled into Cornewale and there landed in the moneth of September and came to a toune called Bodman, and there dyd so sollicite, prouoke and stirre the mutable & waueryng people, what with fayre woordes and large promises that he gathered to hym aboue thre thousand persones whyche immediately called hym their capiteyne, and sayde that they would take his part and folowe hym to the death, and in al thinges obey his preceptes and commaundementes.

Then Perkyn was well encouraged and made proclamacions in the name of kyng Richard the. iiii. as sonne to kyng Edward that last died. And by the aduise of his. iii. councellers, Ihon Heron mercer a banquerupt, Richard Scelton a tayler and Ihon Astely a Skreuener, men of

more dishonestie then of honest estimacion, determined first of all to assaulte and beate all walled and stronge townes and fortresses, and theim to receaue into his possession and seignyorie for his farther securitee and defence: And that entreprice achened, then he wouldc augmēt his hoost and marche forwarde against all persones that durst once offre theim selfes to withstand hym.

When he and his imprudent counsayll were fully resolued on this poincte and conclusion, they in good ordre went streight to Excetter, which was the next citee that he coulde approche to, and beseged it, and because he lacked ordinaūce to make a battrye to rase & deface ȳ walles he studied all the weyes possible how to breake and infrynge the gates, and what with casting of stones, heuyng with yron barres & kyndeling of fier vnder the gates, he omitted nothing ȳ could be deuised for ȳ furtherauunce of his vngracious purpose. The cytezens perceauing their towne to be enuyronned with enemies and lyke to be enflamed, beganne at ȳ first to be sore abashed, and let certeyn messengers by cordes downe ouer the walle whiche should certefie ȳ kyng of all their necessitee & trouble. But after that, takyng to theim lusty heartes and manly courages they determined to repulse fyer by fier, & caused faggottes to be brought to ȳ inward part of the portes and posternes and set theim all on fier, to thentent ȳ the fier being enflamed on bothe the sydes of the gates, might aswel exclude their enemies from entryng, as include ȳ citezens frō ronnyng or fliyng out, and ȳ they in the meane ceason might make treuches and rāpayres to defende their enemies in stede of gates and Bulwerkes. Thus all the doynges and attemptes of the rebellious people had euell succesee in their first entreprise: And thus by fyer the citee was preserued from flame and burnynge. Then Perkyn beyng of very necessitee compelled to leaue the gates, assaulted ȳ toune in diuerse weake and vnfortefied places, and set vp laders, attempting to clime ouer the walles and to take the cytee, thinkyng suerly to compell the cytezens either by feare or lacke of succoure to rendre theim selfes and yelde the toune. But the cytezens nothing so mynded, so courageously lyke valaūt chāpions defended ȳ walles, that they slewe aboue. ii.C. of his sedicious souldiours at this assaute.

Assone as the messengers of Excetter came to the kyngs presence and shewed their instruccions, he hasted with his hoost towarde Excetter w asmuch hast as the graueitie of the cause did require & expostulate. And sent the lord Dawbeny with light horsmen before to certefie all men of his commyng at hand. But in the meane ceason lord Edward Corteney erle of deuonshire & lord William his sonne, a man of great force & valiantnes, accompanied with Sir Edmond Carewe, sir Thomas Trenchard, sir William Courteney, sir Thomas Fulforde, sir Ihon Halewel, sir Iho Croker, Water Courteney, Peter Egecōbe, Willia Sētuaure, with all spede came into the cytee of Excetter and holpe the citezens, and at the last assaute the Erle was hurte in the arme with an arowe, and so were many of his company, but very fewe slayne.

When Perkyn with his lewde capiteyns sawe ȳ the citee of Excetter was so well fortefied bothe with men and municions, and of theim in maner impregnable, fearynge the sequele of this matter, departed from Excetter with his lowsy army to the next great toune called Tawnton, and there the xx. daye of September he mustered his men as though he were ready to fight, but his nōber was sore minished. For when the pore and nedy people sawe the great defence whiche was made at Excetter, & that no men of honour nor yet of honestie drewe to hym, contrary to the promes and assurance made by hym and his cōcelers to theim at the begyunyng, they with drewe theim selfes by sondry secret compaignyes from him, in prouidyng their awne sauegarde. Which thinge when Perkyn perceaued, he put small trust and lesse confidence in the remnant of his army, as afterward dyd appere, because the moost parte of his souldioures wer harnessed on the right arme and naked all the body, and neuer exercised in warre nor marciall feates but only with the spade and shouell.

When the kynge heard he was gone to Tawnton, he hastened after him with al spede. Thether came to the king Edward duke of Buckyngham, a yonge prince of a greate courage and of a synguler good witt, and him folowed a great compaignie of noble men,

knightes and Esquyers, prepared and redy with all thinges necessary for the felde and battayle. Emongest which nomber was sir Alexäder Baynham, Sir Mawrice Berkeley, Sir Robert Tame, Sir Ihon Guyse, Sir Robert Poyntz, sir Hēry Vernon, Sir Ihon Mortimer, Sir Thomas Tremayle, Sir Edward Sutton, Sir Amise Pawlett, Sir Ihon Byckenel, Sir Ihon Sapcotes, Sir Hugh Luttereil, Sir Fraunces Cheyney and many other knyghtes, esquyers and valyaunte personages. When the kynge approched nere to the toune of Tawnton, whether he woulde not deterre and put of the battayle, or whether he doubtynge the turne of fortunes whele, sent before hym Robert lord Brooke lorde Stuarde of his house, Gyles lord Dawbēney his chiefe chamberlayn, and Sir Rice app Thomas, to set on his enemies and begynne the battaile, & he with his powre folowed, to thentent that when the armies couped & ioyned together, he either should ẅ newe succours refresh his awne army or elles set on the backe of his enemies or they coulde espie him. Albeyt the kyng had no great nede to vse suche pollecy yf he had knowen what sequele had ensued. For assone as Perkyn was enformed ẏ his enemies were ready to geue him battayle, he that nothynge lesse mynded then to fight in open felde with the kynges puissaunce, dissimuled all ẏ day time ẅ his company, as though nothing coulde make him afeard, & about mydnight beyng accompanyed with lx. horsmen departed frō Tawnton in post to a sanctuary toune besyde Southhampton called Beaudeley, & there he & Ihon Heron & other registred theim selfes as persones priuileged. But whether Perkyn dyd this for feare, least his men shoulde forsake hym, or for the cowardenes of his awne tymorous courage, it is asmuch vncerteyne, as it is probable & sure that the kynge tooke by hys flight greate commoditee & quietnes, by reason ẏ he was enforced to fight with ẏ Cornish men, whose hartes and courages were so encreased & inflamed by deadly desperacion that they earnestly determined & were stedfastly bent either to winne victory & ouercome their enemies or elles not one of theim all to lyue any daye or houre lenger.

When kyng Henry knew ẏ Perkyn was fled & departed, he sent after him ẏ lord Dawbeney ẅ. v.C. horsmē toward ẏ see side to intercept him before he should come there. But Perkin whome ẏ matter touched at the quick, made such haste with the swiftnes of his horse & sharpenes of his spurres that he was so farre passed on his way before, ẏ no person could tell tydynges of him, before he regestred and disclosed hym selfe in the sanctuarye. But hys chiefe Capiteynes whiche fled, coulde not so craftely escape, for the moost part of theim were apprehended, & as captiues and wretches, miserably presented to the kynge. When the resydewe of the common people could neyther see Perkyn nor yet the standards nor guydehomes of their capiteynes, not knowynge where he was become, doubting whether he were fraudulently slayn or fearfully fled, wist not what councell to ask or what wayy was most surest to folowe & take. But when thei were assertened of his moost shamefull flight, euery person oppressed with this common mischiefe, common feare, and common perell, casting away their armure, submitted theim selfes to the kyng, holdyng vp their handes in askyng mercy, offeryng & promising hym, faythe, loyaltie and obeysaunce. To whome the kynge of moost gentle heart and leuytee, not only graunted perdon but receaued theim to his fauoure. And so the kynge beynge a conquerour without manslaughter or effusion of christen blood roade triumphantly into the cytee of Excetter, and there not only lauded & preised the cytezēs of Excetter, but also rēdred to them his most hartie thākes, aswell for their duety done as for their valiauntnes. And there also he afflicted and put in executiō diuerse Cornishmen which were the auctheoures and sturrers vp of this newe insurreccion and false conspiracy.

The horsmen ẏ were sent, wout any stop or obstacle in shorte space came to saint Mighelles mounte, & there (as chaunce was) found lady Katheryn Gorden wife to Perkyn and brought her streight lyke a bondewoman & captiue to the kyng. And the kyng wonderyng at her beautie and amyable countenaunce thought her a praye more mete for the chiefe captaine then for the meane souldioures, began then a lytle to phantasie her person and sent her incontinently accompanied ẅ a goodly sorte of sad matrones and gentlewomē (because she was but a youge woman) to London to the quene as a true and vndoubted token of hys triumphe & victory.

& victory. And while he reposed him selfe at Excetter, he iudged that he had nothyng wonne, nor yet plucked vp by the roote of this seditious rebellion, except he coulde get into his possession the chiefe hed and type of this pestiferous faccion and busynes. Wherfore he enuyroned the sanctuary whiche Perkyn was in, rounde aboute with. ii. companies of light horsemen, well wytted and vigelant persons, to thentent to bereue and plucke from Perkyn all hope of flight and escapynge awaye. And after that he attempted this younge foundelyng by trusty and polletique messcngers, if he hauing perdon and remission of all mischeuous and heinous offences by him done against the kyng and his realme, would gladly submyt hym selfe to the kynge and be to hym feithfull true and obedient. Perkyn beynge nowe destitute of all hope, faylynge of his dwellynge place, and lacking comforte, aide and refuge considerynge that he was nowe brought to the verie poynete and pricke of extremytee that he wist not whether nor howe to fly into any countrey for succour, and also he was in vttre despayre to haue herafter any prosperous chaunce or fortunate successe in his enterprice, because he had so often attempted and so many times had been defoyled and vanquished, wherefore he hauyng his perdon to hym offred, and trusting to the opē promes of mē of his awne will franckly and frely departed out of sanctuary and committed hym selfe to the kynges pleasure, & so by this meanes this great heate was quenched and appeased.

Then was the kyng very glad that this warre was ended, and toke his iourney imediatly towarde London, not withoute a great concourse of people metynge hym oute of euery quarter to see this Perkyn as he were a Monstre, because he beynge an alien of no abilitee by his poore parentes (although it was other wise talked and dissimuled) durst once inuade so noble a realme, and it to infecte with suche lyes and lesynges, and chiefly of all that he by his crafty subornacions had persuaded diuerse aswell noble as ignoble (not without the cōfusion and vndoing of many of theim) to beleue and saye that he was the same verey person that he feigned and peynted hym selfe to bee. But when the kynge was come to London, he appoynted certeyne kepers to attende on him whiche shoulde not (the breadth of a nayle) go from his person, to thentent that he might neyther conueigh hym selfe oute of the land, nor flye any whether, nor yet prouoked and procured by other shoulde be hable to sowe agayne no newe sedicion nor sedicious tumult within his realme & countreyes.

When these tidynges came to the lady Margarete in Flaūders that Perkin her dere darlyng had no good lucke but losse, bothe of his entreprice and her great studious furtheraunce, and was brought into captiuitee, she was not well pleased with theim, but wepte and lamented hys vnlucky spede, and cursed her infortunate chaunce.

When these thinges were brought to passe accordynge to the kynges mynde, he dyd not forget that there was no more a delectable and pleasaunt thinge, nor a larger reyne of mischiefe geuen to ŷ vulgare people, then to haue a sure hope and trust that they may offende wout any punishment or correccion: Wherfore to thentēt herafter to obserue his people in a dewe obeysaunce & filiall subieccion, he shortly caused inquiries to be made of diuerse offences. Wherupon diuerse persones aswel in somerset shire as deuonshire were accused and presented ŷ they had aided both w mē & money ŷ Cornish treytours, not only after their discōfiture in returnyng homeward, but also in their marchyng forward entēding to make battaile against ŷ kyng beyng their souereigne & liege lord. All which offēders he determined to plague & skourge according to ŷ quātitee of their crime & offēce w great fines & sore assesmētes. And therfore he cōmitted this charge to Thomas lord Darcy, to Amis Paulet knight and Robert Sherborne Deane of Paules after bishop of Chechester.

These cōmissioners like a whirlewynde tossed & perced ŷ cofers & substaūce of all the inhabitauntes of bothe the countres, to thentent ŷ no person being embrued or spotted w ŷ synke of ŷ abhominable crime, shoulde escape ŷ peyne whiche he worthly had deserued: but they were gentle & remisse to a great nōbre, & specially to such as offended by coercion & feare, rather then of malicious heart or enuious mynde. Yet were they to none so fauourable but they were thought for their defaultes worthy of some punishmēt, so that equite therin was very well and iustly executed.

¶ THE.

¶ THE. XIIII. YERE.

IN this yere a sodeyne chaunce, yc a thinge of no moment nor worthy to be regarded had almost so kyndeled agayne ỹ olde displeasure and grudge betwene king Henry & king Iames of Scotlād, ỹ they could scace kepe their hādes & bridle their courages from warre & fighting. The first mocion of this displeasure was thus: Certeine young men of ỹ Scottes came armed vnto Norhā castel & behelde it wōderous circumspectly, as though thei had bene desirous to know what was done there wīn: But when ỹ kepers of ỹ castell could not perceaue any hostilitee or dammage towardes him or his, & seyng theim departe of their awne accorde, determined it not cōueniēt to moue any questiō to theim nor once to stirre oute. But whē thei came again ỹ next day & viewed it likewyse, the kepers of thesaide castel suspectynge some fraude to lurcke in their lookynge, demaunded of theim what was their entent, & why they vewed and aduised so the castel. The Scottes euen like theim selfes, aunswered theim proudly and rustically with many disdeynfull woordes. Insomuch that after their blustering and blowing aunswers made, Thenglishmen being vexed and moued there with al, replied to theim with hard & manly strokes, and after many a sore blowe geuen and taken on bothe partes, & diuerse Scottes wounded & some slayne, the Scottes oppressed with the multitude of Thenglish people, fled as fast as their horses would carye theim. When they came home and certefied the kyng of thesame, he was therewith sore moued & angry, and sware by swete sainct Niuyan ỹ there was nothing to him more inconstant and vnstedfast then the obseruyng of the league by the kyng of England, and sent word thereof to king Henry in all hast by Marchemount his heraulde.

The kyng of England which nothing more embraced and desired then quiet tranquilitee and perfighte loue and amitie with all princes being his neyghboures and borderers, to thentent that he might lyue in his later dayes in an honest and quiet lyfe after so many laboures and vexacions euen from his infancye drawen and exercised in, made hym aunswere that it was not done through his defaulte, neither by his councell nor knowledge, but rather by the temerarious folly of ỹ kepers of the castell, requyring him for that cause not to thinke the league infringed, promising in the woorde of a kyng to enquyer of the truth and who were the malefactoures. And if ỹ offence were founde to be begone on the partie of the kepers of the castell, he assured hym that they should for no mede or fauoure eskape peyne & punishment. This aunswere although it were more then reasonable, could not mittigate or assuage the Scottes angre and outrageousnes, for the which cause, Rycharde bishop of Durham, which was more heauy then all other because that this dischorde was reneuel agayne betwene these two prynces by occasion of Castell kepers, he therfore thought it best first to assuage and coole the furious rage of the Skottyshe kynge, and wrote many letters to hym, requyrynge hym of peace and vnitie. The kynge perceauynge bothe the good will and constant grauytie of the bishop, appeased his fury and aunswered gentely to the bishops letters by writynge agayne to hym, saiyng that because he had many secret and preuy thinges in his mynde which he would communicate only with him touching the cause nowe in variaunce, he therefore requyred hym to take peyne to come into his countrey, trustynge that he should thynke his labour well bestowed. The byshop was very glad and sent woorde to the kynge his master, of kyng Iames desyre, who estemed the request and cause both iust and reasonable, and therefore willed hym to accomplishe ỹ Scottish kynges honest desyre.

When he came into Scotland, he was receaued with all humanitee that coulde be thought of the kyng him selfe at an Abbey called Mellrose. And there after that the kynge for a countenaunce had complayned muche of the crueltie and slaughter that was vsed towardes hys men late at Norham, he easely remitted the offence and perdoned it, and began secretly to cōmen without any witnesses or arbitrers nere hand with the bishop alone. And first declared

clared to him what olde & iuste causes haue moued him before this, to seke aliaūce & amitie with kyng Henry, whiche now he desyred muche more to haue confirmed & corroborate for the farther mayntenaunce of loue and encrease of frendship, which thing he doubted not, but shoulde sorte to a fortunate effect and good cōclusion, if ẏ kyng of England would vouchsafe to gene to him in matrimony his first begottē daughter ẏ lady Margaret, vpō which point he determined not lōg agone to sende his Ambassadors into Englād, which thing he would the soner do if he knew this bishops mynd & entēt ready to farther his louing purpose. The bishop aūswered but fewe wordes, sauing ẏ when he were returned to the king his master, he would do the best in ẏ matter ẏ laye in his powre. Which wordes animated much the king, & put him in good hope to sende his oratours to the king of England to sue for thesaide matrimony to be concluded.

When the bishop had taken his leaue, & was come to the king, he declared to him in ordre all the cōmunicaciō betwene king Iames & him. This request pleased the king very much, to whome peace was euer a souereygn cordiall, and determined surely to minister occasiō of warre to no man, nor woulde haue any prynce to prouoke hym to thesame.

Now began the fatall daye of the death of Perkyn Warbeck, & Edward erle of Warwicke to approche: for after this facte done & cōmitted, one fierce & strōg waue deuoured & swalowed both their lyues not long asonder, as you shal heare by ẏ cōtinuaciō of this story. Perkyn, whether it greued him to be kept inwarde, or els that he was instigated & entised by some of his olde frēdes to sturre more coles, & begin some new sedicious facciō, or at the least, because he woulde wilfully wast & cast away him selfe, studied how to escape & flye away, hauing perfight hope ẏ he should fynd occasiō to bring al thīges wel to passe, if he could cōueigh him selfe once out of the Englishmens bandes. And although he were not ignoraūt, that he neither coulde do nor ymagyn any thing but the kyng woulde bothe heare of it and knowe it. Yet he seduced ẅ hope of euasion and skapyng whiche was the chiefe cōforte of his captiuitie, had leuer put all thinges in a profe & hāsarde, rather then lēger to tollerate and suffre the present calamyte and dayly misery. And so deceauyng his kepers toke him to his heeles, by the which he brought him selfe into a streygbter custody and prison, and wrapped him selfe into tortures and punyshmentes: for when he came to the sea coastes, and had gone but a litle forwarde on his iourney, when the rumour of his flight was spreade abroade, euery by way and lane was set abroade with the kinges garde, which had ẏ custody of his body. Wherefore he beyng sore abashed ẅ the clamour of them that searched and made inquyrie for him, & being in maner destitute of wit & counsail, altered of necessite frō his pretensed iourney, & came to the house of Bethlem, called ẏ priory of Shene beside Rychemōd in Southrey, & cōmitted him selfe to the pryor of ẏ monastery, requyring him for Gods sake to aske and desire his life and perdō of the kynges maiestie. The pryor which for hys verteous qualities was had in great estimacion, moued with ẏ calamytie and infortunate state of this man, came to the kynge & shewed him of this Perkyn, whose perdon he humbly craued, & franckely obteyned it. Incontinent after thys, Perkyn was brought to the court agayne to Westmynster with many a curse and reproche, and was one daye set fettered in a payre of stockes, before the dore of Westmynster hall, and there stoode an whole daye, not without innumerable reproches mockes & skorninges. And ẏ next day was caryed thorough London, & set vpon a lyke skaffolde in Chepe by the stādard, with lyke gyues and stockes as he occupyed the daye before, and there stode al daye and red openly his awne confession written with hys awne hande, the very copy wherof hereafter ensueth.

First it is to be knowen, that I was borne in the toune of Turney in Flaunders, & my fathers name is Ihon Osbeck, which sayd Ihon Osbeck was cōptroller of the sayde toune of Turney, & my mothers name is Katheryn de Faro. And one of my grauntsires vpon my fathers side was named Diryck Osbeck which dyed, after whose death my grauntmother was maryed vnto the withinnamed Peter flāme, ẏ was receauer of the forenamed toune of Turney, & Deane of the botemen ẏ rowe vpon the water or Ryuer, called Leschelde. And my grāut-

sire

sire vpon my mothers side was Peter de Faro, whiche had in hys kepyng ỹ keyes of the gate of sainct Thons wīn the same toune of Turney. Also I had an vncle called master Ihon Stalyn, dwelling in ỹ parish of sainct Pyas within the same toune, which had maried my fathers suster, whose name was Ione or Iane, with whome I dwelled a certain ceasō. And afterward I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learne Flēmishe, in a house of a cousyn of myne, an officier of the said toune, called Ihō Stiēbeck, w̄ whome I was ỹ space of halfe a yere. And after ỹ I returned agayn to Turney, by reason of ỹ warres ỹ were in Flaūders. And wīn a yere folowing I was sent w̄ a merchaūt of ỹ sayd toune of Turney named Berlo, and his Masters name Alexāder, to the marte of Andwarpe where I fell sycke, whiche sickenes contynued vpon fyue monethes. And the sayde Barlo set me to boorde in a skinners house that dwelled beside the house of the Englishe nacion. And by him I was from thence caryed to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the olde man, where I abode the space of two monethes. And after this the sayde Barlo set me with a merchaunt of Middelborroughe too seruyce, for to learne the language, whose name was Ihon Strewe, with whom I dwelled frome Christmas tyll Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the companye of Syr Edward Bramptones wyfe in a shyppe whiche was called the quenes shippe. And when I was come thether, then I was put in seruyce to a knyghte that dwelled in Loshborne, whiche was called Peter Vacz de cogna, with whome I dwelled au whole yere, whiche sayde knyght had but one eye. And because I desyred to see other countryes, I toke lycence of him, & then I put my selfe in seruyce with a Bryton, called Pregent Meno, ỹ which brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arriued in the toune of Corke, they of ỹ toune, because I was arayed with some clothes of sylke of my saide maistres, came vnto me & threped vpō me ỹ I should be ỹ duke of Clarēce sonne ỹ was before tyme at Deuelyn. And forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto me ỹ holy euāgelist & the Crosse by ỹ Mayre of the toune, which was called Ihon le Wellen, & there in ỹ presence of him & other I toke myne othe as ỹ truth was, ỹ I was not the foresaid dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poytron, w̄ one Ihon water, & saide to me in swearing great othes that they knew wel ỹ I was kynge Rychardes bastard sonne: To whome I aūswered with like othes ỹ I was not. And then they aduysed me not to be a feardе, but ỹ I should take it vpō me boldely, and if I woulde so do they woulde aide & assist me w̄ all their powre agaynst the kyng of England, & not only they, but they were assured well ỹ the erles of Desmōd & Kyldare should do the same. For they forced not what party they toke, so ỹ they might be reuenged vpō the kyng of Englād, & so against my will made me to learne English, & taught me what I should do & saye. And after this they called me duke of Yorke, secōd sonne of kynge Edward ỹ. iiij. because kinge Rychardes bastard sonne was in ỹ hādes of the king of Englād. And vpō this ỹ said Ihō water, Stephyn Poytron, Ihon Tyler, Hughbert Burghe with many other as the forsayd Erles, entred into this false quarell. And within shorte tyme after, the French king sent an Ambassadour into Ireland, whose name was loyte Lucas, & master Stephyn Fryā, to aduertise me to come into Fraūce. And thēce I wēt into Fraūce, & frō thence into Flaūders, & frō Flaūders into Ireland, & from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

When night of the same daye, which was the. xv. day of Iuyne was come (partely because the king had perdoned him his life, & partely because he should no more ronne awaye, and put the kyng in doubt of any mistrust or misfortune to come) he was comitted to the Towre of Lōdō, where his wickednes boylinge so hoate within his cancarde stomacke woulde not suffre hym to escape the punishment & vengeaunce of God, but shortely after was moost iustly and worthely put to death, as hereafter shalbe shewed.

THE. XV. YERE.

EDward Plantagenet erle of Warwike, of whome ye haue heard before, beyng kept in the Towre almost frō his tender age, that is to saye, frō his first yere of the kyng to thys. xv. yere, out of al cōpany of mē & sight of beastes, i so much that he coulde not descerne a Goose from a Capon. And where as he by cōmen reason & open apparaūce, could not by his awne doynges seke his death & destrucciō, yēt by ỹ dryft & offence of another man, he was brought to his ende & cōfusiō. For a freer Augustyn on ỹ border of Suffolke called Patricke, to thentent to bring this erle into disdayn and hatred, had a certain skoler called Raufe Wilford, whome he greatly fauoured, & in whose hed he euer distilled & enfused this folishe & fātastical cōceipte, ỹ if he would folow his cōusail, & aduise, he would easely cōuey him to ỹ kingdom of Englād. The skoler like a good disciple, did not denye to folow his masters discipline & cōusaill but more & more desired & put his master in remembraūce to performe & accōplish ẏ all spede, ỹ thing which of his awn liberalite, he before had to him both promised & assured saiyng, what Mecoċke or dastard is so sore afeарde of trāsgressing ỹ law or tymerous of punishment; ỹ which for to obteine a kingdō will not attēpt to do, & suffre all thinges ỹ be possible to be assayed & tasted? So ỹ when they betwene thē selfes secretly had takē a crafty deliberaciō & cōusailed of their enterprice, & had deuised in their folish wittes, how it should be brought to passe, they wēt both together in to Kent (which country in auncient tyme hath not bene dul in settinge foorth of newe phantastical fantasyes) and there begaune this younge mawmet to tel preuely to many that he was the very erle of Warwike, and lately gotten oute of the Towre, by ỹ helpe of this freer Patricke. To the whiche saiynges when the freer perceaued hope to be geuen, he declared it openly in the pulpet, and desyred all men of helpe.

But the head of thys sedicion was sommer topped, that it coulde haue no tyme to sprynge any higher, the Master and the skoler beyng bothe apprehended and caste into pryson, and attaynted. Of the whiche twoo, the skoler was hanged on Shrouetuesdaye, at sayncte Thomas waterynges, and the freer was condempned to perpetuall pryson and captiuitie. For at that tyme here in Englande so much reuerence was attributed to the holy orders, that to a priest, althoughe he had committed hygh treason agaynste hys souereygne lorde and to all other, offenders in murder, rape or theft, which had receaued any of the. iii. higher holy orders, the lyfe was geuen, and the punyshmente of death released. The chief cause of thys fauoure was this, because Bisshoppes of a longe tyme and ceason dyd not take knowlege, nor intermit them selues with the serche and punyshment of suche heynous and detestable offences, by reason whereof they did not disgrade and depryue from the holy orders suche malefactours and wycked persones, whiche without that ceremony, by the canonicall lawe coulde not be put to deathe. Furthermore, what shoulde a man saye, it was also vsed that he that coulde but onely reade (ye althoughe he vnderstode not what he redde) howe heynous or detestable a cryme soo euer he had committed (treason onely except) shoulde likewise as affines and alyes to the holy orders be saued, and committed to the Bishoppes pryson. And to thentent that if they should escape, and be agayne taken, cōmitting lyke offence, that their lyues should be no more to them perdoned, it was ordeyned that murtherers should be brent on the brawne of the left hande with an hote Iron signed with this lettre *M*, and theues in the same place ẏ this lettre *T*, so ỹ if they which were once signed ẏ any of these markes or tokens did reiterate like cryme & offence again, should suffre the paynes & punishmentes, which they had both merited and deserued. Which deuise was enacted & established in ỹ Parliament kept in the. ii. yere of this kynges reigne, & taken as I cōlecture of the Frenche naciō, which are wonte, if they take any such offender to cut of one of his eares, as a sure token & marke hereafter of hys euell doyng. And the charge of kepyng such offenders, that be onely imprisoned by their offences, because it soundeth to spirituall religion is committed to the bishops & rulers of the spiritualtie, with a penalitee set vpon them if any such prisoner do afterward escape. The whiche

actē & priuilege did norish & encreace aboūdantly the sect & swarme of theues & murtherers, for after ỹ tyme there were an hūdred wayes practised & inuented how at one time or another, to deliuer or conuey theim out of pryson and captiuite, by makig their purgaciō (by what sleight & meanes they care not) of such offences as before they were conuinced and founde gyltye, if no man be present to laye excepcions to the same. For if the partie offended and hurte be absent at the day of the purgaciō making, the thefe or murderer truly founde gilty from the beginning, shall be both excused & set at libertie. And oftentymes the soner, because the bishop would not lese so great a summe as an hūdred poūde for the escape of a poore knaue, skant woorth a dandyprat: But nowe to returne to oure mater agayne.

Perkyn (of whome rehersall was made before) beyng nowe in holde, coulde not leaue with the destruccion of him selfe, and cōfusiō of other that had associate thē selfes with him, but begā now to study which way to flye & escape. Fō he by false persuasions and liberall promises corrupted Strangweyes, Blewet, Astwood and long Rogier hys kepers, beynge seruauntes to syr Ihon Dygby lieutenaunt. In so muche that they (as it was at their araynment openly proued) entended to haue slayn the sayde Master, and to haue set Perkyn and the erle of Warwyke at large, which erle was by them made preuy of this enterprice, & therunto (as all naturall creatures loue libertie) to his destruccion assented, But this crafte deuice and subtil imaginacion, beyng opened and disclosed, sorted to none effect, and so he beyng repulsed and put back frō all hope and good lucke with all hys complices and confederates, and Ihon Awater sometyme Mayre of Corffe in Irelande, one of hys fōuders, and hys sonne, were the sixten daye of Nouembre arreyned and condempned at Westmynster. And on the thre and twenty daye of the same moneth, Perkyn and Ihon Awater were drawen to Tyborne, and there Perkyn standyng on a litle skaffolde, redde hys confession, which before you haue heard, and toke it on hys death to be true, and so he and Ihon Awater asked the kyng forgeuenes and dyed paciētly. This was the rewarde of the pernicious Alye and cōment of Perkyn Warbeck, whiche as in his life with false persuasions and vntrew surmises had broughte many noble personages to death and vtter perdicion, so at his death he brought with him other of the same sorte to their not vndeserued ponyshment. And emōgest other Edward erle of Warwicke whiche as the fame went, consented to breake pryson, and to departe out of the realme with Perkyn (which in prysoners is high treason) was the. xxi. daye of the sayde moneth arreygned at Westmynster before the Erle of Oxforde, then high Constable of England, of the saide treason, whiche whether it were by the enticemēt of other or of his awne frewill (many men doubte, because of hys innocency) confessed the fact and submitted hym selfe to the kynges mercy. And vpon hys confession he had his iudgement, and accordyng therunto, the. xxvij. daye of Nouembre. M. cccc. xcix. was brought to the skaffolde on the Towre hill, and there behedded. The fame after hys death springe abroade, ỹ Ferdinand kyng of Spayne woulde neuer make full conclusiō of the matrimony to be had betwene prynce Arthur and the lady Katheryn hys daughter nor sende her into England aslonge as this erle lyued. For he imagened that as longe as any erle of Warwicke lyued, that England should neuer be clensed or purged of Cyuyle warre and preuy sedicion, so muche was the name of Warwyke in other regions had in feare and gealousy.

Perkyn put to deathe at Tyborne.

The next yere after there was a great plague, wherof men dyed in many places very sore, but specially and moost of all in the citie of Lōdon, where dyed in that yere thirty thousand. Also in this yere was burned a place of the kynges called the maner of Shene Situate, & lyynge nygh the Thamys side, which he after buylded agayne sumptcously & costly, and chaunged the name of Shene, and called it Rychemond, because hys father and he were erles of Richemonde. The kynge perceauyng this plague and contagious disease, rather to encrease then discrease, whether it was to aduoyde the occasion of the sickues, or to allure the archeduke Philip of Borgoyne to commē with hym, he personally toke his ship at Douer, in the beginninge of May, and sayled to Caleys, to thentent to prouide and see the watches, whiche haue bene accustomed to be diligently kepte and maynteyned agaynst the incursiōs of his aduersaries, & there he made pollietique ordinaūces & streyte lawes. While the kyng laye

A great death.

thus at Caleys, the archeduke Philip sent to him diuerse notable personages, not alonely to gratefie and welcome hym into those partes, but also to declare that the sayde Archeduke offred to repaire personally to his presence, with suche a numbre as the kynge shoulde appoynt, so that it were within no walled toune or fortresse. For he had before diuerse tymes made denyall to the Frenche kyng to entre into any of his walled tounes, & if he should as he gladly wouldе come to the toune of Caleys, it might be a *president* to ỹ Frēch kynge to desyre like meting, what chaunce therof might fall, euery mā coulde not iudge. The kynge gentely entreteyned the Ambassadours, but more thankefully accepted the Archedukes offre, and so appoynted the place at sainct Peters churche without Caleys. Vpon the Tuesday in Pentecost weke, the Archeduke came thether with a conuenient cōpany. The kyng and the quene with many alusty lorde and lady rode thether to welcome hym. And when the kynge approched, the duke at his lightynge offred to holde his styrope, whiche the kyng in no wise would suffre to be done. When the kyng was dissended from his horsse he and the Archeduke embraced eache other with moost princely familiaritie, and then the *quene* and all the nobles saluted hym. What banquettynge, what myrthe and what passe tyme there was I passe ouer. But to conclude, there was communicacion of marriages, treatynge of further coroboracion of leagues, requestes of tolles in Flaunders to be mynished, with many other thinges, touchynge thentreprice & traffique of bothe their realmes. And when all thinges were set in an ordre, the two princes louingly toke their leaue and departed, the king to Caleys, and the Archeduke to saynct Omers.

After this departing, the Frenche kyng Lewes the. xii. sent to visite the kynge, the *lorde* Gronthouse gouernoure of Picardy, and the lorde Merneiliers, bayly of Amyas, whiche declared to the kyng the getting of Millayn, and takyng of the duke, whiche lordes were highly feasted and with great rewardes departed.

¶ THE. XVI. YERE.

SOne after when this plague was slaked, the kyng returned agayn to England, about the ende of Iune: and beynge come into England, sone after there came to him one Gasper Pous a Spanyard (bothe for learning and good behaueour very excellent) sent from Alexander bishop of Rome, whiche should shewe the Englishmen the right waye to heauen. Therfore that yere was called the yere of Iubile, which was the yere of our Lorde a thousand fyue hundred. And to thentēt that the people of farre countries might be eased of their laboure and traueyle in commyng thether, the charitable father sent hys legates into euery country to destribute the heauenly grace (as he called it) to all Christen people, whiche either letted by warre, enemyes, infirmitie, weaknes or tediousnes of the longe iourney, were not hable to performe their iourney to ỹ holy cytie of Rome. But thys beneuolent liberalitie was not francke & frely geuen: For the holy bishop Alexander, with helping and lokynge to the health of mennes soules, thought somewhat to do for hys awne priuate commoditie and singuler wealth, and therfore he limitted and set a certayne pryce of this hys grace & pardon: & to thende that ỹ king should not hyndre nor let hys purpose, he offred parte of this his gayn vnto the kyng. And that the people might the soner mynishe their purses, and enryche hys chestes, he promysed that he woulde in the begynnyng of the yere make warre in all the hast agaynst the great Turcke. By thys meanes and pollecy, thys Alexander gat, accumulated & heaped vp a great summe of mōney, and yet no battayle begonne agayne the Turcke, which in the meane ceason had takē, cōquered & destroyed many regions, cities and tounes belonging to Christen men, but God amend all that is amisse.

A yere of Iubile.

Aboute this time dyed. iii. Bishops in England, Ihon Morton bisshop of Caunterbury, Thomas Langtō bishop of Winchester, & Thomas Rotheram bishop of Yorke. After hym succeded Thomas sauage bishop of London, in whose place succeded doctor Willia Warham

of

of whome we made mencio before. And Hēry deane bishop of Salisbury was made archebishop of Caūterbury. Also Rycharde Foxe bishop of Durhā, was prefected to the bishoprike of Winchestre. Also this yere two notable mariages were cōcluded & agreed vpō, but neither solēpnised now, nor cōsummate as you shal here afterwarde. For king Hēry graunted his daughter ladye Margaret to Iames the. iiij. kynge of Scottes. And Ferdinād kyng of Spayne gaue his daughter lady Katheryn to Arthur prynce of Wales, sonne & heyre apparaunt to ỹ king of England. And it is to be considred ỹ kyng Henry did not ioyne this Affinitie with the kyng of Scottes without cause: For he desiringe nothīg more then to passe ouer the remanant of his life in peace, rest and tranquilitee, ymagened in him selfe ỹ by this coniunccion & couplement of matrimony, no warre or hostilitee hereafter should be attempted either agaynst hym or his dominions by the Scottishe kyng or hys nacion hauyng sure trust that none other of hys enemyes or of hys rebelles should hereafter be receaued or mayntayned in the dominions and territories of hys sonne in lawe. And emongest all other articles thys was concluded and appoynted, that no Englishmen should entre into Scotland, without letters cōmendatorie of their awne souereign lord, or saueconduyte of his wardeyn of the marches, and that prohibicion was in lyke maner geuen to the Scottes.

THE. XVII. YERE.

YOu haue heard before, how that the mariage was agreed betwene prynce Arthur of England, & the lady Katheryne of Spayne, & how the kyng her father promysed to sende her with great honoure into England: He nowe this yere accordyng to hys promes conueyghed her w̄ a puissaunt nauye toward England, where she arryued in the porte of Plymmoth the seconde daye of October, then beyng Saterday. When the kynge was certefied of her arryual, incōtinēt he sent both for price Arthur his sonne into Wales to repaire into Londō, & sent diuerse great lordes and knyghtes to cōuey her with triūphe toward her spouse & husband. And vpon the xii. daye of Nouembre, she was conueyed frō Lambeth thorough London with all triūphe and honoure that couldc be deuised or ymagened, to the Bishops paleys, by the Cathedrall churche of s. Paules. And because I will not be tedious to you, I passe ouer the wyse deuises, the prudent speches, the costly woorkes, the cōninge portratures practised and set foorth in. vii. goodly beutifull pageauntes erected & set vp in diuerse places of the citie. I leaue also ỹ goodly ballades, ỹ swete armony, the Musicall instrumentes, which sounded with heauenly noyes on euery side of the strete. I omit farther, the costly apparel both of goldsmythes woorke and embraudery, the ryche iewelles, the massy cheynes, the sturynge horsses, the beautifull bardes and the glitterynge trappers, bothe with belles and spangles of golde. I pretermit also the ryche apparell of the pryncesse, the straunge fashion of the Spanyshe nacion, the beautie of the Englishe ladyes, the goodly demeanure of the yōg damosels, the amorous countenaūce of the lusty bachelers. I passe ouer also the fyne engrayned clothes, the costly furres of the citezens, standynge on skaffoldes, rayled from Gracechurche to Paules. What should I speke of the oderiferous skarlettes, the fyne veluet, ỹ pleasaunt furres, the massye chaynes, which the Mayre of Londō with the senate, sitting on horsebacke at the litle conduyte in Chepe, ware on their bodyes, & about their neckes. I will not molest you w̄ rehersyng the ryche arras, the costly tapestry, the fyne clothes bothe of golde & siluer, the curious veluettes, the beautiful sattens, nor the pleasaunte sylkes, which did hange in euery strete where she passed, the wyne ỹ ranne continually out of the conduytes, the graueling and rayling of ỹ stretes nedeth not to be remembred.

While thys princes soiorned for her recreaciō in the Bishops paleys of Londō, not without visitaciō of the kynge, the quene and the kinges mother, there was erected in the body of saynct Paules church, a long brydge made of tymbre, extendynge from the West doore of the church to the steppe at the entrynge into thequere, whiche was sixe foote from the

the grounde. On thesayde bridge or staige, euen directly before the consistory of the churche was eleuate a place lyke a mounte, for eyghte persons to stande vpon, cõpassed rounde about with steppes to assende and dissende, whiche was couered with fyne red worsted, and in likewyse were all the rayles of thesayde staige. On the Northside of this mount was a place furnished for the kyng & quene, & such other as they apoynted. On the Southside of thesame mount stoode the Mayre and Magistrates of London. When all preparacion was made, and al thinges set in an ordre. Vpon the daye of saynct Erkenwalde, then beynge Sundaye, the sayde lady was ledde to thesame mount, and there prynce Arthur openly espoused her, bothe beynge cladde in whyte, both lusty and amorous, he of the age of fiftene and more, and she of the age of. xviii. or there aboutes. The kynge and the Quene, standynge preuelye on their staige. After the matrymonye celebrate, the prynce & his wife went vp into the quere, & there herde a solẽne masse song by the Archebishop of Cauntourbury, associate with. xix. prelates myted. And after the masse fynished, the bryde was led homeward to ỹ bishops palace by ỹ duke of Yorke, beyng then a goodly youge prince & the legate of Spayne. Next after folowed the lady Cicile suster to ỹ quene, supporting the treyne of the spouse. After whom folowed aboue an C. ladyes and gẽtlewomẽ gorgeously appareyled & richely adourned. There was kept that day a sumpteous feast, and yet not so sumpteous as populous, nor yet so populous as delicate, nor so delicate as of all thinges aboũdaũt. For if I should reherse to you the valew of iiij. cupbordes that day shewed & set foorth beside the plate that was occupied, or declare the ryches of the hanginges, canapies or clothe of estate, or set foorth the numbre of disshes serued at the. iiij. courses & banquettes the deliuer daunsinge and costly disguisinges, I assure you ỹ I should soner fayle then copye of mattre or haboundaunce of honoure. But euery daye endeth, and night ensueth, so when night was come, this lusty prince and his beautifull bryde were brought and ioyned together in one bed naked, and there dyd that acte, whiche to the performaunce & full consummacion of matrimony was moost requysite and expedient. In so muche that his familier seruitours, which had then neither cause nor reward to lye or fayne, declared openly that in the mornynge he called for drynke, whiche he before tymes was not accustomed to do. At whiche thinge one of hys chambrelaynes merualynge, requyred the cause of his drouth. To whome he aũswered merely saiyng, I haue thys nyght bene in the middest of Spayne, whiche is a hote region, & that iourney maketh me so drye, and if thou haddest bene vnder that hote clymate, thou wouldest haue bene dryer then I. Then shortely after the kynge and the quene with the new wedded spouses went from Baynardes castell by water to Westmynster, on whome the Mayre & comminaltye of London, in Barges garnished with standardes, stremers and penons of their deuice, gaue their attendaunce. And there in the paleys were suche marciall feates, suche valiaunt iustes, suche vygorous turneys, suche fierce fight at the barreyers, as before that tyme was of no man had in remembraunce. Of thys royall triumphe lord Edwarde duke of Buckyngham was chiefe chalengeour, and lorde Thomas Grey Marques dorcet was chiefe defendoure which wyth their aydes and compaygnions, bare theim selfes so valyauntly that they obteyned great laude and honoure, bothe of the Spanyardes and of their countrymen.

Durynge the tyme of these iustes and triumphe, were receaued into London an Erle, a Byshop, and dyuerse noble personages, sent from the kynge of Scottes into England, for the conclusion of the mariage betwene the lady Margaret the kynges daughter and hym. Whiche Erle by proxie in the name of kynge Iames hys master, affied & contracted thesayd fayre lady. Which assuraũce was published at Paules Crosse, the daye of the conuersion of saynct Paule, in reioysynge wherof *Te deum* was songe, and great fyers made through the citie of London. Whiche thinges as you haue hearde, beynge fully fynished and accomplished the Ambassadours aswel of Spayne as of Scotlande, tooke their leaue of the kynge, and not without great rewardes departed into their countryes and habitacions.

When the Ambassadours were departed, the kynge entendynge to auaunce the honour and

and reputacion of the prynce his sonne, furnisshed hym with men and money largely, and sent hym agayne into Wales, where he was before, to kepe liberall hospitalitee, and to mynystre to the rude Welshemen indifferent iustice. And least by reason of lacke of experience he might erre, he appoynted to hym wyse and expert coũsaylers, as syr Rychard Poole his kynsman, which was his chief chãberlayne, with whome were associate syr Henry Vernon, Syr Rychard Croftes, Syr Dauy Philip, Syr Williã Vdale, Syr Thomas Englefelde, Syr Peter Newton knyghtes, Ihon Walestõ, Henry Maryon, and docter William Smyth, was President of his counsail, and docter Charles, bothe were with hym associate, the one was afterwarde Bishop of Lyncoln, and the other Bishop of Herford. But as of one fountayne commeth often bothe ioye & sorow, so I leaue here to speake more of ioye of this mariage, consideryng the chaunce that shortely after succeded.

A fewe monethes before the maryage of prynce Arthur, Edmonde Poole Erle of Southfolke, sonne to Ihon duke of Southfolke, and lady Elizabeth suster to kyng Edward the. iiij. beyng stoute and bolde of courage, and of wyt rashe and hedy, was endited of homicide & murther, for sleyng of a meane person in his rage and fury. And although the kynge perdoned him whom he might iustly haue condempned for that offence, yet because he was brought to the kynges Benche barre and arreyned (whiche facte he reputed to be a great mayme and blemish to his honoure) tooke it seriously, and shortely after for this displeasure fledde to flaunders, without any lycence or saueconduyte geuen him of the kynge, to the lady Margaret his awnt on the mothers side. Neuerthelesse, whether he was sturred by his preuy frendes therunto moued by the kynge, or whether he trustynge on his vnuiolated truthe feared no daungier nor penaltie, he returned agayne, and excused hym selfe so to the kynge that he was thoughte to be gylteles and inculpable in any crime that coulde be obiected to hym, and therefore he was permitted too go frankely at his libertie and pleasure.

But when thys mariage of prince Arthur was kept at London with great pompe and solempnitie, and that all the nobilitie were set on pleasure and solace, and the Kynge hym selfe was pryncipally geuen to ioye and reioysynge. This Edmond, either for that he had ben at great and excessyue charges at thesame tryumphe and solempnytie, and by reason therof sore charged with debte. Either sollicited, allured and prouoked by that olde venemous serpent the duches of Burgoyn, euer beyng the sower of Sedicion and begynner of rebellion agaynst ỹ kyng of England, or els stimulate and pricked with enuy, which could not paciently with open eyes se and beholde kynge Henry, beynge of ỹ aduerse lyne to his lignage, so longe to reigne in wealthe and felicite, in conclusion with hys brother Rycharde fledde agayne into Flaunders. Thys sad chaunce (I thinke) happened emonge the great ioyes and solaces of kynge Henry, least that he mighte not by ouermuche gladnes sodeynly forget him selfe: Whiche displeasure at another tyme before to haue chaunced, it is manifest and well knowen to you.

When the kynge vnderstode certaynly that this erle was departed and returned agayne, he was not a litle vexed and vnquyeted, mistrustynge that some newe tumulteous busynes shoulde be begonne agayn, and chiefly therfore blamed hymselfe of folishe folye that he had geuẽ hym hys pardon for hys offence lately committed. Although it was manifest enough that he dyd it for this purpose, that he might dissemble and wyncke at the matter so longe vntyll suche tyme, he had some sure token and perfight knowlege of his coniuracion, the whiche he perceaued nowe to be surely attempted and begonne, assone as Edmonde de la poole erle of Suffolke was fled agayne into Flaũders. Syr Robert Curson, whome the kyng had promoted to the ordre of knyghthod, & made capitayne of Hammes castel, a valeaunt and a circumspect man, dissimulyng him selfe to be one of that conspiracy went into Flaũders, doubtlesse to espye what was done there by the lady Margaret agaist kynge Henry. Thys opynion was setteled in euery mannes head at the fyrst brochynge of the matter, and so yet contynueth, groundyng vpon thys prynciple, that he neyther vexed nor molested wyth any poynte of displéasure or iniurie by hys prynce or any other

other fled to the kynges enemyes. And after all thynges were knowē, opened, pacefied and suppressed, he willyngly returned and was receaued into high fauoure with ẏ kynge hys master and souereygne lorde. Howebeit, the kynge lyke a wylye foxe, knowynge the faythfull entent of thys syr Robert, and entēdynge to put hym oute of all gealousy and suspiciō with the lady Margaret, and Edmond de la poole, caused thesayde erle and thesayde Syr Roberte Curson, & fyue persones more to be accursed at Paules crosse the fyrst Sondaye of Nouember, as enemyes and rebelles to him and hys realme. But howsoeuer, it chaunced, whether it were for the easing of hys hart, or for some preuy pollecye, the kynge after the mariage of hys sonne prynce Arthur, was so vigilant, so circumspect and so intentyue, that he espyed and tryed oute suche as he knewe, partely to be the inuenters of mischiefe agaynst hym, and partely to beare no good wyll or sincere affeccion towarde his person, that he coulde redely name and reherse their names and surnames, wherof a greate parte were with in fewe dayes after apprehended and taken. And emonge them, lorde William Courtney, sonne to Edwarde erle of Deuonshyre, a man of great nobilite, estimacion and vertue, whiche maryed lady Katheryne, daughter to kyng Edward, lorde William brother to Edmond, erle of Southfolke, Syr Iames Tyrrell, Syr Ihon Wyndham. Both these Williams before rehersed were rather taken of suspicion & gelousy, because they were nere of blood to the coniurators, then for any proued offence or cryme. Wherfore the lorde William sonne to the erle of Deuonshire, after the death of kynge Henry the. vii. was deliuered and set abroade at libertie, by the noble and famous prynce kyng Henry ẏ viii. sonne to thesayd kynge, with whome after he was in great fauoure and estimacion, but shortely after, when he beganne to exercise him selfe in marciall feates and warlike studye, he syckened of a disease called Pluresis, of whiche malady, because it was straūge and rare to the Phisicians of England, he at the kynges manoure of Grenewiche desessed, leuynge one sonne behynde hym, to continue hys stirpe and familie. The lorde William, brother to Edmonde the erle of Southfolke had also greater fauoure shewed in pryson, then he had before. And syr Iames Tyrrell, and Ihon Wyndham, because they were traytours, & so attaynted the. vi. daye of Maye, they were on the Towre hyll behedded. But when the erle of Southfolke heard that some of his frendes were put to execution, and some other committed to perpetuall pryson and captiuitie, he was in a great agony and feare of hym selfe. And so beīg clerely desperate to haue any fortunate successe in his pretēsed enterprice, wandred about all Germany and Fraunce for aide & succoure, prouynge if he could fynde any aide or succoure at their handes. But when he perceaued no stedfast groūd to catche anchor holde vpon (to thentent that in conclusion he might vnderstāde that a shameful death dewe to a man for his offences and crymes cannot by mans helpe or mans reason, be either eschewed or diuerted from hym) he submitted him selfe vnder the obeysaūce and defence of Philip Archeduke of Austricke and Burgoyn, and erle of Flaūders. But Rychard his brother beyng an experte and polletique man, so craftely cōueyed, and so wisely ordred hym selfe in this stormy tempest, that he was not attrapped eyther with net or snare.

The kyng, not yet being out of doubte of all domestical sedicion & ciuile discorde, studied busely howe to restreyne and kepe in a streyte closure diuerse malefactours, which beyng partakers of this cōspiracy fled to sondry sanctuaries, tariyng there till a fayre day came to auaūce foorthward their enterprice. Wherupon he deuised to kepe the gates of all sanctuaries and places priuileged, shut and wel locked, so that none should issue out from thence to perturbe and vnquiet hym, hys realme or people. And for that entent he bothe wrote and sent Ambassadours to Alexander, then bishop of Rome, desyrynge him by his authoritie to adiudge and decerne all Englishmen, beynge fled to sanctuary or other places for treason, as enemyes to Christes fayth, and scismatiques too Christen religion, and as commen perturbers of the quiet people, and capitaynes and prouokers of trayterous rufflinges, intreditynge and prohibityng the refuge and priuilege of sanctuary to all suche persons as once had enioyed the immunitie and libertie of thesame, and after had fled out,

 and

and eftsones returned agayne. Whiche thinge after that the Bishop had graunted, it was greatly to the quyetnes and comforte of kyng Hēry, and many through the feare of that reproche and ignomony, conuerted them selues to goodnes and dewe subiecciō of their price: Other also that were in securite, and out of all perel and daunger, durst not hasard them selues for feare of galtroppes or slipping into ỹ fyer.

When the kyng by his high pollecy had compassed and framed his affaires thus to hys purpose, sodeynly happened a lamentable chaūce and lachrimable losse to the kynge, quene and all the people. For that noble prince Arthur, the kynges fyrst begotten sonne, after that he had bene maryed to the lady Katheryn his wyfe. v. monethes, departed out of this transitory lyfe, in his castel of Ludlowe, and with a great funerall obsequy was buryed in the cathedrall churche of Worcettre. After whose death the name of prince belonged to his brother duke of Yorke, hys brother disseasyng without issue, & so without any creacion ought to be called, except some cause apparaunt were the let and obstacle of the same. Howbeit, thesayde duke vpon suspicion of his brothers wyfe to be with chylde, and that doubtfully thought by the expert and sage men of the prynces counsayl, was bya moneth and more delayed from hys title, name and preheminence, in the which season the truthe might to womē easely apere. It is reported that this lady Katheryn thought and feared suche dolorous chaūce to come: For when she had enbraced her father, and taken her leaue of her noble and prudent mother, & sayled towardes England, she was continually so tossed and tumbled hyther and thether with boysterous wyndes, that what for the rage of the water, and contrarite of the wyndes, her ship was prohibited diuerse tymes to approche the shore and take lande.

THE. XVIII. YERE.

THe next yere after quene Elizabeth, liynge within the Towre of Lōdō, was brought a bed of a fayre daughter on Candelmas daye, whiche was there christened and named Katheryn, and the. xi. daye of thesame moneth, thesayde moost vertetous princes and gracious quene there desessed, and was with all funerall pompe caryed thorough the cytye of London to Westmynster and there intimulate, whose daughter also taried but a small ceason after her mother.

After the death of this noble princes, which for her great vertue was commenly called good quene Elizabeth, departed syr Reignold Breye knight of ỹ gartier, a very father of his coūtry, a sage & a graue person and a feruent louer of iustice. In so muche that if any thinge had bene done against good law or equitie, he would after an hūble fassiō plaily reprehende the king, and geue him good aduertisement how to reforme that offeūce, and to be more circūspect in another lyke case. Of thesame vertue and honest playnnes was Ihon Mortō archebishop of Caūterbury, which bishop dyed (as it is shewed aboue) two yeres before. So these. ii. persons were euer cohibetors and refreiners of the kinges wilfull skope & vnbrideled libertie, where as the rude and ignoraunt people saye and affirme, that their counsayll infected & corrupted the kynges clene and immaculate conscience, contrary to his pryncely disposicion & naturall inclinacion. Suche is euer the errour of the cōmon people: but surely as long as the kyng would here and obeye such as warned him of his office royall and kyngely duetie, he coulde in no wyse erre or swarue aside. About this tyme also dyed Henry archebishop of Cauntourbury, whose rowme doctor Williā Warram bishop of London supplyed. And to the bishoprick of London was elected William Barnes, after whose death succeded Rychardē Fitziames, a man of a good lignage & great learnyng & vertue. In which yere the. xviii. daye of February, the kyng at his palace of Westmynster, with all solēpnite created hys onely sonne Hēry prīce of Wales, erle of Chestre, &c. which noble yōgling succeded his father, not only in ỹ inheritaūce & regalite, but also was to him equypolēt in honour, fame, learnyng & pollecye.

Maximiliā the Emperour, hearinge that quene Elizabeth was deceased, sent into England a solempne Ambassade, of the which lord Cazimire, Marques of Brandenburgh his cosyn, accōpanyed with a bisshop, an erle & a great nūber of gentlemē well appareyled, was principal ambassadour, which were triūphantly receaued into Londō, & was lodged at Crosbyes place. This Ambassade was sent for. iii. causes, one to visite & comforte the kyng, beyng sorowful & sad for the death of so good a quene & spouse. The. ii. for the renouacion of the olde league and amitie. The. iii. which was not apparaunt, was to moue the kynge to mary the Emperours daughter ỹ lady Margaret, duches dowager of Sauoye. The first. ii. toke effect, for the kyng vpon Passion sunday roade to Paules in great triūphe, the said Marques riding on his lefthand. And there the bishop made to the king an excellēt cōsolatorie oracio, cōcerning the death of ỹ quene. And there also ỹ kyng opēly sware to kepe the new renouate league & amitie, during their. ii. lyues. But ỹ third request, whether ỹ let was on the mās parte or womās syde, neuer sorted to any effect or conclusion. And so these thinges done, the Ambassadours returned sumpteously and honorably rewarded.

All this wynter was preparaciō made for the conueyaūce of the lady Margaret, affied to the kyng of Scottes into Scotland. And whē all thynges were ready and prest, the kyng remoued the last daye of Iuyn from Rychemond, hauyng in his cōpany his sayde daughter, & came to Colyweston, where the coūtesse of Rychemond his mother then laye. And after certayne dayes of solace ended, the kynge gaue her his blessynge with a fatherly exhortacion, and committed the cōueighaunce of her to the kynge her husbandes presence, to the erle of Surrey: and the erle of Northumberland was apoynted as Wardeyn of the marches to deliuer her at the confines of both the marches. Thus this fayre lady was conueyghed with a great compāy of lordes, ladies, knyghtes, esquyers and gentlemen, till she came to Berwicke, and from thence to a village called Lambreton kyrke in Scotland, where the kyng with the floure of Scotlād was ready to receaue her, to whom ỹ erle of Northumberland, accordynge to his commission deliuered her. The Scottes that daye, I assure you were not behynde, but farre aboue, bothe in apparell and ryche Iewels and massy chaynes: But aboue other the erle of Northumberland, what for the ryches of his cote, beyng Goldsmythes worke, garnyshed with perle and stone, and what for the costly apparel of his henxmen and galaunt trappers of their horsses, besides iiii. hundred tall men, well horsed and appareled in his coolers, that he was estemed bothe of the Scottes & Englishmen, more lyke a prince then a subiect. Then was this lady conueyed to the toune of Edenborough, and there the daye after, kynge Iames the. iiii. in the presence of all his nobilitie espoused thesayde faire princes, and feasted the English lordes, and shewed to them Iustes and other pastymes, very honourably, after the fassion of his rude countrey. When all thinges were done and finished, according to their commission, the erle of Surrey with all the Englishe lordes and ladyes returned into their countrey, geuynge more prayse to the manhoode, then to the good maner & nurture of Scotlande.

THE. XIX. YERE.

IN this yere the kynge kepte his hygh courte of Parliament, in the whiche diuerse actes were concluded, whyche were thought necessary and expedient for the preseruacio of the publique weale. And emonge other thinges, it was determined that theues and murderers duely cōuicted by the lawe to dye, should be burned in the hand, and cōmitted to the Bisshops custody as I haue before declared. After this, certayne money was graunted to the kynge, by the whole Parliament, and the goodes of men outlawed were forfeyted and confisqued. There was also called (as the maner is) a congregacion of the clergie, to thentent, that they with their treasure and money might auaūce and preferre the cōmon wealth of the realme.

Hetherto

Hetherto we haue shewed you rough and sharpe battailes, pernicious & sedicious, strife, tumulte, and the death of many noble & meane persons: Nowe therfore let vs here rehearse, the contencion of familier thinges, the gnawynge at the hartes, and the freating of myndes & vowes, promises and requestes made of diuerse persones.

Kyng Henry, now drawynge to age, and before this tyme, euer punched, stimulated and pricked with the scrupulous stynges of domesticall sedicion and ciuile commocion, in so much that he more detested & abhorred intestine and priuate warre, then death or any thynge more terrible. Wherfore he determyned so pollitiquely to prouyde that all ỹ causes of suche vnquyetnes and mischief to come, shoulde be eradicate and extirped: which ymaginacion and purpose he doubted not to compasse and brynge to effect. If he made lowe and abated the courage of his subiectes and vassalies, and especially of the rychest sorte, remembrynge the olde prouerbe, that men throughe abundaunce of ryches waxe more insolent, hedstronge and robustius, and that nothynge is more to men acceptable or desyrous, then aboūdaunce of treasure and plentye of money, whiche people either for feare of losynge, or hope of gaynynge of worldly ryches, desyre euer either peace or warre. But to thentent that men might not thinke nor reporte that he whiche is their kynge constituted of God to reuenge all iniuries to theym done and committed, should oppresse and wrongfully polle and exact money of hys subiectes, he deuysed wyth hym selfe by what honest meane he might performe it. And thus deuisyng with hym selfe, it came into hys hed that the Englishmen dyd litle passe vpon the obseruacion and kepynge of penall lawes or pecuniall statutes, made and enacted for the preseruacion of the commen vtilitee and wealthe. And therefore, if inquisicion were had of suche penall statutes, there shoulde be fewe noble men, merchauntes, fermers, husbandemen, grasyers nor occupyers, but they shoulde be founde transgressours and violators of thesame statutes. After that he had taken thys counsayll, he sought out the penall lawes, and put them in execucion, and they that were founde offenders, were easely at the beginning fyned and scourged. After that he apoynted, ii. masters and surueyers of his forfaytes, ỹ one syr Richard Empson, and the other Edmond Dudley, bothe learned in the lawes of the realme. And these twoo persons contended, whiche of theim by mooste bryngyng in might most please and satisfye his mastres desyre and appetide. Wherefore in the beginnynge, they armed with a companye of accusers (commonly called promoters) whyche brought to theim the names of the offendours, estemed and regarded so muche the gayne of money, that they clerely forgate and banyshed oute of their remembraunce their duetye present, the peril that might ensue, and the thanke and good will that they might haue obteyned, and yet they had warnynge of greate and sage persons to close their handes from suche vncharitable doynges and cruell extremitie, accordyng to the Adage, the extremitie of iustice, is extreme iniurie.

¶ THE. XX. YERE.

THe kynge, after that he had gottē a large and ample sūme of money, hauyng pitie of the people, whiche cryed to God dayly for an ende of their pilfrynge, of his clemency and gracious goodnes towardes his ende thought it best, and thus determined, that these two extreme officiers shoulde be depryued of that office, and the money from whome it was vniustly exacted and extorted to be wholy restored and deliuered agayn: Which beyng preuented with death, commaunded it by his last will and testament to be duely and truly performed, but in the meane ceason many mens coffers were emptied.

THE. XXI. YERE.

IN this very reason, and the yere of our lord a. M. D. &. vi. Elizabeth quene of Castell, wyfe to Ferdinande kynge of Arragon, dyed without any issue male, by reason whereof thinheritaunce of Castel (because that kyngdomes be not partible) discended to lady Iane her eldest daughter by kyng Ferdinando, the whiche was maryed to Philip archeduke of of Austrich and Burgoyne, and erle of Flaundres. Which kyngdome he obteyned by his wyfe, and had the possession of thesame, and was named, reputed and taken as kynge of Castell and Lyon. Wherefore the yere folowynge, aboute the. vi. daye of Ianuary, hauyng a great nauy prepared, he sayled out of Flaunders with his wyfe toward Spayne, but he had sayled no great waye before that a vygorous tempest, by reason of contrariete of wyndes sodeynly arose, the whole nauy was tossed & chased with the waues, and sodayne sourges. In so muche the wynde hauynge the mastry dispersed and seperated the shippes asondre into diuerse places on the coast of Englande. The kynges ship with two other vesselles were blowen by tempest on the West parte of the realme to the porte of Weymouth in Dorset shyre. Then kynge Philip which was not expert, and had not frequented the seas before, beynge fatigate and vnquyeted bothe in mynde and body, entryng the ship bonte to refreshe and repose hym selfe a litle, came a lande contrarye to the mynde of hys counsayll and capitaynes, whiche forsawe and knewe well that thesame landynge shoulde bee the occasion of lenger tariynge there. When it was knowen that straunge shyppes were arryued, there came thether a greate number aswell of noble men as of rurall persons that dwelleth aboute that coaste, to repulse and beate awaye hym if he were their enemy. But when they perceaued he was theyr frende and louer and dryuen thether by force of wether, Syr Thomas Trenchard knyght, the chiefe of that company went to Philip kynge of Castell with all humanytie and lowlynes, inuytynge and desyrynge him (if he woulde so vouchesaufe) to vysyte hys maner and mancion, whyche was euen nygh at hand, trustyng therby to haue great thākes of the kynge hys master, if he coulde protract and cause hym to tarye there, vntyll suche tyme as kyng Henry were certefied of hys arryual, to whome with all diligent celerite, he sent dyuerse postes too notefie to his grace of kynge Philippes landynge. This rumour beynge farther blowen abroade of this straunge princes comming, in a short space there assembled together a great multitude of people all a longe the sea coast. And emonge other there came first syr Ihon Carew wyth a goodly band of picked men. Whiche syr Ihon & syr Thomas Trenchard entreated the kyng of Castell, not to depart vntill suche tyme as he had spoken with kyng Henry his louinge and faythfull frende and allye, assuryng hym ẏ he woulde repayre thether within. ii. or. iii. dayes at the most. King Philip excused him selfe by the necessitie of his weightie enterprice & importunate cause, affermyng that *lōg taryng in matters of* grauytie and dubious, ought to be excluded: wherefore he alledged that protractynge of tyme myght turne him to great preiudice, denyenge at the first to exspect and tarye the commynge of the kyng of England. But yet beyng perswaded by reason in hym selfe, ẏ he might be let and interrupted, if he would proffre once to go aborde too hys shyppes agayne, at their gentle desyre and louinge contemplacion, assented to their humble petition and request.

When kynge Henry was informed of hys landynge, he was replenyshed with an excedynge gladnes, partely for to renew the olde familiaritie and acquayntaunce, whiche they vsed at their last metynge, and partely for that he trusted that his landynge in England should turne to his proffite and commoditie. Therefore first he wrote many and diuers letters to syr Ihon Carew, and syr Thomas Trenchard, willinge and warnynge them withall kyndenes of humanitee to enterteyne the kyng of Castel, tyll he in person approched in some place mete and conuenyent for the entreuiewynge and entreteignynge of so noble a personage. Beside this he sent the erle of Arundell with many lordes and knyghtes to accompany and attende

vpon

vpon hym. Whiche erle, accordynge to the kynges letters receaued hym with. iii.C. horsses all by torche light to the great admiracion of all the straungiers.

Kynge Philip seyng no remedy, but that he must nedes tarie & abide, woulde no lenger gase after kynge Henryes commynge, but tooke hys iourney towardes Wynsore Castell where the kynge laye. And fyue myle from Wynsore, the prynce of Wales accõpanyed with fyue erles and diuerse lordes and knyghtes, and other to the numbre of fyue hũdred persons, moost gorgeously appareled and richely mounted, receaued him after the moost honorablest fassion of entreteinmẽt. And within halfe a myle of Wyndsore, the kynge accompanyed with the duke of Buckyngham, and a great part of the nobilitie of his realme, saluted and welcommed hym, and so conueyed hym to the castell of Wynsore, where besyde many triumphs and pastymes shewed, he was made cõpaignion of the noble ordre of the Gartier. After hym came to Wynsore hys wyfe quene Iane, suster to the prynces dowager, late wyfe to prynce Arthur. And after they two had concluded and renouate their olde league, and made a perpetuall peace and continuall amitie together: Kynge Henry desyred hym to haue Edmõd de la poole erle of Suffolke hys rebell, to be deliuered into his handes and possession. To whome the kyng of Castell aunswered a while, that he was not within hys rule or dominiun, and therefore it laye not in his powre to rendre or deliuer him. Although he considered it to be a heynous & great offẽce to be the occasiõ & authour of the death of his gest, which came to him for succour, & was receaued vnder his protecciõn and defence, yet when he perceaued that neither excuse, nor yet reasonable argumẽte coulde be accepted or allowed of kyng Henry (which promised faithfully of hys awne offre to pardon Edmond de la poole of all payues and execuciõs of death) he promised and graunted to do and accomplishe all kynge Henryes desyre & request: And so incontinent caused thesayde Edmõd secretly to be sent for. After this kyng Henry entending to protract the tyme till he might possesse his praye, which he sore desyred, cõueyed the kyng of Castell vnto the citie of London, that he might see the hed citie of his realme, and there led him from Baynardes castell by Chepe to Barkynge, and so returned by Watlynge strete agayne, during which tyme there was shot a wonderfull peale of gunnes oute of the Towre, into the whiche he would not entre, because (as you haue heard before) he had auowed not to entre the fortresse of any foreyn prince, in ỹ which a garison was maynteyned: And there tariyng a litle space, returned backe with him. Then from London the kyng brought him to Richemond, where were many notable feates of armes proued both at the tylt and at the tourney and at the barriers.

In the meane ceason, Edmond de la poole whiche euer feared & mistrusted, that the arriuyng in England of kyng Philip shoulde be his fatall ende and finall destruccion, perceauinge well that there was no farther hope to be had in foreyn princes and potentates, and trustynge that after his life to hym once graũted, that kyng Henry would briefly set hym at his libertie and fredome, was in maner content to returne agayne into hys natiue countrey, castynge in his mynde farther, that if his hope and trust were defrauded and refelled, yet at the last he was sure to ende his life, and be buryed in the countrey where he first entred into this variable worlde.

When all pactes and couenauntes betwene the kinges of England and Castell were appoynted, couenaunted and agreed: Kynge Philip toke hys leaue of kyng Henry, rendryng to hym moost hartie thankes for his high chere and princely entreteynmẽt. And beyng accompanied with diuerse lordes of England, came to the citie of Excettre, and so to Fulmouth in Cornewale, and there tooke his shippe and sayled into Spayne, where he shortly beynge taken with a sodeyn disease, departed oute of this transitorie life, beynge then but. xxx. yeres of age. He had by his wyfe and quene Iane. vi. children, two men childrẽ Charles and Ferdinand, and foure daughters, Eleanor, Isabel, Mary and Katherin. He was a man of stature conuenient, of countenaunce amiable and louely, of body somwhat crasse and corpulẽt, quycke wytted, bold and hardy stomaked. This tempest that the kyng of Castell had, was wonderfull straunge to many men, because the violencie of the wynde had blowen doune an Egle of brasse, beynge set to shewe and manifest on which parte ỹ wind

The description of kynge Philip.

wind blew, frō a pynnacle or spire of Paules church. And in the fallyng, thesame Egle brake, & batered another Egle that was set vp for a signe at a tauerne dore in Chepeside. And here vpō, mē that were studious of straunge tokens and monstreous wonders, did take an opinion that the Emperour Maximilian, whiche at that tyme gaue an Egle in his armes, should haue a great losse, whyche so happened in dede: For he lost his onely begotten sonne Philip, newly called to the kyngdome of Castell.

Also, shortely after the departynge of kyng Philip, the king of Englande beganne to suspect Syr George Neuell lorde of Burgeyny, and syr Thomas Grene, of Grenes Norton knyght, that they were confedered fautours and partakers, in the beginnynge with Edmond de la poole, and so vpon this suspicion, they were cōmaunded to the Towre. But shortly after when they had ben tryed and purged of that suspiciō and cryme, he commaunded theim bothe to be set at libertie. But syr Thomas Grene fell sycke before, and continued in the Towre in hope to be restored aswell to his health as he was to hys libertie, and there dyed. The lorde of Burgeyny for hys modestie, wyt and probitie (*because* the kynge founde hym lyke hym selfe) always true, faythfull and constant, was of his souereigne *lorde* more estemed, fauoured and regarded then he was before.

¶ THE XXII. YERE.

AFter this, the kynge hauynge peace aswell with foreyne princes, for the terme of. iii. yeres, as disburdened and purified of all domesticall sedicion, beganne to be diseased with a certayne infirmitie and wekenes of body, whiche thryse in the yere, but especially in the sprynge tyme sore vexed & tormented hym. And because for the most part, the harme and euell that chaunceth to the prince, is parted and communicate to his subiectes and people, the olde sweatynge *wherof* you heard before emongest the commons of the realme, came again. Howbeit by the reason of the remedy that was inuēted by the death of many a creature in the beginning, it dyd lesse hurte and displeasure to the people at this tyme then it did before. But nowe the thyrde plague egall with the pestilence ensued by the woorkynge of the masters of the forfaytures by the kynge appoynted as I shewed you before.

By whose meanes many a ryche and welthy person, by the extremyte of the lawes of the realme, were condempned and brought to misery. The mattre is as wonderfull to be heard, as pitefull and miserable to be done, and yet it is called the law, where as it is rather peruerse abuse and disórdre of a lawe, polletiquely at the beginnyng inuented to cause the people, the soner to conforme them selues to such as demaund their right of them, but craftely practised to the vtter confusion of many by vntrue *officers*. For if a man put his aduersary in suyte before ỹ Iudges, of whiche cōplaint or acciō he neither thinketh nor hath knowledge if he appere not at the last callyng of the exigent, whiche is called in a shyre where he neuer came (for how can he appere, *if he be* ignoraunt of the prosecucion of the cause, and dwell. ii. C. myles frō that place) then doeth he forfet all his substaunce and mouables, and his body to captiuitie as an enemy, and rebel to the lawes of his countrey. And yet the prynce shall enioye the goodes so confiscate, and the party cōpleynaūt or playntife that is wronged recouereth not one myte, and yet loseth bothe his payne and costes. And all suche persons that be so condempned and *adiudged*, be called outlawes, that is depriued of all lawes of the lande, to the whiche he was by the custome of the countrey inheritable. These outlaries, olde recognisances of the peace and goód aberīg, escapes, ryottes and innumerable statutes penal, were put in execucion and called vpon by Empson and Dudley, so that euery man, both of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, hauing either lande or substaunce, was called to this pluckyng bancket, accordinge to the Psalmist saiyng, all declyned and fell together, and no man although he were neuer so clere and gyltles, in conclusion durst auenture a tryall, seynge the experience of them that passed before. For these two rauenynge wolues had suche a garde of false periured persons apperteignynge to them, which were by their com-

maundemēt empanyeled on euery quest, that the king was sure to wynne whosoeuer lost. Learned men in the lawe, when they were requyred of their aduise, would saye to agree is the best counsayll that I can geue you. By this vndewe meanes, these couetous persones filled the kynges cofers, and enryched thē selues. And at this vnreasonable and extorte doynge, noble men grudged, meane men kycked, poore men lamented, preachers openly at Paules crosse and other places exclamed, rebuked and detested, but yet they would neuer amende. Howebeit the good kynge in his last dayes cōserued and pardoned his poore subiectes of such vncharitable yokes and ponderous burdens as they were laden withall.

In this season Alexāder bishop of Rome departed out of this world, and for hym was elected Fraūces borne Senes, nephiewe to Pius the second, and was called Pius the third, whome kyng Henry had made a litle before, proctoure for his realme in the courte of Rome. The king beyng glad of his high promocion and dignitie, sent syr Gylbert Talbot knyght, Rychard Bere Abbot of Glascenbury, and doctor Robert Sherborne deane of Paules, to declare to him what gladnes entred into the kynges hart, when he hearde tell of his hygh preferment and honour. But this bishop Pius did not expect and tary the gratulacīōs of these Ambassadours, for within a moneth after that he was installed he rendred his debt to nature, hauyng small pleasure of his promocīō. At this same tyme also dyed Gyles, lorde Dawbeney, the kynges chiefe chamberleyn, whose office Charles bastard sonne of Henry last duke of Somerset occupied and enioyed, a man of a good wyt and great experience.

THE. XXIII. YERE.

SONE after, ỹ kyng caused Guy Vbald duke of Vrbyne to be elected, knyght of the ordre of the gartier, a noble warriour, and in the Greke & Latyn tounges excellently learned. And this honour and high dignitie, this duke desired instantly to haue, ỹ he might be equyualent in all degrees of honour and nobilitie with his father, duke Frederick a prince in his tyme of high renoune and estimacion, which was receaued & chosen into that ordre by kyng Edward the. iiii. And because it was noysed that Iuly the seconde, a Ianuway borne, was after the death of Pius, elected to be bishop of Rome. The kyng entendinge to stope two gappes with one bushe, sent syr Gylbert Talbot and the other two Ambassadours, principally to bishop Iuly, and by them sent also to the duke of Vrbyne, the whole habite and coller of the noble ordre of the gartier. When duke of Guy was reuested with the habit, and had taken his othe, according to the statutes of the ordre: He sent syr Balthaser de Castellio knyght a Mantuane borne, his Oratour to kynge Henry, whiche was for him enstalled, according to the ordinaunces of that famous ordre.

While these thinges were in doynge, Lewes the Frenche kynge mistrusting that he should neuer haue manchilde, maried his eldest daughter lady Claude to Fraūces de Valoys, dolphyn of Vyen and duke of Angulesme: Whiche lady was promised a litle before to Charles the kyng of Castell. When kynge Henry knew of this, he thought best to mary his daughter lady Mary to this Charles kynge of Castel, beyng almost bothe of one age, and therefore Ambassadours were sent to and fro, and at the last, the mariage was concluded and confirmed by the meanes of the bishop of Wynchester, chiefe Ambassadoure for the king at Caleys, and so the lady Mary beyng of the age of. x. yeres, was promysed to kyng Charles. For conclusion of which mariage, the lord of Barow, and diuerse great Ambassadours were sent into England frō the Emperour Maximilian, which had great rewardes and returned.

¶ THE. XXIIII. YERE.

NOWE approched the ende & terme of the. iii. yeres of peace that I spake of before, at which

whiche tyme kyng Henry thought his fatal daye to be at hand: For his sickenes encreased daily more and more, so that he might easely perceaue that death was not farre of tariyng, his praye: Therfore like a good prynce, desiring to exhibite some gratuitie to his people ẏ he might be had in memory after his disease, graũted of his great liberalite a generall pardon to all men, for all offences done, & perpetrate against his lawes and statutes. But because murtherers & theues were not onely offenders to him, but also to other, he excepted them & some other out of his pardõ. He paide also the fees of all prisoners in ẏ gayles in and aboute Londõ, abyding their only for that duety. He payde also the debtes of all such persons as laye in the counters of Londõ, or Ludgate for. xl.s. & vnder, & some he releued that were condempned in. x.l. For this his goodnes & pitie shewed to his people, beynge sore vexed with inquysitors, pollers & promoters, general processiõ was had daily in euery citie and parishe to pray to almighty God, for the restorynge of his healthe, with long contynuaunce of thesame. Neuertheles, he was so consumed with his longe malady, that nature coulde no lenger susteyne his lyfe, and so he departed out of this world, the. xxii. daye of Aprill in his palace of Rychemond, the which was the yere of oure lorde. M.D. ix. hys corps was conueyed wyth a funerall pompe to Westmynster and there buryed by the good quene his wyfe in a sumpteous and solempne chapell, which he not longe before had caused to be buylded: He reygned. xxiii. yeres and more then. vii. monethes, & lyued. lii. yeres. He had by his quene Elizabeth viii. chyldren. iiii. men and iiii. wemen chyldren, of the whyche. iii. remayned alyue behynde hym. Henry prynce of Wales, whyche after him succeded, and was kynge, lady Margarett quene of Scottes and lady Mary promysed to Charles kyng of Castell. He was a man of body but leane and spare, albeit mighty and stronge therwith, of personage and stature, somewhat hygher then the meane sorte of men be, of a wonderfull beutye and fayre complexion, of countenaunce merye and smylyng especially in his communicacion, hys eyes graye, his teethe syngle, and heare thynne, of wyt in all thynges quycke and prompt, of a prynccly stomacke and haute courage. In great perels, doubtfull affaires, and matters of weighty importaunce, supernaturall and in maner deuyne, for suche thynges as he went aboute, he dyd them aduisedly, and not without great deliberacion and breathing, to thentent that emongest all men, his wyt & prudence might be noted and regarded and spoken of. For he was not ignoraunt that his actes and doynges were specially noted and marked with the eyes of many a person, and therefore a prynce oughte as farre to excell and surmounte all meane personages in wysedome and pollecy, as he precelleth other in estate and dignitie.

The description of kynge Henry the. vii.

For what mã will gene credite or regard to him, whom he hath proued to be light, wilde and lasciuious of condicions? Besides this, he was sobre, moderate, honest, affable, courteous, bounteous, so muche abhorring pride and arrogancy, that he was euer sharp and quicke to them which were noted or spotted with ẏ cryme. And there was no man with hym, beynge neuer so muche in his fauoure, or hauing neuer so muche auctborite, that either durst or coulde do any thing as his awne phãtasye did serue him, without the consent & agreiment of other. What shall I say more? Although his mother were neuer so wise (as she was both witty and wise) yet her will was bridled, and her doynges restrayned. And this regiuẽt he said he kept, to thentẽt ẏ he worthely might be called a king, whose office is to rule & not to be ruled of other. He was also an indifferẽt & sure Iusticier, by the which one thing, he allured to him the hartes of many people, because they lyued quietly & in rest out of al oppressiõ & molestaciõ of the nobilite & riche persones. Also to this seuerite of hys was ioyned & annexed a certayn merciful pitie, which he did often shew to such as had offended, & by his lawes were hindred & mersed: for such of his subiectes as were fined or amerced by his Iustices to their great empouerishing, he at one tyme or another did helpe, releue & set forward: wherby it apered ẏ he would haue thesame penalties for other offences & crimes reuyued & stirred vp again, which was a plain argumẽt ẏ he did vse his rygour only (as he sayd him selfe) to bring low & abate ẏ high hartes & stoute stomackes of the wyldepeople, norished & brought vp in sedicious facciõs & ciuile rebellions,

bellions, & not for the gredy desire of riches or hunger of money, althoughe suche as were afflicted would crye oute, & say ỹ it was done more for the loue & desire of gayne & profite, then for any prudent pollecy or pollitique prouision.

Surely, this good & modest prince did not deuoure & cõsume ỹ substaũce & ryches of his realme, for he by his high pollecy, meruelously enriched his realme & him selfe, & yet left his subiectes in high wealth and prosperitie. The profe wherof is manifestly apparaũt by ỹ great aboũdaunce of golde & silder, yerely brought into this realme, both in plate, money & bulliõ by merchaũtes passing & repassing out & ito this realme with merchaũdise. To whom he him selfe of his awne goodnes lẽt money largely without any gayne or proffite, to thentẽt that merchaũdise beyng of all craftes the chefe arte, & to all men, bothe most profitable & necessary, might be the more plẽtifuller vsed, hauted & employed in his realmes & dominiõs. And so this kyng lyuyng all his tyme in the fauour of fortune, in high honour, ryches & glory, & for his noble actes & prudent pollecies, worthy to be registred in the booke of fame, gaue vp his ghost at ỹ last, which vndoubtedly is assended into the celestiall mancion, where he hath the sure fruicion of the Godhead, & the ioy that is prepared for such as shall sit on the right hande of our sauyour, euer worlde without ende.

FINIS.

THE TRIUMPHANT REIGNE OF KYNG HENRY THE. VIII.

NOW, after the death of this noble Prince, Henry the. VIII. sonne to Kyng Henry the. VII. beganne his reigne the. xxii. daie of April, in the yere of our Lorde. 1509. and in the. xviii. yere of his bodily age: Maximilian then beeyng Emperoure, and Lewes the. xii. reignyng in Fraunce. And Fernando beeyng the kyng of Arragon and Castell, and kyng Iames the fourthe then rulyng ouer the Scottes: whose stile was Proclaimed by the blast of a Trumpet in the citie of London, the. xxiii. daie of the saied monethe, with muche gladnes and reioysyng of the people. The. i. yere.

And the same day, he departed from his manour of Richemond to the tower of London, where he remained, closly and secrete, with his counsaill, till the funeralles of his father, were finished and ended. The same daie also, sir Richard Empson knight, and Edmonde Dudley Esquier, greate counsailers to the late kyng, were attached and brought to the Tower, not to the litle reioysyng of many persones, whiche, by them wer greued, whiche attachement was thought to bee procured by malice of theim, that with their authoritie, in the late kynges daies wer offended, or els to shifte the noyse, of the straight execucion of penall statutes in the late kynges daies, by a punishement of those persones, and other promoters, for to satisfie and appease the people. The same daie also was attached, the lorde Henry Stafford, brother to the duke of Buckynghã and sent to the Tower, the cause was not thought to be great, because he was so sone deliuered, & the same yere was cre- Empson and Dudley attached.

ated erle of Wilshire. And the same daie also, Doctor Ruthall was named Bushoppe of Duresme.

Sone after were apprehended diuerse, called promoters, belongyng to Empson and Dudley, as Canby, Page, Smith, and diuerse other, as Derbie, Wrigot, Sympson and Stocton, of the whiche the moste part ware papers, and stoode on the Pillorie. How bee it, the moste craftiest knaue of all, called Ihon Baptist Brimald, escaped and came to Westminster, and there toke Sanctuarie.

A generall Pardon. The. xxv. daie of Aprill was proclaimed, that the kynges grace, ratified all the Pardones, graunted by his father, and also pardoned all suche persones, as was then in suite, for any offence, whatsoeuer it was, Treason, Murder, and Felonie onely exceptе.

After that all thynges necessary, for the interment and funerall pōpe of the late kyng, were sumpteously prepared and done; the corps of the said defunct, was brought out of his priuie chambre, into the great chāber, wher he rested thre daies, and euery daie had there Dirige & Masse song by a Prelate mitered: and from thence he was conueighed into the halle, where he was also three daies, and had like seruice there, and so thre daies in the Chapel, and in euery of these thre places, was a hearce of waxe, garnished with banners, and. ix. mourners geuyng there attendance, all the seruyce tyme: and euery daie they offered, and euery place hanged with blacke clothe. Vpon Wednsdaie, the. ix. daie of Maie, the corps was put into a Chariot, couered with blacke clothe of golde drawen with. v. greate Corsers, couered with blacke Veluet, garnished with Cusshions of fine gold: and ouer the corps, was an Image or a representacion of the late kyng laied on Cusshions of golde, and the saied image was appareled, in the kynges riche robes of estate with a croune on the hed, and ball and scepter in the handes: and the chariot was garnished with banners and Pēcelles of tharmes of his dominions, titles and genealogies. When the chariot was thus ordered, the kinges chapell, and a great nombre of Prelates, set forward praiyng: then folowed all the kynges seruauntes, in blacke, then folowed the Chariot: and after the Chariot. ix. mourners, and on euery side wer carried long torches and shorte to the nombre of. vi. C. and in this ordre they came to saincte Georges felde, from Richemond. There met with theim, all the Priestes and Clearkes, and religious men, within the citee, and without (whiche went formoste, before the kynges Chapell) the Maior and his brethren, with many commoners, all clothed in blacke, met with the corps at Lōdon Bridge, and so gaue their attendaūce on the same through the citee: and in good ordre, the compaignie passed through the citie, whereof the stretes on euery side, wer set with long Torches, and on the stalles stode young children, holdyng tapers, and so with greate reuerence, the Chariot was brought to the Cathedral Churche of sainct Paule, where the body was taken out and caried into the Quire, and set vnder a goodly Herce of waxe, garnished with Banners, Pencelles, & Cusshions, where was soung a solempne Dirige, and a Masse, with a Sermon, made by the Bussboppe of Rochester: duryng whiche tyme, the kynges houshold and the mourners, reposed theim in the Bisshoppes Palcis. The nexte daie the corps in like ordre was remoued, toward Westminster, sir Edward Haward, bearyng the kynges banner, on a courser trapped, in the armes of the defunct. In Westminster was a curious herse, made of. ix. principalles, full of lightes, whiche, were lighted at the commyng of the corps, whiche was taken out of the Chariot by sixe Lordes, and set vnder the Herse, the Image or the representacion, liyng vpon the Cusshyn on a large palle of golde. The herse was double railed: within the fyrste railes, satte the mourners, and within the seconde raile, stoode knightes bearyng banners of sainctes, and without the same, stoode officers of armes. When the mourners were set, Gartier king at Armes, cried, for the soule of the noble prince kyng Henry the. VII. late kyng of this realme: then the quire beganne *Placebo*, and so song Dirige, whiche beyng finished, the mourners departed into the Palaice, where they had a voyde, and so reposed for that night.

The next daie, wer three Masses solemply song, by Bussboppes, and at the last Masse was offered, the kynges banner and courser, his coate of armes, his sworde, his target and his

helme, and at thende of Masse the mourners offered vp, riche Paulles of cloth of gold and Baudekin, and when the quire sang, *Libera me*, the body was put into the ycarthe, and then the lorde Treasorer, lorde Stewarde, lorde Chamberlein, the Treasorer, and Comptroler of the kynges houshold, brake their staues and caste theim into the graue. Then Gartier cried with a loude voyce, *Viue le Roy Henry le huitiesme, Roy Dangliter, & de Fraunce, sire Dirland.* Then all the mourners, and all other that had geuen their attendance, on this funerall Obsequie, departed to the Palaice, where they had a greate and a sumptuous feast.

Wonder it were to write, of the lamentacion that was made, for this Prince emongest his seruauntes, and other of the wisest sort, and the ioy that was made for his death, by suche as were troubled, by rigor of his lawe: yet the towarde hope, whiche, in all poyntes appered in the young kyng, did bothe repaire and comforte, the heuie hartes of theim, whiche, had lost so wise and sage a prince: and also did put out of the myndes of suche, as were releued by the saied kynges deathe, all their olde grudge and rancor, and confirmed their newe ioye, by the newe graunte of his pardon.

When the funeralles of this late kyng, wer thus honorably finished, greate preparacion was made for the coronacio of this new kyng whiche was appoynted on Midsomer daie nexte ensuyng: duryng whiche preparacion, the kyng was moued, by some of his coũsail, that it should be honorable and profitable to his realme, to take to wife the lady Katherin, late wife to Prince Arthur his brother disseased, least she hauyng so great a dowrie, might mary out of the realme, whiche, should be vnprofitable to hym: by reason of whiche mocion, the kyng beyng young, and not vnderstandyng the lawe of God, espoused the saied lady Katherine, the third daie of Iune, the whiche mariage was dispensed with by Pope Iuly, at the request of her father, kyng Farnando, contrary to the opinion of all the Cardinals of Rome, beyng diuines. This mariage of the brothers wife, was muche murmured against in the beginnyng and euer more and more, searched out by learning and scripture, so that at the laste by the determinacion, of the best vniuersities of Christendō it was adiudged detestable, and plain contrary to Goddes lawe, as you shall here, after. xx. yeres. The Kynges mariage doubtefull at the beginnyng.

If I should declare, what pain, labour, and diligence, the Taylers, Embrouderours, and Golde Smithes tooke, bothe to make and deuise garmentes, for Lordes, Ladies, Knightes, and Esquires, and also for deckyng, trappyng, and adornyng of Coursers, Ienetes, and Palfreis it wer to long to rehersse, but for a suretie, more riche, nor more straunge nor more curious workes, hath not been seen, then wer prepared against this coronacion.

On the. xxi. daie of this moneth of Iune, the kyng came from Grenewiche to the Tower, ouer London Bridge, and so by Grace Churche, with whom, came many a well appareled gentleman, but in especiall the Duke of Buckyngham, whiche, had a goune all of goldsmithes worke, very costly, and there the kyng rested, till Saterdaie nexte ensuyng.

Fridaie the twentie and twoo daie of Iune, euery thyng beeyng in a readines, for his Coronacion: his grace with the Quene, beeyng in the Tower of London, made there Knightes of the Bathe, to the nombre of twentie and foure, with all the obseruauunces and Ceremonies, to the same belongyng.

And the morowe folowyng, beyng Saterdaie, the. xxiij. day of the said monethe, his grace with the Quene, departed from the Tower, through the citie of London, against whose cõnyng, the streates where his grace should passe, were hanged with Tapistrie, and clothe of Arras. And the greate parte, of the Southe side of Chepe, with clothe of gold, and some parte of Cornehill also. And the streates railed and barred, on the one side, from ouer against Grace Churche, vnto Bredstreate, in Chepeside, where euery occupacion stode, in their liueries in ordre, beginnyng with base and meane occupacions, and so assendyng to the worshipfull craftes: highest and lastly stode the Maior, with the Aldermen. The Goldsmithes

stalles, vnto the ende of the Olde Chaunge, beeyng replenished with Virgins in white, with braunches of white Waxe: the priestes and clerkes, in riche Copes, with Crosses and censers of siluer, with censyng his grace and the quene also as they passed. The features of his body, his goodly personage, his amiable visage, princely countenaunce, with the noble qualities of his royall estate, to euery man knowen nedeth no rehersall, considerying, that for lacke of cunnyng, I cannot expresse the giftes of grace and of nature, that God hath endowed hym with all: yet partly, to discrine his apparell, it is to bee noted, his grace ware in his vpperst apparell, a robe of Crimosyn Veluet, furred with armyns, his iacket or cote of raised gold, the Placard embrowdered with Diamodes Rubies, Emeraudes, greate Pearles, and other riche Stones, a greate Bauderike aboute his necke, of greate Balasses. The Trappee of his Horse, Damaske gold, with a depe purfell of Armyns, his knightes and Esquires for his body in Crimosyn Veluet, and all the gentlemen, with other of his chappell, and all his officers, and houshold seruauntes, wer appareled in Skarlet. The Barons of the fiue Portes, bare the Canaby, or clothe of estate: For to resite vnto you, the greate estates by name, the ordre of their goyng, the nombre of the lordes Spirituall and temporall, Knightes, Esquires, and Gentlemen, and of their costly and rich apparell, of seuerall deuises and fashions, who tooke vp his horse best, or who was richest besene, it would aske long tyme, and yet I should omitte many thynges, and faile of the nombre, for they were verie many: wherefore I passe ouer, but this I dare well saie, there was no lacke or scarcitie of clothe of Tissue, clothe of Golde, clothe of Siluer, Broderie, or of Golde smithes workes: but in more plentie and abundaunce, then hath been seen, or redde of at any tyme before, and thereto many and a greate nombre of chaines of Golde, and Bauderikes, bothe massy and greate. Also before the kynges highnes, rode twoo gentle menne, richely appareled, and aboute their bodies trauers, they did beare twoo Robes, the one of the Duchie of Guyon, and the other for the Duchie of Normandie, with Hattes on their heddes, poudered, with Armyns, for the estate of thesame. Nexte folowed twoo persones of good estate, the one bearyng his cloke, the other his hatte, appareled bothe in Golde Smithes woorke, and Broudery, their horses Trapped, in burned Siluer, drawen ouer with Cordes of Grene silke and Gold, the edges and borders of their apparell, beyng fretted with Gold of Damaske. After them came sir Thomas Brandon, Master of the kynges Horse, clothed in Tissue, Broudered with Roses of fine Gold, and trauerse his body, a greate Bauderike of Gold, greate and massy, his Horse trapped in Golde, leadyng by a rayne of Silke, the kynges spare Horse, trapped barde wise, with harneis Broudered with Bullion Golde, curiously wroughte by Golde Smithes. Then nexte folowed the syne children of honor, vpon greate coursers, appareled on their bodies, in Blewe Veluet, poudered with Floure Delices of Gold, and chaines of Golde Smithes woorke, euery one of their horses, trapped with a trapper of the kynges title, as of Englande, and Fraunce, Gascoyne, Guyan, Normandy, Angeow, Cornewall, Wales, Irelande, &c. wrought vpon Veluettes, with Embrouderie, and Gold Smithes worke.

Then next folowyng in ordre, came the Quenes retinew, as Lordes, Knightes, Esquires, and gentle menne in their degrees, well mounted, and richely appareled in Tissues, clothe of Golde, of Siluer, Tynsels, and Veluettes Embroudered, freshe and goodly to behold. The Quene then by name Katheryne, sittyng in her Litter, borne by twoo White Palfreis, the Litter couered, and richely appareled, and the Palferies Trapped in White clothe of gold, her persone appareled in white Satyn Embrodered, her heire hangyng doune to her backe, of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to behold, and on her hedde a Coronall, set with many riche orient stones. Next after, sixe honorable personages on White Palfreis, all appareled in Clothe of Golde, and then a Chariot couered, and the Ladies therein, all appareled in Clothe of Golde. And another sort of Ladies, and then another Chariot, then the Ladies next the Chariot, and so in ordre, euery after their degrees in clothe of Gold, Clothe of Siluer, Tynselles, and Veluet, with Embrouderies, euery couplement of thesaied Chariotes, and the draught harnesses, wer poudered with Armins, mixt

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with clothe of Gold: and with muche ioye and honor, came to Westminster, where was high preparacion made, aswell for thesaied Coronacion, as also for the solempne feast and Iustes, thervpon to be had and doen.

The morowe folowyng beyng sondaie, and also Midsomer daie, this noble prince with his Quene, at time conuenient, vnder their Canabies borne by the Barons of the fine Portes, went from thesaied Palaice, to Westminster Abbey vpon clothe, called vulgarly cloth of Ray, the whiche clothe was cut and spoyled, by the rude and common people, immediatly after their repaire into the Abbey, where, accordyng to the sacred obseruaunce, and auncient custome, his grace with the Quene, were anoynted and crouned, by the Archebusshop of Cantorbury, with other prelates of the realme there present, and the nobilitie, with a greate multitude of Commous of thesame. It was demaunded of the people, whether they would receiue, obey, and take thesame moste noble Prince, for their kyng, who with greate reuerence, loue, and desire, saied and cried, ye ye. After the whiche solempnitie, and Coronacion finished, the lordes spirituall and tēporall, did to hym homage, and returned to Westminster hall, with the Quenes grace, euery one vnder their canabies, where, by the lorde Marshall, and his tipped staues, was made rome, and euery lord, and other noble men, accordyng to their tenures, before claimed and vewed, seen, and allowed by the lordes, and other of his graces coūsaill, entred into suche rome and office that daie, to execute their seruices accordyngly. The kynges estate on the right hand, and the Quenes on the left hand, the cobard of. ix. stages, their noble personages beyng set: first, at the bryngyng of the first course, the trumpettes blew vp. And in came the Duke of Buckyngham, mounted vpon a greate courser, richely trapped, and enbroudered, and the lorde Stewarde, in likewise on an horse, trapped in clothe of Golde, ridyng before the seruice, whiche was sumpteous, with many subtleties, straunge deuises, with seuerall poses, and many deintie dishes. At the kynges fete, vnder the table, wer certein gentlemen. And in likewise with the quene, who there continued, during that long & royall feast. What should I speake or write, of the sūpteous fine, and delicate meates, prepared for this high and honorable coronaciō, prouided for aswel in the parties beyond the sea, as in many and sūdery places, within this realme, where God so abūdantly hath sent suche plentie and foyson: Or of the honorable ordre of the seruices, the cleane handelyng & breakyng of meates, the ordryng of the dishes, with the plētifull abundaunce. So that none of any estate beeyng there, did lacke, nor no honorable or worshipfull persone, went vnfeasted. The seconde course beyng serued: in at the haule doore entered a knight, armed at all poyntes, his bases rich tissue embroudered, a great plume & a sūpteous of Ostriche fethers on his helmet, sittyng on a great courser, trapped in tissue, and embroudered with tharmes of England, and of Fraunce, and an herauld of armes before hym. And passyng through the halle, presēted hymself with homble reuerence, before the kynges maiestie, to whō, Garter kyng of heraudes, cried and said with a loude voyce, sir knight from whēce come you, and what is your pretence: This knightes name was sir Robert Dimmocke, Champion to the kyng, by tenure of his enheritaunce, who answered thesaied kyng of Armes, in effecte after this maner: Sir, the place that I come from, is not materiall, nor the cause of my repaire hether, is not concernyng any matter, of any place or coūtrey, but onely this. And there with all, commaunded his Heraulde to make an Oyes: then saied the knight, to the kyng of armes, now shal ye here, the cause of my commyng and pretence. Then he commaunded his awne Herauld, by Proclamacion to saie: if there be any persone, of what estate or degree souer he be, that wil saie or proue, that king Henry the eight, is not the rightfull enheritor, and kyng of this realme, I sir Robert Dimmoke here his Champion, offre my gloue, to fight in his querell, with any peisone to thutteraunce, whiche Proclamacion was made in sundery places of the halle: And at euery tyme, his gauntlette caste doune, in the maintenaunce therof. After whiche seuerall proclamacios doen, and offers made, thesaid knight or champion, efisones repaired to the kynges presence, demaundyng drinke, to whō the kynges grace sent a cup of gold, with wine, wherof after this knight

had drōke, he demaūded the couer of thesaied cuppe, whiche, to hym was also deliuered: that doen, he departed out of the halle, with thesaid cup & couer as his awne.

The maner of his tenure is this, that at the Coronacion of the kyng, he should go to the armarie, and there take the kynges best harneis, saue one, the best and rich bases sauyng one, then of the plumes, or other thynges, for the garnishyng of his creast or helme, and so to the stable, there taking the next courser or horse, to the best, with like trapper, and so furnished, to enter vt supra, and his office dooen, to haue all these thynges, with the Cuppe of Gold and couer, to his awne vse.

After the departure of thesaied Champion, the Kyng of Armes, with all the Heraulde, and other officers of Armes, made. Proclamacions in seuerall places of the halle, cryng largesse. Briefly to passe ouer, this high and long solempnitie, of this honorable Coronacīō and feast, more honorable then of the great Cesar, whō, many Historiographers, so high set out and magnified, if the Latins of Englande, were not promoted or auaunsed, to dignities and promocions, onlesse they firste should (as other poore clerkes, in the parties beyond the sea, exalte and set furthe the iestes & Chronicles, of their natiue countreys, with high laude & praise and in some parte more then truth, for small mede or reward doo) put in writyng, either in Englishe or Latin tongue, the noble triūphes, chiualrous feates, valiant actes, victorious battailes, & other noble Iestes of this realme, & in especiall of our tyme & knowlege, of this moste valiant and goodly prince, it should appere muche more honorable, then any other stories: But promocion and benefices, putte awaie laboure and payne, albeit the greate parte of theim will saie, that the high Cure and charge is to edefie the people, with the word of God, taking cure of the soules: there against I will not replie, but no displeasure, I perceiue that thei take as greate cure, for the profite of their purses, with pleasure of huntyng and haukyng, besides other their pastymes, after they come to the best of their promocion, with small kepyng of hospitalitie: as other whiche were their predecessors, and muche worse, so that parte of their pastymes spent in writyng, and settyng furthe the iestes, actes and deedes, of the nobilitie of Englande, with the manyfold commodities of thesame, should muche ennoble the princes thereof, seyng by daily experience, Busshoppes, Archebusshoppes, Abbottes, and other clarkes, in the parties beyonde the sea, aswell learned, as of high knowlege, and better linage, and as verteous as they, daily enforce theimselfes, to auaunce their Princes, their Realmes and natiue Countreis, aswell in Latin, as in their vulgare tounge. But to returne to thende of this honorable feast, the tables auoyded, the wafers were brought. Then Sir Stephen Ienyns, that tyme Maior of London, whom, the kyng before he satte doune to dynner, had dubbed knight, whiche, beganne the Erles Table that daie, arose from the place where he satte, to serue the Kyng with Ipocras, in a Cuppe of Golde, whiche Cuppe, after his grace had dronken therof, was with the couer, geue vnto thesaid sir Stephen, like as other his predecessors, Maiors of thesaied citie, were wont to haue at the Coronacion of the kyng. Then after the Surnap laied, and that the kynges grace, & the Quene had washed, euery of them vnder their Clothes of estate, the tables beyng auoyded, went vnto their cambers.

For the more honor, and ennoblyng of this triumphaunt Coronacīō, there were prepared, bothe Iustes and Turneis, to be dooen in the Palaice of Westminster, where, for the kynges grace, and the Quene, was framed a faire house, couered with Tapisstrie, and hanged with riche clothes of Arrais, and in thesaied Palaice, was made a curious Fountain, and ouer it a Castle: on the toppe thereof, a greate Crounе Emperiall, all the imbattelyng with Roses, and Pomegranetes gilded: and vnder and aboute thesaied Castle, a curious Vine, the leaues and grapes thereof, gilded with fine Golde, the walles of the same Castle coloured, White and Grene losengis. And in euery losenge, either a Rose or a Pomegranet, or a Sheffe of Arrowes, or els. H. and. K. gilded with fine Gold, with certain Arches or Turrettes gilded, to support thesame Castle. And the targettes of the armes, of the defendaunles, appointed for thesaied Iustes, there vpon sumptcously set. And out

at

at seuerall places, of thesame Castle, aswell the daie of the coronaciō, as at thesaid daies of the Ipstes & Turney, out of the mouthes of certain beastes, or gargels, did runne red, white, & claret wine. Thenterprisers of these Iustes, was Thomas lorde Haward, heire apparaunt to the erle of Surrey, sir Edward Haward Admirall, his brother, the lorde Richarde, brother to the Marques Dorset, sir Edmōd Haward, sir Thomas Kneuet, & Charles Brandō esquire. The trōpettes blew to the feld, the fresh yōg galātes & noblē menne gorgeously appareled, with curious deuises, of cuttes and of embrouderies, aswell in their coates, as in trappers for their horses, some of gold, some in siluer, some in Tynsels, and diuerse other in goldesmithes worke, goodly to behold, first entered the feld, in takyng vp and turnyng their Horses, netly & freshly. Then folowed a deuise, (caried by strength of menne, and other prouision) framed like a Castle, or a Turret, wrought with fine clothe of Gold: the toppe wherof, was spred with Roses and Pomegranates, hangyng doune on euery side, of thesaied deuise, wherein was a Lady, bearyng a shilde of Christall named Pallas. After whom, thesaied Lorde Haward, with his compaignions folowed, armed at all poyntes, their Basses, and Bardes, or Trappers, were of Grene Veluet, beaten with Roses, and Pomegranates of Golde, brodered with fringes of Damaske Golde. Thesaied deuise or Turret, beyng brought before the kyng, the Lady Pallas, presented thesaied persones, whom, she named her scholers, to the kynges highnes, besechyng thesame, to accept them as her scholers, who wer desirous to serue hym, to the encrease of their honors, whiche saied scholers, had about them on foote, to the nombre of an hundred persones, freshely appareled, in Veluettes of sundery coloures, with Hose and Bonettes, accordyng to thesame. And further, thesaied Ladie desired the kyng, that it might please his grace, that her saied scholers, might be defendauntes to al commers whiche request was graunted.

Then came in an other bende of horse men, freshly and well appareled in clothe of golde, in siluer, in Goldsmithes worke, and brouderie, to the nomber of three score, with trappers accordingly to their garmentes, with great Bauderikes, Collers, and Cheines of Golde, aboute their neckes, and trauerse their bodies, euery man with a coyfe of golde on his hedde, and a greate plume of fethers therevpon, some of one coloure, and some of an other, euteryng before into the felde, with Drōmes and Fifes a greate nombre, euery man takyng vp his horse, in his best maner, aswell for their Ladies, as also for laude or praise to bee geuen them. After whom, folowed a good nombre of foote men in Veluettes, & other silkes, cutte and embroudered, with hose to thesame accordingly, & bonettes and other furniture, after a freshe and lustie fashion. Nexte to theim came on horse backe, eight persones, whose names were, sir Ihon Pechy, Sir Edwarde Neuell, Sir Edwarde Guildeforde, Sir Ihon Carre, Sir Wyllyam Parre, Sir Gyles Capell, Sir Griffith Dun, and Sir Roulande, Armed also at all poyntes, with shyldes of their awne armes, with riche Plumes, and other deuises on their hedde peces their Bases and Trappers of Tissew, clothe of Golde, Siluer and veluet, and nexte before theim, a gentle manne on horsebacke, in a coate of Blewe Veluet, embroudered with golde, and his horse Trapped in the same suite, with a spere of Golde on his thigh, and thesame presented to the Quene: saiyng, that it was enformed those knightes of his compaignie, how that Dame Pallas, had presented sixe of her scholers to the kyng, but whether they came to learne, or to teache feactes of Armes, they knewe not. And further declared, that his knightes were come, to doo feactes of armes, for the loue of Ladies, wherefore, he besought her grace, to license those Knightes to proue theim selfes, against Dame Pallas Schollers: and that in case, her Schollers brake more speres, on thesaied knightes, by the viewe of the Iudges, and the report of the Heraudes, then thesame knightes should dooe on theim, then thesaied Scholers of Pallas knightes, to haue the spere of Gold for their prise. And if the knightes brake more speres, then Dame Pallas Schollers, thesaied knightes to haue the Christall Shilde. The whiche requeste to theim graunted, the Iustes beganne, where euery manne did acquite hymself, well and valiauntly, but who had the price of other, I knowe not, the night commyng on, the Iustes ended.

The

The next daie approched, the foresaied defenders, Schollers to Pallas on horsebacke, armed *Cape a pie*, the one side of their Bases, and Bardes of their Horses white Veluet, embroudered with Roses of gold and other embrouderies, the other side Grene Veluet, embroudered with Pomegranetes of Golde, euery one of theim on his hedde pece, had an heare of flatte Golde of Damaske, presented theimselfes, before the kyng ready to Tourney.

Dianas Knightes.

Then immediatly on the other parte came in, the fore named eighte knightes ready armed, their Basses and Barees of their Horse, Grene Sattyn, embroudered with freshe deuises, of Bramble branches, of fine Golde curiously wroughte, poudered ouer all. And after theim a greate nombre of hornes blowen, by menne apparelled in Grene Clothe, with Cappes and Hosen of like suite, as Forsters or kepers, and a Pagente made like a Parke, paled with pales of White and Grene, wherein wer certain Fallowe Dere, and in thesame Parke curious Trees made by crafte, with Busshes, Fernes, and other thynges in likewise wroughte, goodly to beholde. The whiche Parke or deuise, beeyng brought before the Quene, had certain gates thereof opened, the Dere ranne out thereof into the Palaice, the greye houndes were lette slippe and killed the Dere: the whiche Dere so killed, were presented to the Quene and the Ladies, by the foresaied knightes. Crocheman, whiche the daie before broughte in the spere of golde, there declared, that thesame knightes were seruauntes to Diana, and beeyng in their pastyme of huntyng, newes were brought vnto theim, that Dame Pallas knightes, were come into those parties, to doo dedes of armes: wherefore, they had lefte their huntyng and chase, and repaired also thether, to encounter with the knightes of Pallas, and so to fight with thē, for the loue of ladies to thutterance: saiyng, that if Pallas knightes vanquished the other, or made them to leue the feld, then thei to haue the dere killed, and the greye houdes that slewe them. And in case Dianas knightes, ouer came the other, they to haue their swordes, and none other thyng more. Whereupon the Quene and Ladies, sent to the kyng to haue his aduise and pleasure in this behalfe, his grace conceiuyng, that there was some grudge, and displeasure betwene theim, thynkyng if suche request wer to theim graunted, some inconuenience might ensue, would not there vnto agre, so that for the appeasyng thereof, it was awarded that bothe parties, should tourney togethers, geuyng but a certain strokes, whiche dooen thei departed: And so these lustes brake vp, and the prices geuen to euery mā after his desertes,

This yere the kyng pardoned the lorde Henry, brother to the Duke of Buckyngham, beeyng committed to the Tower, vpon suspicion of treason laied vnto hym, but not proued, and sone after at the Parliament, created hym Erle of Wylshire.

Also this yere, the kyng ordeined fiftie Gentle menne to bee speres, euery of theim to haue an Archer, a Dimilaunce, and a Custrell, and euery spere to haue three greate Horses, to bee attendaunt on his persone, of the which bende, the Erle of Essex was Lieuetenaunt, and sir Ihon Pechie Capitain, who endured but a while, the apparell and charges were so greate, for there were none of theim, but they and their Horses, were appareled and trapped in Clothe of Golde, Siluer, and Golde Smithes woorke, and their seruauntes richely apparcled also.

This yere also was a greate Pestilence in the toune of Caleis, and muche people died, in so muche that the kyng, at the request of his counsaill of Caleis, consideryng the weakenes of the toune, sent thether Sir Ihon Pechie, with three hundred menne to tary there, who continued there vnto suche time, that the plague was ceassed, and newe souldiours admitted to suche roumes as then were vacant, and then returned into Englande. Furthermore, this yere the kyng somoned his Parliament, in the monethe of Nouembre, whiche, began in the moneth of Ianuarij ensuyng, wherof sir Thomas Inglefelde was chosen Speaker, in the whiche session emonges other thynges there enacted, it was ordeined by aucthoritie of Parliament, that sir Thomas Empson knighte, and Edmund Dudely esquire, late Counsailers to Kyng Henry the seuenth, should and wer attainted of haut treason.

Thesame yere the plague was greate, and reigned in diuerse partes of the realme, the kyng

kyng kept his Christemas at Richemond. And the. xii. daie of Ianurie, diuerse gentlemen freshely appareled, prepared them self to Iuste, vnknowen to the kynges grace, whereof, he beyng secretly informed, caused hymself and one of his priuie chambre, called Willyā Compton to bee secretly armed, in the litle Parke of Richemond: and so came into the Iustes, vnknowen to all persones, and vnloked for: The kyng ranne neuer openly before, and there were broken many staues, and greate praise geuen to the two straungers, but specially to one, whiche was the kyng: howebeit, at a course by misfortune, sir Edward Neuell Esquire, brother to the Lorde of Burganie, did runne against Master Cumpton, and hurte hym sore, and was likely to dye. One persone there was, that knew the kyng, and cried, God saue the king, with that, all the people wer astonied, and then the kyng discouered hymself, to the greate comforte of all the people.

The kyng sone after, came to Westminster with the Quene, and all their traine. And on a tyme beyng there, his grace therles of Essex, Wilshire, and other noble menne, to the nombre, of twelue, came sodainly in a mornyng, into the Quenes Chambre, all appareled in shorte cotes, of Kentishe Kendal, with hodes on their heddes, and hosen of thesame, euery one of them, his bowe and arrowes, and a sworde and a bucklar, like out lawes, or Robyn Hodes men, whereof the Quene, the Ladies, and al other there, were abashed, aswell for the straunge sight, as also for their sodain commyng, and after certain daunces, and pastime made, thei departed. On Shroue Sunday thesame yere, the kyng prepared a good A banket. ly banket, in the Parliament Chambre at Westminster, for all the Ambassadours, whiche, then wer here, out of diuerse realmes and countreis. The banket beyng ready, the Kyng leadyng the Quene, entered into the Chambre, then the Ladies, Ambassadours, and other noble menne, folowed in ordre. The Kyng caused the Quene, to kepe the estate, and then satte the Ambassadours and Ladies, as they were Marshalled by the kyng, who would not sit, but walked from place to place, makyng chere to the Quene, and the straungers: Sodainly the kyng was gone. And shortly after, his grace with the Erle of Essex, came in appareled after Turkey fasshiō, in long robes of Bawdkin, powdered with gold, hattes on their heddes of Crimosyn Veluet, with greate rolles of Gold, girded with two swordes, called Cimiteries, hangyng by greate bawderikes of gold. Next, came the lorde Henry, Erle of Wilshire, and the lorde Fitzwater, in twoo long gounes of yelowe satin, trauarsed with white satin, and in euery bend of white, was a bend of crimosen satin after the fashiō of Russia or Ruslande, with furred hattes of greye on their hedes, either of them hauyng an hatchet in their hāndes, and bootes with pykes turned vp. And after them, came syr Edward Haward, than Admyral, and with him syr Thomas Parre, in doblettes of Crimosin veluet, voyded lowe on the backe, and before to the cannell bone, lased on the breastes with chaynes of siluer, and ouer that shorte clokes of Crimosyn satyne, and on their heades hattes after dauncers fashion, with feasauntes fethers in theim: They were appareyled after the fashion of Prusia or Spruce. The torchebearers were appareyled in Crymosyn satyne and grene, lyke Moreskoes, their faces blacke: And the kyng brought in a mommerye. After that the Quene, the lordes, and ladyes, such as would had played, the sayd mommers departed, and put of thesame apparel, & sone after entred into the Chamber, in their vsuel apparell. And so the kyng made great chere to the Quene, Ladyes and Ambassadours: The Supper or Banket ended, and the tables auoyded, the kyng beeyng in communicacion with the Ambassadors, the Quene with the ladies toke their places in their degrees. Then began the dauisyng, and euery man toke muche bede to them that dauised. The kyng perceyuing that, withdrew hym selfe sodenly out of the place, with certayn other persons appoynted for that purpose. And within a litle whyle after there came in a drumme and a fife apparciled in white Damaske and grene bonettes, & hosen of thesame sute, than certayn gentelmen folowed with torches, apparayled in blew Damaske purseled with Ames grey, facioned lyke an Awbe, and on their heddes hodes with robbes and longe tippettes to thesame of blew Damaske visarde. Than after them came a certayne number of gentelmen, wherof the kyng was one, apparayled all in one sewte of shorte garmentes, litle beneth

the poyntes, of blew Veluet and Crymosyne with lōg sleues, all cut and lyned with clothe of golde. And the vtter parte of the garmentes were powdered with castels, & shefes of arrowes of fyne doket golde. The vpper partes of their hosen of lyke sewte and facion, the nether partes were of Scarlet, poudred with tymbrelles of fyne golde, on their heades bonets of Damaske, sylver flatte wouen in the stofe, and thereupon wrought with gold, and ryche fethers in them, all with visers. After them entred. vi. ladyes, wherof two were apparayled in Crymosyn satyne and purpull, embrowdered with golde and by vynyettes, ran floure delices of golde, with marueylous ryche & straūge tiers on their heades. Other two ladyes in Crymosyne & purpull, made like long slops embroudered and fret with gold after antike fashion: and ouer that garment was a short garment of clothe of golde scant to the knee facioned like a tabard all ouer, with small double rolles, all of flatte golde of Damaske, fret with frysed golde, and on theyr heades skayns and wrappers of Damaske golde with flatte pypes, ỳ straunge it was to beholde. The other two ladies were in kyrtels of Crymosyne and purpul satyn, embroudered with a vynet of Pomegraneltes of golde, all the garmētes cut compasse wyse, hauyng but demy sleues, and naked doune from the elbowes, and ouer their garmentes were vochettes of pleasantes, rouled with Crymsyne veluet, and set w letters of golde lyke Carectes, their heades roulded in pleasauntes and typpers lyke the Egipcians, embroudered with gold. Their faces, neckes, armes & handes, couered with fyne pleasaunce blacke: Some call it Lumberdynes, which is merueylous thine, so that thesame ladies semed to be nygrost or blacke Mores. Of these foresayed. vi. ladyes, the lady Mary, syster vnto the kyng was one, the other I name not. After that the kynges grace and the ladies had daunsed a certayne tyme they departed euery one to his lodgyng.

In this yere kyng Henry the. vii. his executours made restitucion of great sommes of money, to many persons taken against gōod conscīēce to the sayde kynges vse, by the forenamed Empson and Dudley.

This yere also came Ambassadours from the kyng of Arragō and Castell into this Realme, who were hyghly entertayned and royally receyued, and repayred muche to the Courte. It happened on a daye, that there were certayn noble men made a wager to runne at the ryngc, and parties were taken, and whych partye atteyned or toke awaye the ringe oftenest with a certayne courses, should wynne the wager. Wherof, the kynges grace hearing, offered to be on the one partye with. vi. companions: The Ambassadours hearynge therof, were muche desirous to see thys wager tryed, and specially the Ambassadours of Spaigne, who had neuer seen the kyng in harneys. At the daye apointed, the king was mounted on a godly Courser, trapped in purpull velvet cutte, the inner syde wherof was wrought with flatte golde of Damaske in the stoole, and the veluet on the other syde cut in letters: So that ỳ gold appered as though it had been embroudered with certayne reasons or poyses. And on the Veluet betwene the letters were fastened, castels and shefes of arrowes of doket golde, with a garmēt the sleues compased ouer bys harneys, and his bases of thesame worke, with a great plume of fethers on his head peace, that came doune to the arson of his sadell, and a great company of fresh gentelmen, came in with his grace rychely armed and decked, with many other right gorgeously appareyled, the trōpettes before them. Goodly to beholde, wherof many straūgers, but specially the Spagniardes much reioysed, for they had neuer seen ỳ king before that tyme armed.

On the other syde came in an other bende of gentelmen, freshely appareyled, and pleasaunt to beholde, all appareyled in clothe of golde, chekered with flatte golde of Damaske, and poudered with Roses: and so euery man ranne, but to conclude, the pryce was geuē vnto the king, euery man did runne. xii. courses, the kyng did beare awaye the ryngc. v. tymes and atteyned it. iii: & these courses thus fynished, ỳ Spanish Ambassadours desyred to haue some of the badges or deuises, whiche were on the kynges trapper: his grace therof knowing, commaunded. Euery of them to take therof what it pleased them, who in effect toke all or the more parte: for in the beginning they thought that they had bene counterfait, and not of golde.

In

In this yere from diuers Realmes and Countreys came many Ambassadours, of Fraunce, Denemarke, Scotlande, and other Realmes, whych were highly enterteyned.

¶ THE. II. YERE.

ON May daye, than next folowyng in the. ij. yere of his reygne, hys grace beynge yonge, and willyng not to be idell, rose in the mornynge very early to fetche May or grene bows, hym self freshe and rychely appareyled, & clothed all his Knyghtes, Squyers and Gentelmen in whyte Satyn, and all hys garde and yomen of the Croune in white sarcenet: And so went euery mā with his bowe and arrowes shotyng to the wood, and so repaired again to the Courte, euery man with a grene bough in his cappe, and at his returnyng, many hearynge of his gooyng a Maiyng, were desirous to se hym shote, for at that tyme hys grace shotte as strong and as greate a length as any of his garde. There came to his grace a certayn man with bowe and arrowes and desyred his grace to take the muster of hym, and to se hym shote, for at that tyme hys grace was contented, the man put his one fote in his bosome, and so did shote, and shote a very good shote, and wel towardes his marke, wherof not onely his grace but all other greatly merueyled. So the kynge gaue hym a reward for his so doynge, whiche person afterwardes of the people and of them in the courte was called, fote in bosome.

Thesame yere in the feast of Pentecoste, holden at Grenewyche, that is to say the Thursday in thesame weke, hys grace with two other with hym chalenged all commers, to fighte with theim at the barriers with targot and casting ỹ spere of. viii. fote long, and that done his grace with the sayde two aydes to fight euery of them. xii. strokes with twohanded swordes, with and against all comers, none except beyng a gentelmā, where the kyng behaued hymselfe so wel, and deliuered himselfe so valiauntly by his hardy prowes and greate strength that the prayse and laude was geuen to his grace, and his aydes: notwithstāding that diuers valyaunt and strong persons had assayled hym and his aydes.

From thence the whole Courte remoued to Wyndesore, than begynnyng his progresse, exercisyng hym self daily in shotyng, singing daūsyng, wrastelyng, casting of the barre, playyng at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songes, makyng of balettes, & dyd set. ii. goodly masses, euery of them fyue partes, whiche were songe oftentimes in hys chapel, and afterwardes in diuerse other places. And whan he came to Okyng, there were kept both Iustes and Turneys: the rest of thys progresse was spent in huntyng, hawkyng and shotyng.

The kynge beyng thus in hys progresse harde euery daye more and more complayntes of Empson and Dudley, wherfore he sent wryttes to the Shyrifes of London, to put them in execucion, and so the. xvii. day of August, they were both beheadded at the Towre hyl, and their bodies buryed and their heades. Empson and Dudley beheadded.

The sayde progresse finished, his grace, ỹ Quene, with all their whole trayne, in the moneth of October folowyng, remoued to Grenewyche. The kyng not mynded to se yong Gentelmen, vnexpert in marciall feates, caused a place to be prepared within the parke of Grenewyche for the Quene and the ladies to stande and se the fighte with battaill axes that should be done there, where the king hym self armed, faught with one Gyot a gentelman of Almayne, a talle man, and a good man of armes. And than after they had done, they marched alwayes two and two togethers, and so dyd their feates and enterprises euery man very well: Albeit, it happened the sayde Gyot to fight with syr Edward Haward, which Gyot was by hym stryken to the grounde.

The morow after this enterprise done, the kyng with the Quene came to the Towre of London. And to thentent that there should no displeasure nor malice be borne by any of those Gentelmen, which fought with the axe agaynst other. The kyng gaue vnto the a certayn summe in golde, valewed at. cc. marke, to make a banket emongest themselfes

with all: The whiche banket was made at the Fishemongers Halle in Teames strete, where they all met to the number of. xxiiii, all appareyled in one sute or liuery, after Almain fashion, that is to say, their vtter garmentes all of yealow Satyne, yealow hosen, yealow shoes, gyrdels scaberdes, and bonettes with yealow fethers, their garmentes & hosen all cutte and lyned with whyte Satyn, and their scaberdes wounde abought with satyne: After their banket ended, they went by torche light to the Towre, presentinge them selfes before the kynge, who toke pleasure to beholde them.

From thence, the. viii. daye of Nouember, his grace remoued to Rychemond, and willed to be declared to all noble men and gētelmen, that his grace with two aides, that is to wit mayster Charles Brandon, and mayster Compton, duryng two dayes would answer al commers with spere at the Tylt one daye, and at turney with swordes, the other.

And to accomplishe this enterprice the. xiii. daye of Nouember, hys grace armed at all peces with his twoo aydes entred the feelde, their bases and trappers were of clothe of golde, set with redde roses, ingreyled with gold of brouderye: The counter parte came in freshly, appareyled euery man after his deuise. At these Iustes the king brake more staues then any other, and therfore had the pryce: At the Turney in likewyse, the honor was his. The second night were diuerse straūgers of Maximilian the Emperours court, and Ambassadours of Spaygne with ỹ kyng at supper: when they had supped, the kyng willed them to go into the Quenes chamber, who so did. And in the meane season, the kynge with. xv. other. appareled in Almayne Iackettes of Crymosyne, & purple Satyne, with log quartered sleues, with hosen of thesame sute, their bonettes of whyte veluet, wrapped in flat golde of Damaske, with visers and white plumes, came in with a mommery, and after a certayne tyme that they had played with the Quene and the straungers, they departed. Then sodenly entred. vi. mynstrels, rychely appareled, playyng on their instrumentes, and then folowed. xiiii. persones Gentelmen, all appareyled in yealow Satyne, cut like Almaynes, bearyng torches. After thē came. vi. disguised in whyte Satyne and grene, enbroudered and set with letters and castels of fyne golde in bullion, the garmentes were of straūge facion, with also straunge cuttes, euery cutte knytte wyth poyntes of fyne golde and tassels of the same, their hosen cutt and tyed in likewyse, their bonettes of clothe of syluer, wounde with golde. Fyrst of these. vi. was the kyng, the erle of Essex, Charles Brandon, syr Edward Hawarde, syr Thomas Kneuet, & syr Hēry Guylforde. Then parte of the Gētelmen bearing torches departed, and shortly returned, after whome came in. vi. ladyes appareled in garmentes of Crymosyn Satyn embroudered and trauessed with cloth of gold, cut in Pomegranettes and yokes, stryuged after the facion of Spaygne. Then the sayde. vi. men daūced with these. vi. ladies: and after that they had daūced a season, the ladies toke of the mens visars, wherby they wer knowen: Wherof the Quene and the straungers moch praised the kyng, and ended the pastime.

It is to be noted that at this tyme the Quene was great with childe, and shortly after this pastyme, she toke her chamber at Richemond, for the whiche cause the kynge kept his Christmas there. And on Newyeres day, the first day of Ianuary, the Quene was deliuered of a Prince to the great gladnes of the realme, for the honour of whom, fyers were made, and diuers vessels with wyne, set for suche as woulde take therof in certayne streates in London, and generall processions therupon to laude God. As touchynge the preparacion of the Princes Christening, I ouerpasse, whiche was honorablie done, whose godfathers at the font were the Archebishop of Caunterbury, and the erle of Surrey. Godmother the lady Katheryne Countesse of Deuonshire, daughter to kynge Edward the fourth.

Agaynste the. xii. daye or the daye of the Epiphanie at nighte, before the banket in the Hall at Richemond, was a pageaūt deuised like a mountayne, glisteringe by night, as though it had bene all of golde and set with stones, on the top of the which mountayne was a tree of golde, the braunches and bowes frysed with gold, spredynge on euery side ouer the mountayne, with Roses and Pomegarnettes, the which mountayne was with vices brought vp towardes

wardes the kyng, & out of thesame came a ladye, appareiled in cloth of golde, and the chyldren of honor called the Henchemen, whiche were freshly disguised, and daunced a Morice before the kyng. And that done, reentred the moũtaine and then it was drawen backe, and then was the wassaill or banket brought in, and so brake vp Christmas.

Shortly after, and before the Quenes churchinge, the kynge rode to Walsingham. The Quene beyng Churched or purified, the kyng and she remoued from Rychemonde to Westminster, where was preparacion for a solempne Iustes in the honor of the Quene, the kyng being one, and with him thre aydes: his grace beyng called *Cure loial*, ỹ lorde William erle of Deuonshire, called *Bon voloire*, Sir Thomas Kneuet named *Bon espoir*, Sir Edwarde Neuile, called *Valiaunt desire*, whose names were set vpon a goodly table, and the table hanged in a tree, curiously wrought, and they were called *Les quater Chiualers de la forrest saluigne*, these foure to runne at the tilte against all cõmers, with other certayne Articles cõprised in the said table.

A place in the Pallayce was prepared for the kynge, and also the Quene, rychely hanged the inner parte with cloth of golde, and the vtter with ryche clothe of Arras. These Iustes begaune the. xiii. daye of February. After that, that the Quene with her trayne of ladyes had taken their places, into the Pallays was conueyed a pageaũt of a great quantite, made like a forest with rockes, hilles and dales, with diuers sundrie trees, floures, hathornes, ferne and grasse, with six forsters, stãdynge within thesame forrest, garnyshed in cotes and hodes of grene Veluet, by whome lay a great number of speres, all the trees, herbes & floures, of thesame forrest were made of grene Veluet, grene Damaske, and silke of diuers colours, Satyn and Sercenet. In the middes of this forrest was a castell standing, made of golde, and before the Castel gate sat a gentelman freshly appareiled, makynge a garlande of Roses for the pryce. This forrest was drawen, as it were by strength of twoo great beastes, a Lyon and an Antelop, the Lyon floryshed all ouer with Damaske golde, The Antelop was wrought all ouer with siluer of Damaske, his beames or hornes & tuskes of golde: these beastes were led with certayne men appareiled like wilde men or woodhouses, their bodies, heddes, faces, handes, and legges, couered with grene Sylke flosshed: On either of the sayde Antelop and Lyon, sate a ladye richely appareiled, the beastes were tyed to the pageant with greate chaynes of golde, as horses be in the carte. When the pageant rested before the Quene, the forenamed forsters blew their hornes, then the deuise or pageant opened on all sides, and out issued the foresayd foure knyghtes, armed at all peces, euery of them a spere in his hande on horsebacke with great plumes on their heddes, their basses and trappers of clothe of gold, euery of them his name embroudered on his basse and trapper: on the other parte with great noyse, aswell of Trompettes as of Drõmes entred into the *felde*, The erle of Essex, the lord Thomas Hawarde with many other cleane armed, their trappers and basses all of Crymosyn Satyn enbroudered with braunches of Pomegarnettes of golde, and posies wyth many a freshe Gentelmen, rydynge before them, their fotemen also well appareiled: And so the Iustes beganne, and endured all that daye.

The morow beyng the. xiii. daye of February after dynner, at tyme conuenient, the Quene with the ladyes repaired to see the Iustes, the trompettes blewe vp, and in came many a noble man and Gentelmã, rychely appareiled, takynge vp their horses, after whome folowed certayne lordes appareiled, they and their horses in cloth of golde and russet tyusell: Knyghtes in clothe of golde, and russet Veluet. And a greate number of Gentelmen on fote, in russet satyn and yealow, and yomen in russet Damaske and yealow, all the nether parte of euery mans hosen Skarlet, and yealow cappes. Then came the kynge vnder a Pauilion of clothe of golde, and purpul Veluet enbroudered, and poudered with H. and K. of fyne golde, the compass of the Pauilion aboue, enbroudered rychely, and valenced with flat golde beten in wyre, with an Imperiall croune in the top of fyne golde, his bases and trapper of clothe of gold, fretted with damaske gold, the trapper pẽdant to the tail. A crane and chafron of stele, in the frount of the chafrõ was a goodly plume set full of musers or trimbling spangles of golde. After folowed his three aydes, euery of them vnder a Pauilion

uilion of Crymosyn damaske & purple poudred with H. and K. of fyne golde, valenced and fryuged with golde of damaske: on the top of euery Paulion a greate K. of golde smythes worke, the number of the Gentelmen and yomen attendant a fote, appareiled in russet and yealow was. C. lxviii. Then next these Paulions came. xii. chyldren of honor, sitting euery of them on a great courser, rychely trapped and enbroudered in seuerall deuises and facions, where lacked neither brouderie nor goldsmythes worke, so that euery chyld & horse in deuice and facion was contrary to other, whiche was goodly to beholde.

Then on the counter part, entred syr Charles Brādon, fyrst on horsbacke in a long robe of Russet satyn, like a recluse or a religious person and his horse trapped in the same sewte, without dromme or noyse of mynstrelsye, puttinge a byll of peticion to the Quene, the effect wherof was, that if it would please her to licence hym to runne in her presence, he woulde *do it gladly, and if not,* then he *woulde* departe *as he came.* After that his request was graunted, then he put of hys sayde habyte, and was armed at all peces with ryche bases & horse, also rychely trapped, and so did runne his horse to the tylte ende, where diuers men on fote appareiled in Russet satyn awaited on him: next after came in alone young Henry Guylford Esquier, hym selfe and his horse in russet cloth of golde and clothe of siluer, closed in a deuice, or a pageaunt made lyke a Castell or a Turret, wrought of Russet sercenet florence, wrought, and set out in golde with hys worde or posye, and all his men in Russet satyn and white, with hosen to thesame, and their bonettes of lyke colors, demaunding also licence of the Quene to runne, whiche to him graunted toke place at thende of the tylte. Then came nexte the Marques Dorset and syr Thomas Bulleyn, like two pilgrims from spinct Iames, in taberdes of blacke Veluet, with palmers hattes on their helmetties, *wyth long* Iacobs staues in their handes, their horse trappers of blacke Veluet, their taberdes, hattes, & trappers set with scaloppe schelles of fyne golde, and strippes of blacke Veluet, euery strip set with a scalop shell, their seruaūtes all in blacke Satyn, with scalop shelles of gold in their breastes. Sone after came in the lord Henry of Buckyngham Erle of Wylshire, hym selfe and his horse appareiled in cloth of siluer, enbroudered with a posye, or his worde, and arrowes of golde in a posye, called *La mgixon du refuge,* made of Crymosyn damaske, broudered with Roses and arrowes of golde, on the tope a greyhonde of siluer, bearinge a tree of Pomegarnettes of golde, the braunches thereof were so large that it ouer sprede the pagent in all partes. Then entred syr Gyles Capell, syr Roulande with many other knightes, rychely armed and appareiled. And thus beganne the Iustes, whiche was valiauntly achcued by the kyng and his aydes, emōges whome his grace atteyned § price. These Iustes fynished, euery man with drew, the kynge was disarmed, & at time cōuenient he and the Quene heard euēsong, and that night all the Ambassadours supped with the kyng, & had a great banket. After supper, his grace with the Quene, lordes and ladies came into the white Hall, within the sayde Pallays, whiche was hanged rychely, the Hall was scafolded and rayled on all partes. There was an interlude of the gentelmen of his chapell before his grace, and diuers freshe songes: that done, his grace called to hym a great man, or a lord of Irelād called Odonell, whome in the presence of the sayde Ambassadours, he made knyght: then the mynstrels beganne to playe, the lordes and ladies beganne to daunce.

And in the meste of this pastyme, when all persones were moste attēyue to beholde the daunsyng, the king was sodenly gone vnknowen to the moste parte of the people there, oneles it were of the Quene & of certayne other. Within a littell while after his departing, the trompettes at thende of the Hall began to blow. Then was there a deuice or a pageaūt vpō wheles brought in, out of the which pageaūt issued out a gētelman rychelye appareiled, that shewed, howe in a garden of pleasure there was an arber of golde, wherin were lordes and ladies, moche desirous to shew pleasure and pastime to the Quene and ladies, if they might be licenced so to do. who was aunswered by the Quene, how she and all other there were very desirous to se theim and their pastime: then a great cloth of Arras that did hang before thesame pageaūt was taken awaye, & the pageaunt brought more nere, it was curiously made and pleasaūt to beholde, it was solempne and ryche, for euery post or piller therof,

therof, was cōuered with frise golde, therin were trees of Hathorne, Eglantynes, Rosiers, Vines and other pleasaunt floures of diuers colours, with Giltofers and other herbes all made of Satyn, damaske, silke, siluer & gold, accordingly as the natural trees, herbes, or floures ought to be. In which arber were. vi. ladies, all appareiled in white satyn and grene, set & embroudered full of H. & K. of golde, knytte together with laces of golde, of damaske, & all their garmentes were replenished with glytterynge spangles gylt ouer, on their heddes were bonettes all opened at the. iiii. quarters, ouerfrysed with flat gold of damaske, & orrelettes were of rolles, wrethed on lampas douck holow, so ỹ the golde shewed thorow ỹ lāpas douck, ỹ fassis of their head set full of new deuised factions: in this gardē, also was the kyng and. v. with him appareiled in garmētes of purple satyn, all of cuttes w H. & K. euery edge garnished with frysed gold, & euery garmēt ful of poysees, made of letters of fine gold in bullyō as thicke as they might be, & euery persone had his name in like letters of massy gold. The fyrst *Cuer loyall*, The secōd *Bone volure*, in the. iii. *Bone espoier*, The. iiii. *Valyaūt desyre*, The fyft *Bone foy*, The. vi. *Amoure loyall*, their hosē, cappes, & cotes, were full of poyses & H. & K. of fine gold in bulliō, so ỹ the grōude coulde scace appere & yet was in euery voyde place spāgles of gold. Whē time was come, ỹ sayd pageāt was brought forth into presence, & then discēded a lord & a lady by coples, & then the mynstrels, which were disguised also daūced, and the lorde & ladies daunced, that that it was a pleasure to beholde.

In the meanc season the pagiaunt was conueyed to the ende of the place, there to tary till the daunces were finished, and so to haue receyued the lordes and ladies againe, but sodanly the rude people ranne to the pagent, and rent, tare, and spoyled the pagent, so that the lord Stuard nor the head officers could not cause them to abstaine, excepte they shoulde haue foughten and drawen blonde, and so was this pagent broken.

After the kyng and his cōpaignions had daūced, he appointed the ladies, gentelwomen and the Ambassadours to take the letters of their garmentes, in token of liberalitie, which thing the common people perceyuyng ranne to the kyng, and stripped hym into his hosen and dublet, and all his compaignions in likewise. Syr Thomas Kneuet stode on a stage, and for all his defence, he lost his apparell. The ladies likewyse were spoyled, wherfore the kynges garde came sodenly, and put the people backe, or els as it was supposed more inconuenience had ensued. So the kyng with the quene & the ladyes returned to his chamber, where they had a great banket, and all these hurtes were turned to laughyng and game, and thought that, all that was taken away was but for honor, and larges: and so this triumphe ended with myrthe and gladnes. At this banket, a shipeman of London caught certayn letters which he sould to a goldsmyth for. iii.l.xiiii.s.viiid. by reason wherof, it appeared that the garmentes were of a great value.

After this great ioy came sorowfull chaunce, for the young Prince, which was borne vpon Neweyeres daye last past, vpon the. xxii. daye of February, beyng then the euē of sainct Mathy, departed this world at Rychemonde, and from thense was caryed to Westmynster, and buryed.

The kyng lyke a wyse prynce, toke this dolorous chaunce wonderous wysely, and the more to comfort the Quene, he dissimuled the matter, and made no great mourning outwardely: but the Quene lyke a naturall woman, made much lamentacion, how be it, by the kynges good persuasion and behauiour, her sorowe was mytigated, but not shortlye. This yere also in the moneth of Februarie, came frō kyng Ferdinādo, the kynges father in law, and kynge of Arragon and Castell certayne ambassadours, whiche made request to the kynge, on the behalfe of the kyng their mayster, to haue ayde of the kynge of. xv.C. Archers, with valyaunt Capitaynes to gouerne and conduyte them: For his entent was to make warre on the Moores, beynge Infideles and enemies to Gods law. The kyng and his counsayl hearing this request, thoughte it much honorable to ayde a Christian Prynce, and in especiall his frende and fūther in lawe, agaynste the Infideles enemyes to Christes lawe, wherfore the kyng gentely graunted them their request. When tydinges were spread in the courte of this

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iorney agaynst the infideles, the lorde Thomas Darcye, knyght of the order of the gartier, made hūble suyte to the kynge, to be capitayne general of that Crewe or armye. The kyng and hys counsayll for his great valiauntnes and approued wysedome graunted his request: many lordes & knyghtes made suyte to be in thesame iorney, but the kyng aunswered them, ỹ he retayned them still for other greater consideracions and purposes. There were appointed to go with the sayd lord Darcie, lord Antony Grey, brother to the Marques Dorset, Henry Guyldeforde, Westō, Broune, Wiliam Sydney, Esquyers of the kynges house, syr Robert Costable, syr Roger Haystynges, and syr Raufe Elderkare, and diuers other gentelmē to be capitaynes. The lord Darcie and all the other capitaynes toke their leue of the kyng, and went into their countreys to prouide for all thinges, mete and necessarie for the voiage.

The kynge this tyme was moche entysed to playe at tennes and at dice, which appetite, certain craftie persons about him perceauynge, brought in Frenchmen and Lombardes, to make wagers with hym, & so he lost much money, but when he perceyued their craft. he exchuyd their compaignie, and let them go. The kyng beyng lustye, young, & coragious, greatly delited in feates of chyualrie, in so much that he made a chalenge of Iustes, againyst all comers to be proclaimed at his mannoure of Grenewyche, to be holden there the. iii. first dayes of May then next ensuyng, whiche noble courage, all yonge persones highly praysed, but the auncient fathers moch doubted, considering the tender youth of the kyng, and diuers chaunces of horses and armure: in so much that it was openly spoken, that stele was not so strong, but it might be broken, nor no horse coulde be so sure of fote, but he may fall: Yet for all these doubtes, the lusty prince proceded in his chalenge.

The first daye of Maye the kynge accompaignied with many lusty Batchelers, on greate and well doyng horses rode to the wodde to fetch May, where a man might haue seen many a horse raysed on highe with galope, turne and stoppe, meruaylous to behold: where he and iii. other as syr Edward Haward, Charles Brandon, and Edward Neuel, which were chalengers with the kyng, shyfted them selfes into cotes of grene Satyn, garded with Crymosyn Veluet. On the other parte the Earles of Essex, of Deuenshyre, the Marques Dorset, the lorde Haward, were all in crymosyn Satyn, garded with a pouced garde of grene Veluet: and as they were returning on the Hyll, mete with them a shippe vnder sayle: The master hayled the kyng and that noble compaignie, & sayde that he was a Maryner, and was come from many a straunge porte, & came hither to se if any dedes of armes were to be done in the countrey, of the whiche he might make report therof in other countreys. An Heraulde demaunded the name of his shippe, he aunswered she is called *Fame*, and his laden with good *Renoune*: Then sayde the Heraulde, if you wil bring your shippe into the bay of *Hardines*, you must double ỹ poynt of *Gentilnes*, and there you shall se a compaignie that will medle with your merchaundise. Then sayd the kyng, sythen Renowne is their merchaundyse, let vs bye it and we can: Then the shippe shotte a peale of Gonnes, and sayled forth before the kynges compaignie, ful of flagges and banners, till it came to the tylte yearde. At after nonne, the kyng & his thre felowes entred into the felde, their bardes and bases of Crimosyn and blew Veluet, cut in quadrāt cuttes, embroudered full of Pomgranettes, and all the wayters, in sylke of thesame colour. The other partie were in Crymsyn Satyn and grene Veluet. Then began the trompettes to sounde, and the horses to runne that many a spere was brast, and many a great stripe geuen: and for a trueth the kyng exceded in nūber of staues all other, euery day of the. iii. dayes. Wherfore on ỹ iii. day, the Quene made a great bāket to the kyng, & all them that had Iusted: & after the bāket done, she gaue ỹ chefe price to the kyng, the. ii. to the Erle of Essex, the. iii. to ỹ erle of Deuōshyre, & the. iiii. to the lord Marques Dorset. Then ỹ Heraultes cried, my lordes, for your noble feates in armes, God sende you ỹ loue of your ladies ỹ you most desire.

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THe king euer desirous to serue Mars, begā another Iustes ỹ xv. day of ỹ sayd moneth: ỹ kyng & his bend were all in grene sylke, & ỹ erle of Essex & his bende in blew, garded with gold, & all ỹ speres were paynted of thesame colours. There was good rūing & many a spere brast, but for all the sport euery man feared, lest some yll chaūce might happē to the kyng, & fayne would haue had him a loker on, rather then a doer, & spake therof as much as thei durst: but his courage was so noble that he would euer be at the one ende.

In this passe tyme, the lord Darcy & other appoynted to the vyage agaynst the Moores of Barbaria (at the instaunce of Dōpefernādo father to the Quene) made suche diligence, that they and all their people were ready at Plymouth by the middes of May, and there mustered their souldiers before the lorde Broke, and other the kinges commissioners. The sayde lord Darcie, as capitayne generall ordeyned for hys Prouost Marshal, Henry Guylford Esquier, a lusty yongmā, and well beloued of the kyng. Then, when the winde serued to their purpose, and all the armye were set aborde in their shippes, which were vytaled and prest at all poyntes, the Capitayne and other departed out of Plymmouth hauē, the monday in the Rogaciō weke with. iiii. shippes Royal and the wind was so fauourable to them, that the firste day of Iune, beynge the euen of the feast of Penticost, he arriued at the porte of Caleys in Southspayne, and immediatly by the aduise of his counsayll, dispatched to the kyng of Arragon two Gentilmen, called Ihon Barthelmew, and William Symonde, with letters to certefie the king and his counsayll of their arriuall, and what payne they had taken to come to his countrey, in fulfilling the kyng their masters commaundement. The messengers did so much that they came to the kyng, beside the citie of Cyuill, where he then lay, and declared to hym how the lord Darcie by the kyng their masters apoyntement, was come thither with. xvi. C. archers mo, according to the sayd kyng of Arragons request, and laye still at Caleys to know his pleasure. The kyng of Arragon aunswered them gentelly, that the lord Darcie and all other that were come from hys most best beloued sonne were welcome, and hartely thanked theim of theyr paynes, and prayed the messengers to retorne to their capitaine shewing hym that the kyng in all haste would sende his cōusail to him, and so they departed from the kyng, and made reporte to the lord Darcie, which kept his shippe in great estate, and would not lāde, but only suffered such as were sicke and feble, and few other to go a lande.

The Englishmē which went a lande, fell to drinking of hote wynes and were scace masters of theim selfes, some ranne to the stewes, some brake hegges, and spoyled orchardes & vyneyardes, and orynges before they were ripe, and did many other outragious dedes: wherfore ỹ chefe of the toune of Caleys, came to complaine to the lorde Darcie in hys shippe, which sent forth his Prouost Marshal, which scacelie with peyne refrayned the yomen archers, they were so hote and wilfull, yet by cōmaundement and policie, they were all brought on borde on their shippes.

Saterdaye the. viij. daye of Iune, the Bishop of & other of the kynges counsayll, arryued at Caleys, and there abode tyll wednysdaye, beyng the euen of Corpus Christi, at which daye the lord Capitayne toke lande, and was honorably receyued of the kynge of Arragons counsayl, and on the morrow highly fested at dynner and supper. And after supper, the bishop declared the kynge of Arragons pleasure saiyng: my lord Capitayne, the kyng my master in moste humble wyse geueth you thankes for your greate paynes and trauell, as moche as though he proceded in this pretensed enterprice, but he with the aduice of his counsaill circumspectly, considering the suertie of his awne realmes and dominions hathe perfectie knowlege, that his aduersarye of Fraunce, prepareth to inuade hys cōtreis in hys absence: wherfore he entending not to leue his Realmes, voyde of men and shippes (whiche might be a great comfort to his enemies to inuade) & therfore he

hathe taken an abstinence of warre with the Moores tyll another time. Well saieth the lorde Darcie, sythe it is fully concluded that we shall do no seruice to your master, we maye not saye agaynst his determinanion, cõsidering we were sent to him, but surely it is agaynste my hart, which euer hath desired to fight agaynst Gods enemyes, but with your conclusion, I and all myne must be content. You do as you should do, said the Bishop, and the kyng my master geueth like thankes to the kynge his soone, and to you all, as though he had proceded in his iorney. And you shall haue wages for all your souldiers: and if it shall please you to come to the court, you shall receyue high thankes of the kyng, & such chere as there can be made you. That is not my desire sayed the lorde Darcie, for my men shall not say that I brought them out of their countrie, and now to do my selfe pleasure, leaue theim without an hedde, as men of men forsaken: nay nay my lorde, the kynges banket is not my desyre. So the lordes departed for ỳ night, & the next day in the morning was sent wages, to conduict tharmie into England, with diuerse giftes geuen to the lord Darcie,, & other gentle men: Yet ỳ notwithstanding, he was highly displeased, how beit like a wise man he dissimuled ỳ matter.

The same daie, beyng the. xiiii. daie, of Iune and Fridaie, an Englishe manne desired of a maide, that had been at the Bakers to bye bread for her maistres store and not to sell, to haue a lofe for his money, she aunswered, that she had none to sell, he said he would haue one, and folowed her and when she perceiued that, she cried, a force a force, the tounes men of Caleis, or Caleis males, sodainly rong their common bell, and all the toune went to harneis, and the fewe Englishmen that wer on land wẽt to their bowes. The Spaniardes cast dartes, and sore anoyed and hurt the Englishmen: and thei likewise hurt and slew diuerse Spanyardes. Then the Capitaines of Englande for their part, and the lordes of the Counsaill for their parte, toke sythe pain, that the fraie was ceased, and but one Englisheman slain, and of the Spanyardes diuerse slain.

Then all Englishe men were commaunded to go aborde with their shippes. The lordes of Spayne came to the lorde Darcie, saiyng: Sir we praie you, sithe you knowe the kynges pleasure and haue your wages, that you with all your people will go with your shippes awaie, for we perceiue you owe vs some displeasure. Then he boldly answered saiyng, that he would all the worlde knew, that he was as able to conduit his menne homewarde, as he was to bryng theim out of their countrey, without the kyng of Arragõs wages, (sauyng his honor) and as for the fraie, it was against his will and without his knowlege: and so that night he and all his men, went aborde with their shippes.

When this iorney was come to this poynt, Henry Guilforde, Westõ, Browne, and Willyam Sidney young and lustie Esquires, desired license to see the Courte of Spayne, whiche was to theim graunted: and then thei departed from Caleis, and came to the Courte of the kyng of Arragon, where thei wer highly entertained, & he dubbed Henry Guildford, Weston, and Browne knightes, and gaue to sir Henry Guildforde, a Canton of Granado, & to sir Westõ, and Browne, an Egle of Scicile on a cheffe to the augmentacion of their armes. William Sidney, so excused himself, that he was not made knight, and when thei had soiorned there a while, they tooke their leaue of the kyng and queue, & so returned through Fraunce into England, where they demained theselfes so ỳ thei had the kynges fauoure, notwithstanding it was thought contrary.

Duryng whiche season the lorde Darcie, the. xvii. daie of Iune made saile towarde Englande, and arriued at Plimmouthe, and came to the kyng at Wyndsore, and in August thus ended this voyage.

Duryng the tyme that the Lorde Darcie was in Spayne, the Ladie Margaret Duches of Sauoy, & daughter to Maximilian themperor, and gouernor of the countreis of Flaunders, Brabant, Holland, Zelãde and other the lowe countreis apperteinyng, to Charles the yong prince of Castell, then beeyng of tendre age, sent in thende of Maii to the kyng of England to haue. xv. c. archers, to aide her against ỳ duke of Geldres which sore trobled the countreis aforsaid. The kyng tenderly regarding the request of so noble a lady, & also because there

was

was a communicacīō hangyng at their tyme of mariage, to be had betwene the young Prince Charles, and the lady Marie his sister, moste iently graūted her request, and appoynted sir Edward Pownynges knight of the garter, and cōptroller of his house, a valiant capitain & a noble warrior, to be the lieuetenaunt & conducter of the said. xv.c. archers, whiche accopaigned with the lord Clyntō his sonne in lawe, sir Matthew Broune, Sir Ihon Dighby, Ihon Werton, Richard Wetbrill, Sherley Esquires & diuerse tall gentlemen and yomen, well knowen men and tried, to the said nombre of xv. c. toke their shippyng a mile beside Sādwiche, the. xviii. daie of Iuly, & landed at Armew the. xix. daie, not without some troble by reason of a litle storme, & sent Lancastre Herauld to aduertise the lady of their arriuall, which sent to thē lord Bresly knight of the Toyson, and diuerse other to welcome thē, and so conduited thē to Barow, where the lorde of the toune made them greate chere. And the same day at after noone, came the lady Margaret to Barow, where ỹ capitain with all his vnder capitaines receiued her at the gate, she welcomed thē hartely, & so she did all the souldiers whiche stode along reinged in the strete. And on saterdaie beyng the. xxvi. daie of Iuly, she sawe all the cōpaignie shote, & the same night the capitain and other toke his leaue of her, & the morowe beeyng sondaie departed to Rosindale, and so on thursday the last daie of Iuly came to Buldike, & that daie the ladie Margaret came thether. And the next day, the whole armie of Almaines, Flemynges, and other apperteinyng to the saied lady, met with thenglishemen without Buldike, where thei set furth in ordre, the lady Margaret being present: which toke her leue of all the capitaines and departed to Buldike, whome sir Edwarde Pounynges conduited to the toune gate, and after returned to tharmie. Tharmie to the nombre of. x. M. of the ladies part, & xv. c. Englishmen passed through Brabant, & came the. x. daie of August beyng. s. Laurēce daie, before a litle castle stadyng on the higher side of the riuer of Mase called Brymuoyst strongly bulwarked, in the whiche wer. c. men belongyng to the bastarde of Gelders, with a capitain called Lankesell van Gelder, whiche robbed & spoyled all the parties of Brabāt. Thei within shot fiersely at tharmy as it passed by, and did them litle hurt. The same night Thomas Hert chief gouernor of thēglish part made his approch of his ordinaūce, & in the morning bet doune as much as might be beaten doune for the bulwarkes, & the next daie beyng the. xi. of August the castle was assaulted valiantly, & takē by force, & the capitain and. lxxx. & odde men wer slain &. xix. taken, of the which. xi. were hanged, Ihon Mortō capitain of. c. Englishmē, & one Guiot an esquire of Burgoyn criyng Burgoyne S. George: there was one Englishman slain and no more.

On thursdaie the. xiiii daie, tharmie feried ouer the riuer of Mase in to the land of Geldres, and there soiorned at a litle churche, of our ladie daie the Assumpcion that night, and the nexte daie thei came to a toune called Aiske, belongyng to the Bastarde Geldres, where all the people wer fled, and there was vndermined and caste doune, a litle castle standyng of the said riuer newly edified.

The. xx. of August thei brent the toune of Aiske, and brent al the coūtrey about, and came at last to a toune called Straulle, a strong toune double diked & walled, and within it. iii. C. lx. good men of warre beside the inhabitauntes, whiche at the firste commyng shot Gonnes fiercely and hurte many, and there they planted their siege.

Sir Edward Pounynges, whiche euer was in the forward with his archers, caused fagottes to be made, and trenches to be digged and cast and his men wer so diligent, that his trenche in the mornyng approched so nye the toune gate, that thei within were halfe dismaied: and desired to speake with the lordes, and so thei did. And on. S. Barthelmewes euen, were sixe men sent out of the toune to treate, and sixe hostages deliuered for theim, and then it was agreed that all men of warre should departe with a white sticke in their handes, & to forfet all other thynges, and all the toune dwellers to bee prisoners at the will of the Prince of Castle. The next daie, after the men of warre were departed, erly in the morning sir Ihon Dighby knight, and Ihon Norton Esquire, toke possession of the toune with. CC. Englishe menne: and at after None the Admirall of Flaunders, sir Edward Pounynges, & the

lorde Discilstain, chief capitaines of tharmye, with all other noble men, wit Trūpetes, & Arthoys and Lancastre, and Ostriche, officers at armes in their coates of armes before theim gorgeously appareled, entered the toune, and in the toune hall, toke thothe of thinhabitantes, and ỳ night returned to their armie.

The. xxvi. daie of the same moneth, sir Ihon Digbby, and Ihon Norton, came out of the toune with all their Englishmen, and for them entered a capitain called Yonker Otes, with. CC. l. Almaines, to kepe there a garrison, the whiche daie the armie went before Venlow & sent Artoys with a trumpet to somon the toune: but thei would not here them speke, but shot gunnes at theim. The. xxviii. daie, the armie remoued vnto the Northside of Venlow, and part went ouer the water and made trenches to the water. The capitain of the Englishemen made trenches euen to the toune diche, and the artillerie bet doune the towers of the walles, and euery daie was some skirmishe. And the. xxix. daie as certain Englishemen went a foragyng, it happened. x. of sir Ihon Digbies men to go. v. mile from the armie, and to mete with. xxtiii. horsmen of Geldres which set on them, but they withdrew themselfes into a litle garden, and shot at their enemies, and slewe twoo horsemen and. v. horses, gauled and hurte many of thē, discomfited the remnant, and brought two greate horses to tharmie, and euery man was sore hurte, but in no perell of death thāked be God. The siege thus continuyng, not without skirmishes. xxix. daies sir Edward Pounynges, sir Ihon Digbby dined with monsire de Rony and all other Englishe capitaines, and petie Capitaines, dined with an Almain called Clene Anderlyne, except sir Mathew Broune, and Ihon Fogge whiche kepte the felde, and Richard Wethill whiche kepte the trenche and was sore besette: and in the dinner tyme, thei of the toune issued out on thenglishmen and hurt and toke, one Sheldwiche of Caterbury prisoner, and one Miles: and thenglishmen hurt and slew many of theim, and compelled theim to returne by force of Arrowes, and so thei reculed with one prisoner: For Miles, whiche was led betwene two of the Gelders, perceiuyng rescue commyng, after as he came to an hill, thrust the two Gelders doune the hill before him, and so ranne back to his compaignie, which thyng the two Gelders that led him perceiuyng ranne to Sheldwiche and slew him. The Burgonions perceiuyng, that sir Edwarde Pownynges was displeased with this chaunce, exhorted him with his menne to assaulte the toune, whiche, by thaduise of bastard Emery answered that the cause was theirs, and not his Maisters: And if he gatte the toune by assault, the king his Master should not haue it, but if they would geue the assaulte, he would ioyne with theim, whiche thing they would not do, because thei had kinsemen and frendes, within the toune: sauyng one daie a fewe Almaines assaulted a Bulwerke, and wer slain and taken.

The Englishe capitaines perceiuyng that thei laye there in vain cōsideryng the strength of the toune, and also how their armie was not in nombre to environ the toune, for euer thei had one Gate open, wrote to the kyng, which willed them with all spede to returne, and so thei did.

Sir Edward Pownynges went to the Courte of Burgoyn, where he was highly enterteined of the young prince, & the Lady Margaret his aunte, and receiued great thākes and giftes for his pain. And other capitaines, as sir Ihon Norton, sir Ihon Fogge, sir Ihon Scot & sir Thomas Lind, were made knightes of the Prince. And the lady Margaret, perceiuyng the coates of the souldiers to be foule with liyng on the ground, (for euery man lay not in a tent) gaue to euery yoman a cote of wollen clothe of yellowe, red, white and grene coloures not to her litle laude and praise emong thenglishmen. After that sir Edward Pownynges had ben highly feasted, and more praised of all men for his valiantnes, and good ordre of his people, he returned with his cōpaignie into England, and had lost by warre and sickenes, not fully an. C. persones.

When the Englishemen were departed, Geldres issued out daily, and made skirmishes and fraies with the Burgonions, and asked for their Archers, and Winter beganne sharpely to approche, and by aboundaunce of rayne, the riuer of the Masse roase so high, that the Trenches were drouned, and of force men were compelled to remoue. And when the

Capitaynes considered the strengthe of the Towne, howe it was fortified, victayled and manned, and howe by the rysyng of the Ryuer it was made stronger: thei determined to raise the Siege and too burne and destroye all the Villages and Townes aboute, of the whiche toune of Vēlow, should haue succor in winter, and to mete again at the Prime time of the yere. Thus was the siege raised, and the countrey wasted and spoyled, and then euery capitain returned home.

In Iune the kyng beyng at Leicester, tidynges wer brought to him, that Andrew Barton a Scottishe manne, and a pirate of the sea, saiyng that the kyng of Scottes, had warre with the Portingales, did rob euery nacion, & so stopped the kynges stremes, that no merchauntes almost could passe, and when he toke thenglishemenes goodes he said they wer Portyngales goodes, and thus he haunted and robbed at euery haues mouthe. The kyng moued greately with this craftie pirate, sent sir Edmond Haward lord Admiral of England, and lord Thomas Haward sonne and heire to therle of Surrey, in all the hast to the sea, whiche, hastely made redy two shippes, and without any more abode, toke the sea, and by chaunce of wether were seuered. The lorde Haward liyng in the Downes, perceiued where Andrew was making toward Scotlād, and so fast the saied lorde chased him, that he ouertooke hym, and there was a sore battaill: thenglishmen wer fierce, and the Scottes defended them manfully, and euer Andrew blewe his whistell to encorage his men, yet for al that, the lord Haward and his men by cleane strength entred the mayne decke: then the Englishemen entered on all sides, and the Scottes foughte sore on the hatches, but in conclusion, Andrewe was taken, whiche was so sore wounded, that he died there: then all the remnaunte of the Scottes wer taken, with their shippe called the Lion.

Al this while, was the lord Admirall in chace of the Barke of Scotlande, called Ienny Pirwyn, whiche was wont to saile with the Lion in compaignie, and so muche did he with other, that he laied him on borde, and fiercely assailed him, and the Scottes as hardy and well stomaked men them defended, but the lorde Admirall so encoraged his men, that they entered the Barke and slewe many, and toke all the other.

Thus wer these two shippes taken, and brought to Blacke Wal, the seconde daie of August, and all the Scottes wer sent to the Bishoppes place of Yorke, and there remained at the kynges charge, til other direccion was taken for theim.

After this, the kyng sent the bishop of Winchester, and certain of his counsaill, to tharchebishop of Yorkes place, where the Scottes wer prisoners: & there the bishop rehersed to thē, wher as peace was yet betwene England and Scotland, that thei contrary to that, as theues & pirates, had robbed the kynges subiectes within his stremes, wherfore, thei had deserued to die by the law, & to be hanged at the low water marke. Then said the Scottes, we knowlege our offence, & aske mercie & not the lawe. Then a priest, which was also a prisoner said, my lordes we appele from the kinges iustice to his mercy. Then the bishop asked him, if he were aucthorised by thē to say so, & thei cried al yea yea, then said he, you shal find ȳ kinges mercy, aboue his iustice. For wher you wer ded by ȳ law, yet by his mercy he wil reuiue you, wherfore, you shal depart out of this realme within. xx. daies, vpon pain of death, if you be founde after the. xx. daie, and praie for the king, and so they passed into the Countrey.

The kyng of Scottes, bearyng of the death of Andrewe of Barton, and takyng of his two shippes, was wonderfull wrothe, and sent letters to the kyng, requiryng restitucion, accordyng to the league and amitie. The kyng wrote with brotherly salutacios, to the kyng of Scottes, of the robberies and euill dooynges of Andrew Barton, and that it became not one Prince, to laie a breache of a league, to another Prince, in doyng Iustice vpon a pirate or thiefe, and that all the other Scottes that were taken, had deserued to dye by Iustice, if he had not extended his mercie: & with this answere, the Scottishe Herauld departed home.

Duryng this season, there began greate warre, betwene Pope Iuly, and the Frenche kyng, Loys the. xii: the occasion beganne by one Ihon Bentiuoyle, a greate lorde of Italie, whiche kepte the citee of Boloigne le Grace, from the Pope, whiche, by the aide of the Frenche kyng,

gatte

gaitè the saied citee, from the forenamed Ihon Bentiuoyle: but afterward because the saied Pope Iuly, tooke peace with the Venecians, the French kyng turned from the Pope, and made warre on hym, in the behalfe of Ihon Bentiuoyle, and toke from hym again, the said citee of Boloigne.

The kyng of Englande, wrote often to kyng Loys of Fraunce, to desist from the persecutyng of the Pope, which was his frende and confederate: to which writyng he gaue litle regard, wherefore, the king sent him woorde, to deliuer hym his lawfull enheritaunce, bothe of the Duchie of Normādie and Guyan, and the countreis of Aniow and Mayne and also of his Croune of Fraunce, els he would come with suche a power, that by fine force he would obtein his purpose. For all these writinges, the Frenche kyng still made warre in Italie, and the kyng could of him, haue no certain nor determinate answere. Wherefore, after greate deliberacion had, by the aduise of his counsaill, he determined to make warre on the Frenche kyng, and his Countreis, and called to him Maximilian the Emperor, and Ferdinand kyng of Arragon, and diuerse other princes, and made preparacion, bothe by sea and by lande, and fortified his frontiers against Fraunce, and set furth shippes to the sea for defence of his merchauntes, whiche wer daily in ieoperdy, vnder a pretensed peace of the Frenche kyng, Lewes the. xii.

The kyng this yere, kept the feast of Christmas at Grenewiche, wher was such abundaunce of viādes serued, to all comers of any honest behauor, as hath been fewe times seen. And against Newyeres night, was made in the halle a Castle, gates, towers, and dungion, garnished with artilerie, and weapon after the moste warlike fashion: and on the frount of the castle, was written *le Fortresse dangerus*, and within the castle were. vi. Ladies, clothed in Russet Satin, laide all ouer with leues of Golde, and euery owde, knit with laces of blewe silke and golde. On their heddes, coyfes, and cappes all of gold.

After this castle had been caried about the hal, and the quene had beheld it, in came the kyng with fiue other, appareled in coates, the one halfe of russet satyn, spangled with spangels of fine gold, the other halfe riche clothe of gold, on their heddes cappes of russet satin, embroudered with workes of fine gold bulliō. These vi. assaulted the castle, the ladies seyng them so lustie and coragious, wer content to solace with them, and vpon further communicacion, to yeld the castle, and so thei came doune and daunced a long space. And after the ladies led the knightes into the castle, and then the castle sodainly vanished, out of their sightes.

On the daie of the Epiphanie at night, the kyng with a. xi. other were disguised, after the maner of Italie, called a maske, a thyng not seen afore in Englande, thei were appareled in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold & after the banket doen, these Maskers came in, with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce, some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and commoned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei tooke their leaue and departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies.

The. xv. daie of Ianuarij began the Parliament, where the Bisshop of Cantorburie, began his oracion with this verse, *Iusticia & pax osculate sunt*, vpon whiche, he declared how Iustice should be ministered, and peace should bee nourished, and by what meanes, Iustice was put by, and peace turned into warre. And there vpon he shewed, how the Frēche kyng would do no Iustice, in restoryng the kyng his right enheritaūce, wherefore, for lacke of Iustice, peace of necessitie must turne to warre.

In this Parliament was graunted, twoo fiftenes of the temporaltie, and of the clergie twoo dismes: Duryng which Parliament, one Newbolt yoman of the kynges Garde, whom, the kyng highly fauoured, slewe wilfully a seruaunt of my lorde Willoughbies, in the palaice at Westminster, wherefore, the kyng abhorryng that deede, and settyng a side al affeccion, caused him to be hāged, in the Palaice of Westminster, where he hong twoo daies, in example of other.

In this season, one Iherome Bonuise, whiche was borne in Luke, and was a factor in London for Merchauntes of that nacion, and had plaied Bankroute, and was conueighed out of the realme for debt, was nowe in suche fauor with Pope Iuly, that he made hym his Collector, and Proctor in Englande: and so he kept a greate porte, and resorted to the kyng and his coũsaill, for the Popes affaires, (which then was sore troubled by the Frenche kyng) so that he knewe, bothe the Popes counsaill, and the kynges, and falsly and vntruly, resorted by nighte, to the Frenche Ambassadors, liyng in London, and to theim discouered, what the kyng and the Pope entended, which was not so closly doen, but the king knewe it: and so he was laied for, and was taken commonyng, with one of thesaid Ambassadors, vpon Londõ wall at midnight, & brought to the Tower, where he remained, till by the suite of his frendes, he was delinered, and shortly for shame, voyded the realme.

After that it was concluded, by the body of the Realme, in the high Courte of Parliament assembled, that warre shonld bee made on the Frenche kyng and his dominions, the kyng with all diligence caused newe shippes to be made and repaired, and rigged the old, caused Gonnes, Bowes, Arrowes, and all other artilery, and instrumentes of warre to be made, in suche nombre and quantitee, that it was wonderfull to se what thynges wer doen, bothe for sea and lande in so shorte space.

The kyng of Arragon, whiche also had warre with the French kyng, and hearyng that his sonne the kyng of England would make warre in Fraũce, did write to hym that the duchie of Guyan, was his true enheritaunce, whiche, adioyned to his coũtrey of Biskey: wherfore, if the kyng of Englande would entende to recouer his Duchy first, and send an armie of men to Biskaye, and so to begin at Bayon, whiche is the keye of Guyan, he would aide them with ordinaunce, horsemen, and beastes for cariages, with other necessaries apperteignyng to thesame.

The kyng and his counsaill, puttynge their affiaunce in the promise of the kyng of Arragon, prepared a noble armie all of foremen, and smal ordinaunce, trusiyng to the kyng of Arragon for aide of horsemen and greate ordinaunce, and of thesame made capitain, the noble lorde Thomas Grey Marques of Dorset, to whom, he assigned many other gentlemen, as you shall here after in the next yere.

¶ THE. XIII. YERE.

The.xiii. yere.

THE kyng greatly studiyng, to furnishe furthe his warre, whiche he had begonne against the Frenche kynge, caused sir Edwarde Hawarde his Admirall, with all diligence to take the sea, whiche, with all spede possible made ready diuerse goodly and tall shippes, as the souereigne and other to the nombre of xviii. beside litle shippes: and in his compaignie were Capitaines, sir Weston Browne, Griffith Doune, Edwarde Cobham, Thomas Wyndham, Thomas Lucie, Willyam Pirton, Henry Shirborne, Stephen Bull, George Witwange, Ihon Hopton, Willyam Gimstone, Thomas Draper, Edmond Coke, Ihõ Bordet, with diuerse other. When all these were shipped, they sailed to Douer, and skowred the seas, and so came before Portesmouthe, aboute the middes of Maie.

The third daie of Maie, a gentleman of Flaunders, called Guyot of Guy, came to the kyng, with. v. C. Almaines all in white, whiche was cutte so small, that it could scace hold together. After they had mustered at Blacke Hethe, the kyng made hym knight, and gaue hym a greate chayne, and a yerely pencion, and sent hym with his band to Southampton. About midde Maie, the lorde Marques and other noble men, appoynted by the kyng for the iorney of Biskay, as the Lorde Hawarde, sonne and heire to the erle of Surrey, the Lorde Broke, the Lorde Willoughby, the Lorde Ferrers, the lorde Ihon, the lorde Anthony, and the lorde Leonard Grey, all three brethren to the Marques, sir Griffith App Rice, sir Morreis Barkely, sir Willyam Sandes, the Baron of Burford, sir Richard Cornwall his brother, Willyam Huse, Ihõ Melton, Willyam Kyngston Esquires, sir Henry Willoughby.

Willoughby, and diuerse other with souldiours, to the nombre of. x. M. men, came to Southampton and there mustered. To se the lordes and gentlemen, so well armed and so richely appareled in clothes of gold, and of siluer, and Veluettes of sundery colours, pounsed and embroudered, and all petie capitaines in Satin and damaske, of white and grene, and yomen in clothe of thesame coloures. The Baners, Penons, Standerdes, and Gittons, fresh and newly painted, with sundery beastes and deuises, it was a pleasure to behold. And when sir Willyam Saudes knight, appoynted Threasorer for the warres had paied all the wages, then euery man was commaunded to his shippe. Then you should haue seen byndyng of males, and fardelles, trussyng of coffers and trussers, that no manne was idle: and so on the. xvi. daie, all the armie wer shipped in Spanishe shippes, vitailed for that iorney, and passed the Nedles of Wight all thesame daie, and so did the Lorde Admirall, whiche laie abidyng the wynde at Portesmouth, and toke his course to Britain, of whō I will speke after.

The wynde serued the Marques and his compaigne so well, that he with his whole armie arriued in Biskay, at a Porte called Passagh, Southe West of Fountrabie. The thirde daie of Iune, the lorde Marques and all his faire compaignie landed, and tooke the felde, and him wisely embattailed for his sauegard. The Biskaynes that brought vitaile to the armie, saied to the souldiours: Sirs you bee arriued her, in trust that the kyng of Arragon will helpe you with ordinaunce and cariages, we here no preparacion that he maketh, nor neuer sent vs worde to prepare for your commyng, of the whiche wee maruell muche. These wordes ranne daily through the hoste, whiche made many men sad & to muse: and the Biskanes sore feared, least thenglishemen would destroye their countrey, because their kyng kepte not promise with theim, but the Marques made suche streight Proclamacion, that no souldiour durste do any iniurie to them. Within three daies after that the armie had lien in the feld, there came to him an erle, and another noble man, to welcome hym and his compaignie. Then the Lorde capitain remoued his field, and toke another place nerer Fountraby, more plenteous of water and woodde, and there pitched his felde, euery daie lookyng for aide of the kyng of Arragon, but he harde of none. Then he called a Counsaill, and deuised how thei might haue beastes to draw ordinaunce and cariages then one sir Ihon Stile an Englisheman, caused to be bought twoo. C. Mulettes an Asses, of suche price as the Spanyardes gayned greatly, and when they were putte to cary, they would neither bere nor drawe, for they were beastes which were not exercised a fore. Then the Lorde Marques muche lamented that chaunce, for if he had had redy two hundred drawyng beastes, he might naue runne a greate waie in Guian with his power, whiche then was not fortified, neither of men of warre, nor municions, nor artilarie.

The Frenchemen of Bayon, hearyng of the Englishemennes campe, made a greate askry betwene the riuer of sainct Maria and Bayon: the Englishmen perceiuyng thesame, passed ẏ riuer in good ordre of battail, al being on foote for lacke of the horsemen that the kyng of Arragon promised, and so with arrowes chased the Frenchemen on horsebackes that thei fled, and many horses foundered, and many a man was brosed or thei came to Bayon: at the whiche thenglishmen laughed & lamented. Firste, to se their cowardnes, second, to remembre what thei might haue doen, if thei had had horses mete for their purpose: yet all this notwithstandyng, thei retired to their campe in suche ordre, that the Spanyardes wondered muche, bothe at their fierce corage and sobre ordre.

The kyng of Nauar, bearyng of the puissaunt armie of the English men liyng in Biskey so nere to his countrey, was sore troubled, & wondered much what the matter should meane: wherfore, he sent to the lord Marques, a bisshop and diuerse other, to shewe to hym and all his cōsaill, that if it pleased them, his countrey should sende them victaill, and all thynges necessarie for their money, and to do any other pleasure that thei could do, whiche might be to the pleasure of hym and all his armie, so ẏ his realme should be sure of any iniuriōs to be made by his people.

The Marques beyng capitain generall, with the aduise of the other Lordes and counsaill, muche

muche highly thanked the king of Nauer of his good wil, aide, and comfort, which thynges onely they required: and if it pleased him, that his people will and maie victaill vs, we shall not onely paie theim for it, but also warraunt the passyng and repassing for vs and oures in sauetie, and that by vs no preiudice shalbee dooen to his realme, nor by our consent. With which answere the kyng of Nauer was ioyous, and suffered his people to victaill, and resort to the hooste, with all thynges necessarie and belongyng to thesame, in greate windes and stormes, for that tyme happened muche wind and raine, whiche sore encombered the souldioürs, that laye nightly on the bare grounde, for euery man had not a tent or pauilion, whereof some were lame, and some deffe, with other diseases.

When the armie had lien there. xxx. daies, in the seconde moneth there came from the kyng of Arragon, a bisshop and other nobles of his cõsaill: but whē it was knowen that it was thesame bisshop that made the answere to the lorde Darcie at Caleis Males, as you haue hard the last yere, then many said, he came for no good but for delaies: but he required the lord Marques to take pacience, for shortly suche prepare should bee made, that he should see and proue, that it should be to the honor of his Master, and to his greate renoume: to whom the Marques answered, that vpon confidence of the king of Arragons promise that thei should lacke no beastes mete for drawyng, and horsemen, the kyng of England had sent hym and his compaignions thether, whereof we haue trusted stille our firste bether commyng, whiche thynges if wee had had, we had dooen other enterprises then we haue dooen: for now we haue lien here in campe to the greate charge of our Master the kyng of England, and to no profite, and to our losse and greate hurt. For at our arriuall the coütrey of Guyan for the which we came, was vnprouided of men of warr, munitions, and ordinaunce, by reason whereof (if all thynges had been accomplished of the part of your Master as we trusted) we might haue had that whiche we came for, and if our commission had not been to folowe the kyng your Masters will, as to whom we bee sent, I assure you we would haue dooen other wise or this: but now the Frenchmen haue fortefied, victailed and manned their tounes, and wee haue spent tyme and dooen nothyng at all, lyngeryng for the kyng your Master, to the losse of vs and greate blemishyng of our honours.

The bisshop perceiuyng that the Englishe capitaines were couragious and discontent with their idle abode, flatteryngly desired theim to tary a while for the best, for a backe enemie saied he, is to bee regarded. Then saied the lorde Marques capitain generall, if we knewe the Kynges entent, it would suffice vs. Then saied the bisshop, you shall knowe it shortly: and so he departed from the armie.

Tharmie thus lyngeryng, euer desirous to be at the busines that thei came for, their victaile was muche part Garlike, and the Englishemen did eate of the Garlike with all meates, and dranke hote wynes in the hote wether, and did eate all the hote frutes that thei could gette, whiche caused their bloudde so to boyle in their belies, that there fell sicke three thousande of the flixe, and thereof died. xviii. hundred men.

The lorde Marques and other capitaines perceiuyng this mischief, sent to the kyng of Arragon certain Lordes of the hooste to knowe his pleasure. The whiche answered them with gentle fashion, that the counsaill of Englande and his counsaill, had taken an ordre in all thyng of late and how the duke Dalua a greate prince of Spain, should shortly with an armie royall ioyne with theim, and so to procede in their enterprise. With whiche answere and small chere, the lordes of Englande departed, and made report to their capitain accordyng, whiche thought it verie sleight, but euer he regarded his Masters commaundement, and counsailed all the lordes to be content with thesame.

The armie lyng thus still, and the sickenes not slaked, the people beyng idle, some euill disposed persones saied, that euery capitain was allowed. viii. d. for a common souldier, whiche was vntrue, for thei had alowed onely. vi. d. and so began together compaignies, the lordes perceiuyng this, toke with theim their trustie seruauntes, and toke the beginners of the mischief, whiche wer of the retinue of my lorde Willoughby, and put them in warde.

When thei wer arrested, other of like euil disposicion began to crake and face, whiche thyng beyng perceiued, the lorde Marques by the adoice of other capitaines caused serche to bee made, and so founde out the beginner of the mischief, whiche was deliuered to Willyam Kyngston Esquire then Prouost Marshall, and so was put to death to the terror of all other.

Duryng the tyme that the armie laie thus lyngeryng, the Frenchmen diuerse tymes came to behold the Englishemen, and when thei sawe any part of the armie remoue toward theim, incontenent thei fled: and so the English archers euery daie went a forragyng on the borders of Guian almoste to Bayon, and brent many pretie vilages, but euer they desired to haue tidynges of the king of Arragon, and to know what thei should do, for they wer commaanded to be ruled by them.

The Englishemen thus lyng idlely abidyng the aide of the kyng of Arragon, tidynges came daily into the host, how the Duke Dalua was commyng with a great puissaunce to ioyne with the English army, and so to inuade Guyan: the Englishe capitaines were ioyfull of these tidynges, not so muche for the aide of the Spanyardes which they litle regarded, but for the beastes for cariage of greate artilerie, whiche they brought not with theim, in hope of the kyng of Arragons promes: for if thei had had beastes for their cariage, and greate ordinaunce accordyng to the appoyntement, they would haue doen otherwise, whiche thyng sore greued their hartes.

Now thei thus lokyng for the Duke Dalua, hard euery daie how he marched towarde theim, and was within a daies iorney or litle more of them, of the which the English menne were merueilous ioyfull, but the Duke which pretended another thyng, sodainly remoued his armie in a night with such diligēce that he entered the realme of Nauer, and was before the citie of Pampilona the chief citie of Nauer before the kyng wist of it, whiche nothyng suspected of that pollicie.

Thus the kyng was sodainly trapped, supposyng tharmie of Spain to haue been reised to inuade Guyan, and hauyng nothyng defensable for the warre, in the night fled out at a posterne into Fraunce where he after died. The citie of Pampilona and all the countrey of Nauer, beyng vnprouided of artilarie and other defences, yelded theselfes to the Spanyardes, and thus was the realme of Nauer wonne: whiche thyng made the lorde Marques and his compaignie not a litle to maruell. So shortely after came to the lorde captain and the Englishemen, diuerse Lordes sent from the Kyng of Arragon, whiche saied: The kyng our soueraigne lorde, sendeth to you greate gramercies, and highly thāketh you for your pain, and so it is that by Goddes grace and your good abode, he with his power hath taken and conquered therealme of Nauer, and if that countrey had not bee taken, thei might haue intercepted all suche ordinaunce and victail, as the king of Arragon our master might haue sent to you, but now you bee in suche a suretie and his puyssaunce with you, and yours with his, that ye maie sauely ioyne, whiche you shall see shortly, ye and he hymself in proper person to ioyne with you. Well said the lorde Marques capitain generall, we haue soiourned long here abidyng his commyng, and if the commission and expresse commaundement of the king my soueraigne lord wer not, that I should do nothing without the assent of the king your master, I assure you that the French menne should haue knowen that Englishmen had been here, and not to haue lien so long in idlenes as we haue done: but if the kyng your master doo as you reporte, it shalbe muche to his honor and to our greate comforte, and so the lordes of Spayne departed.

As the armie of Englishmen thus laie in campe, there was a village called Sancta Maria, in whiche diuerse of the Englishmen, and especially suche as had been sicke, resorted and reposed theimself, not to the litle auauntage of the toune, so it fortuned that a Spanyard gaue euill language to the Englisheman, whiche gaue him a buffet on the face, the toure rose and sett on the Englisheman, and gathered in suche a multitude, that the Englisheman whiche was the first beginner was slain, because only three Englishemen came to his rescue, which wer all hurte. The Almaynes that laie at the tounes ende, strake Alarum whiche bearyng

hearyng the campe, cried to harnes euery man. The tidynges were brought to the campe, that thei of the toun had slain an Englishman and would bid battaill: the souldiers hearyng this, in a rage ranne to the toune in suche maner, that the capitaines could not stay them, and slewe and robbed the people without mercy. The people fled ouer the water into Guyan. The Capitaines seyng this, with their priuie seruauntes kepte the straightes, by the which the souldiers returned with pillage and naperie, brasse, pewter, beddes, plate, and other houshold stuffe, and apparell: whiche was commaunded to be laied doune by the lordes on a hepe. And after the lordes went to the toune to se what harme the Englishmen had doen, there thei found many Biskaynes slain, and the toune robbed and the people fled. Then thei by sobre meanes & gentle exhortacion, brought all the souldiers to the campe: then Proclamacion was made that euery man vpon pain of death should bring in his pillage. Now ther wer. xxi. men, of whō one was a gentleman, whiche had taken awaie. x. thousande Dukates, who fled toward Gascoyne and were taken, and brought before the lord capitain and other, and adiudged to dye: of the whiche. vii. wer put in execucion, and the other. xiiii. should haue died the morow after, if the lordes of Spayne had not been there at their iudgement which with greate diligence and labor gat their pardon: and so all the pillage almost was restored, and the countrey pacefied.

Then one daie the Frenchemen whiche hard of this riot and trouble in the hoste, issued out of Bayon toward the Englishe mennes armie, the Englishmen hearing therof, marched toward them, & when the French men perceiued that thei wer asskried, thei sodeinly returned. Thenglishemenne perceiuyng that the Frenchemen would not tary, went to a good toune called sainct Ihon de Luce, and brent, robbed and killed the inhabitauntes, and so from thence spoiled diuerse other villages, aboute the borders of Guyan. Thus the armie laie till the moneth of October, and winter began sore to encrease, and the lord Marques capitain generall fell sore sicke, & then the lorde Haward had vnder hym the whole gouernaunce of tharmie, to whom wer sent diuerse lordes of the priuie counsaill of Spain, saiyng: the king our master sendeth you word, that he would gladly come to you but the season is spent, the ground is so moyste that cariage cannot be conueighed, the feldes so barrain that beastes cannot fede, and the wether so trobleous that people cannot well lye abrode in campe: therfore he would desire you all these thynges considred, to breke vp your felde, and sauer your self to the tounes and villages of his countrey, till the spryng of the yere, at whiche tyme there shall resorte to you, freshe succors out of Englande, and he hymself will be with you with all ordinaunce necessary, as becommeth to suche an armie, and then shall procede the firste pretensed enterprise, to the honor of the kyng your master and ours, and not to your small fame and renoume. When this message was bard by the whole counsaill, no manne was contented, but the lorde Haward whiche had the whole gouernaunce vnder the Marques saied; what report of honour can we make of the kyng of Arragon your master, for at his desire we be come hether, and here haue lien in campe a long space, euer tariyng for performaunce of his promise, & yet nothing hath he performed, our people be dedde of the flixe in great nombre: we gentlemen euerychone doth muche lament this long idlenes, by reason wherof many a tall man hauyng nothyng to do, but abidyng your masters pleasure, hath fall to some mischief, or by sickenes, or els for misdoyng executed by Iustice. What shall the kyng our master report of our slothfulnes, whiche hath spent hym innumerable treasure and nothyng gained? And yet we would make Winter warre, and the king of Arragon your master vs deniith of suche thynges as he promised, and wilbeth vs like cowardes to our dishonor, to reise our Campe without any notable act doen on the Frenchemen, for whiche cause we came.

The Spanyardes perceiuyng the grudge of the Englishemen, saied that tyme passed could not be renoked, and that they had not lien idlely, for the frontiers of Guyan had susteined such damage, as in many yeres thei shall not recouer again, and all this while the Frenchmen durst not medle with you, so that you haue lost no honor, and if you tary here this Winter by your daily skirnishyng, thei shall receiue greate damage: duryng whiche time,

the kyng our master hath commaunded, that thynges mete and necessarie for you to be at your commaundement, and in the spring of the yere, he shall ioyne with you, so that your enemies and his shall well knowe your puissaunce, for he taketh all enemies to you, to be his, so with faire wordes the counsaill of Spayne departed.

Then the lorde Haward beyng chief, because the Marques was sick counsailed with all the other lordes and capitaines, and so in the ende of October thei agreed to breake vp their Campe, and so thei did, and the lorde Marques and his people went to sainct Sebastian, the lorde Hawarde and his retinew to Rendre, & the lord Willoughby to Garschang, sir Willyam Sandes and many other capitaines to Fruntrabie, and so euery capitain with his retinew wer seuered in different villages.

The English souldiers, what for sickenes, and what for miserie of the countrey, euer desired to returne into England. The kyng of England aduertised by the kyng of Arragon of his entent, and how he would set forward the first spring, sent Wyhsore his Herauld of Armes to his armie willyng them there to tary, and that he would send them newe aide, vnder the conduite of the lorde Harbert his Chamberlain: which lettre when it was redde, the souldiers began to murmure and grudge after suche a sort, saiyng: that thei would not abide and die of the flixe in suche a wretched countrey, to be defrauded and mocked of the kyng of Arragon the next yere, as thei wer this yere, and spake such outragious wordes, that the captain could not staie them, in so much that thei in a fury had slain the lorde Haward & diuerse other, if thei had not folowed their myndes, and so thei hired shippes and putte the lorde Marques in one, whiche was so weake that he asked where he was: and then euery man shipped, whiche was in Nouembre, and in the beginnyng of Decembre thei landed in Englande. The kyng of Arragon was sore discontent with their departyng, for thei spent much money and substaunce in his countrey, and saied opēly, that if thei had taried he would haue inuaded Guyan, and the Englishmen were glad that thei were departed out of such a countrey, where thei had litle health, lesse pleasure, and much losse of tyme: but by their liyng there, the Kyng of Arragon stale the realme of Nauer, and the Englishemen left as muche money there, as he sent into England with his daughter.

When the Marques sailed into Spayne in the moneth of May, the same tyme sir Edward Hawarde Lorde Admirall of Englande, as you haue hard before sailed toward Britain, and on Trinitie Sūdaie arriued at Bertram Bay in Britain, with xx. greate shippes, and sodainly set his men on lande: then the Britaynes made an askrie, and sette their beacons on fire, and shot out of a bulwarke that they had fortefied at the poynt of the Baye: but the Englishe men whiche wer in the ship of Willyam Gonstone Grocer of Lōdon, toke first land maugre them all, and all other after, and so manfully thei set on the bulwarke that thei wan it, and the Britons fled and many slain. Then the Admirall set his men in an ordre, and passed in the countrey seuen myles, burnyng and wastyng townes and villages: and in his returne he skirmished with diuerse men of armes and slewe diuerse of theim, and notwithstandyng the Britons fought valiauntly for defence of their coūtrey, yet thei lost and nothing wan: and so the lorde Admirall returned to his shippe.

Vpon mondaie the xxiii. day of May he landed in the moroyng, and commaunded to burne the lorde Piers Meguns place, and the toune of Conket and diuerse other places, and chased the Britones to the Castle of Brest, and for all assembles and showes that the Britons made, yet thei suffered the Englishmen peaceably to returne with their praies and gaines. The Britons seyng the hurte that the naune of England did to them, saied: alas the king of Englande hath euer before this time succoured vs, and now he intendeth to destroye vs, shame come to him that is the cause thereof.

The first daie of Iune the Englishemen toke lande in Croyton Bay: then the Lordes of Britain sent worde to the Lord Admirall, that if he would abide, thei would fight with him in plain felde. The Admirall rewarded the messenger, and said, go say to them that sent thee, that al this daie thei shall finde me here, tariyng their commyng. Then he to encou-

rage diuerse gentlemen dubbed theim knightes, as sir Edwarde Broke, brother to the lorde Cobham, sir Griffithe Doune, sir Thomas Wyndhā, sir Thomas Lucie, sir William Pirton, sir Henry Shirborne, sir Stephen Bull, sir Ihon Burdett: Then the lorde Admirall highly incouraged his men, when he sawe the Britons come, whiche wer. x. thousand at the least, the Englishemen but onely. xxv. C. or fewe aboue, bidding the remembre the honor and renouine that should come to them, if thei gained the iorney, and yet if thei wer slain, their valiauntnes was to be praised, & their true diligence to do their master seruice much to be alowed.

When the Britons sawe the order of the Englishemen and their banners displaied, thei wer sodainly astonnied: then a gentleman of Britain of muche experience, aduised the other capitaines not to fight, but to returne a little & to take a strong grounde, and to watche the Englishmen when thei returned to their shippes, and then to take thauauntage. And so the capitaines began to returne: and when the commons sawe them returne, all thei ranne awaye as faste as thei might, supposyng that their capitaines had seen or knowen some greate perell toward them, because thei were not priuy of their Capitaines counsaill. And when thei came home to their houses, some saied the battaill was greate, and some saied that the Englishemen wer. xl. thousande The lord Admirall seyng this chaunce, when night came departed to his shippes: but yet they knewe not why thei fled, till after he hard the truthe. The gentlemen of Britain called a great counsaill, saiyng: that the Englishmen daily wasted the countrey on the sea cost, and that there was no trust in the commonaltie, and that the gentlemen alone could not defende the countrey, wherefore, thei concluded to sende a messenger to the lorde Admirall, desiryng hym of a safe conduite for diuerse persones to speke with hym, the whiche he gently graunted. Then certain lordes of Britain toke a bote, and came to the ship of the lorde Admirall, where he was set with all the counsaill of the capitaines about him. Then thei desired him humbly to surcest of his rigorous and cruell warre, and especially of burning of tounes whiche to you is no proffite, and if you will haue the Castle of Brest, it shall be at your commaundement, so that you be able to defend it, and we desire nothing so muche as peace. Naie saied the Lorde Admirall, wee are sent hether to make warre and not peace. Then thei humbely required hym for Goddes sake to graunt theim peace for sixe daies, so that thei might sende to the kyng their lorde, to aduertise him of their trouble and calamitie. Then the lorde Admirall answered, that gentlemen ought to defend their coūtrey by force, rather then to sue for peace: with the whiche saiyng the Britons wer ashamed: yet thei hartely thanked him, and so he made them a banket and thei departed: and thei sent a lande for freshe water and other freshe victailes, and then hearing that there wer men of warre vpon the sea, he coasted from them alongest al the coastes of Normandy, still skowryng the seas, so that no enemie appered: and at the last came and laie by the isle of Wight, to see if any enemies would appere on thenglishe coast: duryng whiche time diuerse shippes kept the North seas, vnder the conduite of sir Edward Ichyngham, Ihon Lewes, Ihon Louedaie, whiche diligently skowred the seas.

This yere the King had a solempne Iustes at Grenewiche in Iune: first came in ladies all in White and Red silke, set vpon Coursers trapped in thesame suite, freated ouer with gold, after whom folowed a fountain curiously made of Russet Sattin, with eight Gargilles spoutyng Water, within the Fountain sat a knight armed at all peces. After this Fountain folowed a lady all in blacke silke dropped with fine siluer, on a courser trapped in the same. After folowed a knight in a horse litter, the Coursers and litter appareled blacke with Siluer droppes. When the Fountain came to the tilt, the Ladies rode rounde aboute, and so did the Fountain and the knight within the liter. And after theim wer brought two goodly Coursers appareled for the Iustes: and when thei came to the Tiltes ende, the two knightes mounted on the two Coursers abidyng all commers. The king was in the fountain and sir Charles Brādon was in the litter. Then sodainly with great noyse of Trompettes, entered sir Thomas Kneuet in a Castle of Cole blacke, and ouer the castell was written, *The dolorous Castle*, and so he and the erle of Essex, the lorde Haward and other ran their

their courses, with the King and sir Charles Brandon, and euer the king brake moste speres.

The Kyng euer remembring his warres, caused all his shippes and Galies to be rigged and prepared, with all manner of ordinaunce and artillery, mete for shippes of warre. And emongest all other, he decked the Regent, a ship royall, as chief ship of that nauie, and then caused souldiers mete for thesame shippes, to muster on blacke Hethe, and he appointed capitaines for that tyme, sir Anthony Oughtred, sir Edward Ichyngham, Willyam Sidney, and diuerse other gentlemen, whiche shortly shipped and came before the Isle of Wight, butin their passage a Galey was lost by negligence of the Master.

The Kyng euer desiryng to see his nauie together, roade to Portesmouthe, and there he appoynted capitaines for the Regent, sir Thomas Kneuet Master of his horse, and sir Thom Carew of Deuonshire. And to another ship royall called the souereigne, he appoynted sir Charles Brādon, and sir Henry Guildforde, and with theim in the souereigne were put. lx. of the tallest yomen of the kynges Gard, and many other gentlemen wer made Capitaines. The king made a greate banquet to all the capitaines, and euery one sware to another euer to defend, aide, & cōfort one another without failyng, and this they promised before the Kyng, whiche committed theim to God, and so with great noyse of minstrelsie, thei toke their shippes, whiche wer. xxv. in nombre of greate burden, and well furnished of all thynges.

The Frenche kyng hearyng what damnage thenglishmen had done in Britaine, strongly furnished his Nauie in the hauen of Brest, to the nombre of. xxxix. saile, and for chief ordeined a Carike of Brest, apperteignyng to the Quene his wife, whiche was Duches and heire of Britayne called Cordelier, whiche was a strong ship furnished in all poyntes, and so thei set forwarde out of Brest the. x. daie of August, and came to Britayne Bay, in which place the self same day, beyng the daie of S. Laurence, the Englishe nauie was arriued.

When the Englishe menne perceiued the French Nauie to be out of Brest hauen, then the lorde Admirall was very ioyous, then euery man prepared according to his duetie, the Archers to shote, the Gonners to lose, the men of Armes to fight, the Pages went to the toppe Castle with dartes: thus all thynges beyng prouided and set in ordre, the Englishe men approched toward the Frenchemen, whiche came fiercely forwarde, some leuyng his Ancre, some with his foresaile onely to take the moste auauntage: and when thei wer in sight, thei shot ordinaunce so terrebly together, that all the sea coast sounded of it. The Lorde Admirall made with the greate ship of Depe, and chased her stil: sir Henry Guilford and sir Charles Brandon, made with the greate Caricke of Brest, beeyng in the Souereigne, and laied stemme to stemme to the Caricke, but by negligence of the Master, or els by smoke of the ordinaunce or otherwise, the Souereigne was cast at the sterne of the Caricke, with whiche auauntage the Frenche menne showted for ioye: but when sir Thomas Kneuet whiche was ready to haue borded the greate ship of Depe, sawe that the Souereigne had missed the Caricke, which sir Anthony Oughtred chased hard at the starne, and bowged her in diuerse places, and set a fire her powder as some say, but sodainly the Regent crappeled with her a long boord and when thei of the Carick perceiued that thei could not depart, thei let slip and Ancre, and so with the streme the shippes turned, and the Caricke was on the wetherside, and the Regent on the lye side, the fight was very cruell, for the archers of the Englishe parte, and the Crossebowes of the Frenche part did their vttermoste: but for all that the English men entered the Caricke, whiche seyng a varlet Gonner beyng desperate put fire in the Gonne powder as other saie, and set the whole ship of fire, the flame wherof, set fire in the Regent, and so these twoo noble shippes which were so crappeled together that thei could not part, wer consumed by fire. The Frenche nauie perceiuyng this fled in all hast, some to Brest, and some to the Isles adioynyng. The Englishmen in maner dismaied, sent out bootes to help them in the Regent, but the fire was so great that in maner no man durst approche, sauyng that by the Iames of Hull wer certein Frenchmen

Frenchmen that could swymme saued. This burnyng of the Caricke was happy for the Frenche nauie, or els thei had been better assailed of thenglishemen, whiche were so amased with this chaunce, that thei folowed them not. The capitain of this Carick was sir Piers Morgan and with hym. ix. C. mē slain and ded: and with sir Thomas Kneuet and sir Ihon Carow wer. vii. C. men drowned and brent, and that night all the Englishemen laie in Bartrain Baie, for the Frenche flete was sparkeled as you haue hard.

The lorde Admirall called al the capitaines together, desiryng them not to be abasshed with this chaunce of warre, for he thought now that this was the worste fortune that could happen to theim, therfore to studie how to be reuenged, and so thei concluded all to go to the sea, whiche thei did, and on the coast of Britain toke many shippes, and such as thei could not cary awaie they set on fire, small and great to a greate nombre on all the coast of Britain, Normandy and Picardy, and thus thei kept the sea.

The king of England heryng of the losse of the Regent, caused a greate shippe to be made, suche another as was neuer seen before in Englande, and called it, *Henry grace de Dieu.*

The French kyng heryng that his flete was thus deuided, and of the losse of his greate Carick, he sent to a knight of the Rhodes called Prior Ihon, whiche had three Galies of force, with diuerse Foystes & Rowgalies so well ordinaūced and with suche peces as was not seen in shippes before his commyng: for he laye on the coast of Barbary to defende certein of the Religion of the Rhodes commyng to Tripoly, and at the Frenche kynges request came into Britain and there taried.

In Nouembre the kyng called his high Courte of Parliament, and there was concluded that the kyng hymself in person, with an armie royall would inuade his realme of Fraunce, with fire and Sworde, which thing beeyng knowen to his subiectes, and especiall to suche as should go with him, no man can doubt, but that preparacion was made of harneis, weapon, artillery, banners and all other thynges necessary for such an enterprice.

The kyng after this Parliament ended, kept a solemne Christemas at Grenewiche to chere his nobles, and on the twelfe daie at night came into the hall a Mount, called the riche Mount. The Mount was set full of riche flowers of silke, and especially full of Brome slippes full of coddes, the braunches wer grene Sattin, and the flowers flat Gold of Damaske, whiche signified Plantagenet. On the top stode a goodly Bekon geuyng light, rounde aboute the Bekon sat the king and fiue other, all in coates and cappes of right Crimosin velues, enbroudered with flat gold of Dāmaske, their coates set full of spangelles of gold, and foure wood houses drewe the Mount till it came before the quene, and then the king and his compaignie discended and daunced: then sodainly the Mount opened, and out came sixe ladies all in Crimosin satin and plunket, enbroudered with Golde and perle, with French hoddes on their heddes, and thei daunced alone. Then the lordes of the Mount tooke the ladies and daunced together: and the ladies reentred and the Mount closed, and so was conueighed out of the hall. Then the Kyng shifted him and came to the Quene, and sat at the banquite whiche was very sumpteous. And after the Purificacion of our Lady, the Kyng created sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lisle. In Marche folowyng, was the kynges nauie of shippes royall, and other mete for the war set furth to the nombre of xlii. beside other Blangars, the lorde Admirall was chief, and with him sir Water Deuereux lorde Ferreis, sir Wolstan Browne, sir Edwarde Ichyngham, sir Antony Poyntz, sir Ihon Wallop, sir Thomas Wyndam, sir Stephin Bull, Willyam Fitz Willyam, Arthur Plantagenet, Willyam Sidney Esquires, and diuerse other noble and valiaunt Capitaines: thei sailed to Portesmouthe, and there laie abidyng Wynde: duryng whiche tyme, the kyng sent into Flaunders for such thynges as he neded, and caused them to be brought to Calcis against his cōmyng.

When the wynde serued, the nauie royall of England wayed anker and made saile into Britain, and came into Bertram Bay, and there lay at Anker in the sight of the Frenche Nauie. Now you must vnderstand, that all the greate Nauie whiche the Frenche kyng had pre-

pared, laie in the hauen of Brest, so well furnished in al thynges, that no doubt it was a wonder to se: but when thei wer ready to sette furthe, and sawe the Englishe flete on the coast, thei determined clerely to saue theselfes in Brest hauen. Then the Englishemen determined clerely to sette on them in the hauen, and so in good ordre of battaill sailed forward, but at the first entry, one ship, wherof Arthur Plantagenet was capitain, fell on a blynde rocke & brast asunder, by reason wherof all the other stoied to the greate displeasure of all the remnaunt, and not to the litle ioye of the Frenchme whiche shot at them without doing any harme. So the Englishe capitaines perceiuyng that the hauen was daungerous to entre without an expert lodesman, cast about and returned to their harborough at Bertram Baye again.

The Frenchmen perceiuyng that the Englishmen intended to assaile theim, moored their shippes as nye to the Castle of Brest as thei could, and set bulwarkes on the land on euery side to shote at the Englishmen. Also thei frapped together xxiiii. greate Hulkes, that came to the baye for salt, and set them on a rowe, to the intent that if the Englishe menne would haue assaulted theim, thei would haue set them on a fire, and let theim driue with the streme amongest the Englishe Nauie. Prior Ihon also laie still in Blacke Sable or Whitesande Baye, and plucked his Galies to the shore, and sette his Basiliskes and other ordinaunce in the mouthe of the Baye, whiche Baye was bulwarked on euery side, that by water it was not possible to be wonne.

The lorde Admirall perceiuyng the Nauie of Fraunce to lye this in feare, and not willing nor daryng come abrode, but to lye as prisoners in a dongeon, wrote to the Kyng to come thether in persone, and to haue the honor of so high an entreprise: whiche writyng the Kynges counsaill nothing allowed, for putting the kyng in ieoperdy vpon she chaunce of the sea. Wherefore the king wrote sharply to hym, to accomplishe that whiche appertened to his duetie: whiche caused hym to take courage and put thynges in aduenture as after you shall here.

¶ THE. V. YERE.

The.v.yere. AS you haue hard before, the lorde Admirall of England lay still on the coast of Britain in the Bay, called Bartrames Baye, so that for feare of hym and the Englishe Nauie, neither the greate shippes in Brest hauen durst once moue to the sea-ward, nor yet Prior Ihon for al his strong Galeies would once set out a saile; sauyng now and then sende furthe his small Foystes, to make a shew before the English Nauy, whiche chased them to their bay, but because the English shippes were so greate, thei could not entre the bay, and so manned out boates and toke one of the best Foystes, and that with greate daungier, for the Galeis and the bulwarkes shot all at one time, that it was a wōder how the Englishemen escaped.

The Admirall of Englande perceiuyng the Frenche mennes pollicy, called a counsaill, and there determined firste to assaile Prior Ihon and his Galeis, lyng in Whitsand baye, and after to set on the remnaunt in the hauē of Brest. Then first was appoynted that Water lorde Ferreis, sir Stephin Bul and other capitaines, should go a lande with a conuenient, compaignie, to assault the bulwarkes of Whitsand bay, while the Lorde Admirall entered with rowe Barges and litle Galies into the bay, so that the Frenchmen should be assailed bothe by water and land. Thus was it fully agreed by the whole counsaill: but alas, this noble capitain counsailed by a Spanishe knight called sir Alphous Charant, whiche saied that he might entre the Bay with litle ieopartly, called to hym Willym Fitz Willyam, Willyam Cooke, Ihon Colley, and sir Wolstan Browne as the chief and his moste trusty frendes, and declared to theim that the matter was litle, and the honor greate, if they only tooke on them that enterprise, and let noue other know of it. Thei like men of haute courage and desiryng honour, gladly assented: so on sainct Markes daie the. xxv. daie of Aprill, thesaid Admirall put himself in a small rowe barge, with three other small rowing shippes

and

and his awne ship boate, and so rowed sodainly into the Baye, where Prior Ihon had moored his Galies iust to the ground, whiche Galies with the bulwarkes on the lande, shot so terribly that thei that folowed were afraid: but assone as he came to the Galies, he entered and draue out the Frenche men. William Fitiz William within his shippe was sore hurte with a quarell. The bay was very shalowe, and the other shippes could not entre, for the tide was spent, whiche thyng the Frenchmen perceiuyng, and that there could come no succoure to the Admirall, with Morris pikes entered again the Galies, and fought with the Englishmen in the Galies. And the Admirall perceiuyng their approchyng, thought to haue entered again into his rowe Barge whiche by violence of the tide was driuen doune the streme, and so with a pike was throwen ouer the borde and so drouned, and there the forenamed Alphous was slain, and all the other boates and vesselles scaped hardely, for if thei had taried, the tide had failed them and then all had been lost. The lorde Ferreis and other capitaines muche were dolent of this chaunce, and some saied he did it without counsaill, and so he hath sped. And therfore although that they would haue sette on the Nauie in Brest hauen yet hauyng no Admirall nor commission, thei determined to do nothing farther till thei knew the kynges pleasure, and so sailed into Englande. The Frenche Nauie perceiuyng that the Englishmen made toward England, came out of their hauens, and Prior Ihon set furthe his Galies and Foystes, and coasted Britain and Normandy, and coasted ouer to the coast of Sussex and al his compaignie, and landed on the sea coast, and set fire on the poore cotages. The gentlemen that dwelte nere, shortely reised the countrey, and came to the coast and droue Prior Ihon to his Galeis. This was all the hurt that this stout capitain of so great fame did to England, sauyng he robbed certein poore Fishermen of Whitynges. The kyng hearyng of the death of his Admirall was not a litle sory, consideryng both ẏ nobilitie of his birthe, and the valiauntnes of his persone, but all sorowe auaileth not whē the chaunce is past. Therfore the kyng heryng that the Frenche Nauie was abrode, called to hym the lorde Thomas Haward, elder brother to sir Edward Haward late Admirall, and sonne and heire apparaunt to the Erle of Surrey, and made him Admirall, willyng him to reuēge his brothers death, whiche with greate reuerence, thanked the kyng of the high truste that he had put him in. And then immediatly went to the sea, and so nobly & valiauntly did skower the sea, that the French men had no lust to kepe the coast of Englande, for he fought with theim at their awne portes.

The kyng whiche had all thynges necessary and mete for the warre, entendyng to passe the sea in propre person, appoynted the valiaūt lord George Talbot Erle of Shrewesbury, and high Steward of his houshold to be capitain generall of his forward, and in his compaignie wer lorde Thomas Stanley Erle of Derby, lorde Decowrey Prior of. S. Ihons, sir Rober Radcliffe Lorde Fitzwater, the Lorde Hastynges, the Lorde Cobham, sir Rice Ap Thomas, sir Thomas Blount, sir Richard Sachiuerell, sir Ihon Dighby, sir Ihon Askewe, sir Lewes Bagot, sir Thomas Cornewall, and many Knightes and Esquiers and souldiers, to the nombre of. viii. M. menne, whiche all passed the sea, and to Caleis in the middle of May.

The lorde Herbert called sir Charles Somerset, chief Chamberlain to the kyng: the ende of thesame monethe with. vi. M. men passed the sea in whose compaignie were these Erles of Northumberlande Percie, of Kent Graye, of Wilshire Stafford, the lorde Fitzwater, the lorde Dudley, the lorde Delawar, sir Thomas West his sonne, sir Edward Husey, sir Robert Dimmocke, sir Dauie Owen, with many other gentlemenne, some with speres on horsebacke, some with pikes on foote, some with dimilaunces, and this was the rereward. Such good diligēce was made that these two capitaines with all their compaignie, furnished with artilerie, pouder, tentes, cariages, and all thynges necessary for the warres wer landed at Caleis the last daie of Maij.

After thei had soiourned certain daies in Caleis, and that all thynges requisite wer ready, thei caused a Trompet to blowe and made Proclamacion, that euery man should departe out of the toune, and so to begin the campe. The erle of Shrewesbury with his compaignie first toke the felde, after him folowed the lorde Herbert with his compaignie, in maner of a

 rereward.

rereward. And after him folowed the valiaunt sir Rice ap Thomas, with. v.C. light horse and Archers on horsebacke, and ioyned hym to the foreward. Then was there ordre taken what persons should conduite the victalers that came from Caleis, and who should conduite the victalers that came out of Flaunders, for without sufficient conduite no creature durste bryng any victaile to the armie. These two lordes thus embattailed remoued the. xvii. daie of Iune to Sandisfelde, and on the xviii. daie thei came to Margison, on ỹ farre side of the water, as though thei would haue passed streightly to Bulleyn, but they thought otherwise, for the nexte daie thei tooke another waie, and coasted the countrey with suche diligence, that the xxii. daie of Iune thei with all their people ordinaunce, and habilimentes of warre, wer come before the strong citie of Tirwin, and pight their Tentes a myle from the toune, and for that night embattailed themself: and as certain capitaines wer in counsail, in the lorde Herbertes tent, sodainly out of the toune was shot a goune, the pellet wherof slewe a noble capitain called the Baron of Carew, sitting there in counsaill, whiche sodain aduenture dismaied muche the asemble. But the lorde Herbert valiauntly coforted theim, saiyng: this is the chaunce of warre, if it had hit me you muste haue been content, a noble harte in warre is neuer a feard of death. All the countrey of Arthois and Picardie fortefied their holdes, and made shewes as the English army passed, but thei durst not once assaile them.

The citie of Tirwin was strongly fortifed with wales, rampaires, bulwarkes, with diuerse fortresses in the diches, whiche wer so brode and so plume stepe ỹ was wondre to behold. The lorde Pountremy was capitain generall, and with him wer within the citie. vi.C. horsmen furnished, and twoo. M.v.C. Almaines beside the inhabitauntes of the city, the walles & towers wer ful of ordinaunce, which did oftentymes great displeasure to the Englishemen. The Erle of Shrewesbury laied siege to the toune, on the North West side, and the lorde Herbert on the East side or end ward, the Frenchmen issued out of the toune and skirmished with the Englishmenne, but the Archers shot so fast that they draue the Frenchemen into the citie, and slewe and toke diuerse of them. The lord Herbert which laie in the open sight of the toune, hauing no hill or other thyng to succour or defende him, caused greate trenches to be made, and so mawgre his enemies he approched very nere the cite: likewise therle of Shrewesbury with the forward, gatte into an holowe ground or valey nere to the citie. Daily the Frenchmen shot at thenglishmen, and diuerse tymes issued out and skirmished, and euer thei lost by skirmishyng, but by shotyng of ordinaunce thei hurte diuerse Englishmen. Wherfore the lordes commaunded the pioners to raise a greate trenche, in whiche thei laied the great ordinaunce, and daily as thei might they approched; sir Rise ap Thomas with the horsemen daily skowered the countrey, & many tymes encountered with the Frenchmen, and slewe and toke diuerse prisoners, so that the Frenchmen drewe not toward the siege, but turned another waie. Vpon the Mundaie beeyng the. xxvii. daie of Iune. xxiiii. Cartes charged with victaill, wer by the Garrison of Caleis conduited to Guisnes, and there the Crewe of the castle and toune of Guisnes with three. C. foote men, vnder the conduite of sir Edward Belknappe, all beyng in nombre. iiii.C.lx. men, set furthe to conduite thesaied victailes to tharmie liyng before Tirwyn, and so thei passed to Arde. And while the Carters passed the toune, the horsmen fell a drinkyng in the waie, and the foote men wer all out of ordre. The duke of Vandosme capitain generall of Picardie, whiche laie in a bushement in the forest side of Guysnes with. viii.C. light horsemen, toke his aduauntage and set on the victailers, the Carters perceiuing that, losed their horses and fledd to the toune, whiche was but a myle of and left their Cartes. Sir Nicholas Vaux capitain of Guysnes did al he could, to bryng the foote men in an ordre: but the Frenchmen set on so quickly that thei could not set theim in ordre, the horsemen of Guysnes whiche wer but onely. xxiiii. toke their speres and ioyned with the Frenchemen: the Archers of Englande whiche passed not. lx. shot manfully, and a noble captain called Baltier De lien and diuerse other, but the Frenchemen were so many in nombre and in good ordre, that thei slew viii. gentlemen of the Garrison of Guisnes, and, xxx. Archers slain and many hurte, and so

thei

thei distrussed the victailes, and caused sir Nicholas Vaux, and sir Edwarde Belknappe to flie toward Guisnes. This misauenture fell by taryng of the horsemen and breakyng of array, for if tharchers had taried together it had happened otherwise, for the fewe Archers that held together, slewe and hurt diuerse Frenchemen: For on the felde laie. lxxxvii. great horse whiche neuer wēt thence, by the which it appered that the Frenchemenne went not quite awaie without losse. When tidynges of this misauenture came to the lordes at the siege, thei were not a litle displeased: and sir Rise ap Thomas caused his Trompet to blowe to the stirroppe, and he with his horsemen sought the Duke of Vandosme all the countrey, whiche hearyng of the commyng of sir Rise, with greate hast retreted backe to Bangey Abbey, where the Frenche kynges greate army laie. Sir Rise heryng ỹ he was returned came the next daye agayn to ỹ sege. The rumour of this skyrmish sprong all the English pale toward Flaunders, wherfore the tounes fiered ther bekons & rang *alarme*, diuers honorable men ỹ had passed the see w̄ cōpanies of souldiours & were in Caleis, marched forward in order of battaile, but heryng of ỹ departīg of *Moūsire de vādosme*, thei rested. Then was new prouisiō made for vitaile & sent daily frō Caleys to Turwyn by such conduite, ỹ the Frenchmen would no more meddill, and the army also was well vitailed out of Flaunders and Henawde.

The army of England thus lay before the strong toune of Turwin: ỹ noble kyng of Englād not forgettyng his entreprice prepared al thing redy to passe the see in proper persone, and caused sir Ihon Wilshire to puruey for. iii. C. hoyes to carry ouer his artillery & habilimēts of warre and all his shippes of warre were on the see skowering euery coste of his realme. And when all thinges were prest he accompanied with many noble men and. vi. C. archers of his garde, al in white gabberdines & cappes, departed from his manour royal of grenewich the. xv. day of Iune and so he and the quene with smal iorneys came to Douer castell & there rested, and made the quene gouerner of the realme & commaūded William Warram then bishop of Cantorbury and sir Thomas Louell a sage knight and diuers other, to gyue their attendaunce on the quene. And commaunded therle of Surrey to drawe toward the north partes lest the Scottes woulde make any entreprice in his absence. Then the king toke leue of the quene and of the ladies which made such sorow for the departyng of their lords and husbandes, that it was greate dolor to beholde, and so he with all his army toke his shippe the last day of Iune beyng the daye of sainct Paule.

In the mornyng when the kyng was shipped and made saile, al ỹ army folowed, to the nomber of iiij C. shippes, and the winde was so, that they were brought euen on the coste of picardy open vpon sainct Ihons Roade, & with the flud they haled a lōg the coste of Whitsand w̄ trūpettes blowyng and gonnes shotyng, to the great feare of them of Bolleyn which plainly might beholde this passage, and so came to Caleys haue.

The kyng was receiued into a bote couered with arras, & so was set on londe. He was appareilled in almayne ryuet crested & his vābrace of the same & on his head a chapeau mōtabyn with a riche coronal, ỹ folde of the chapeau was lined with crimsyn satē, & on ỹ a riche brooch with ỹ image of sainct George, ouer his riuett he had a garment of white cloth of gold with a redde crosse, & so he was receiued with procession & w̄ his deputie of Caleys called sir Gylbert Talbott, and all other nobles and gentlemen of the towne & countrey, & so entred in at the lanternegate & passed the stretes tyll he came to Saincte Nycholas churche, & ther he alighted & offered, & frō thens he went to the stapleinne where he supped.

When the kyng entred Caleys, al the banished men entred w̄ him & were restored to ỹ liberty of ỹ toune. To tell of ỹ gonne shott of ỹ toune and of the shippes at the kynges landing it was a great wonder, for mē of good estimaciō reported that they harde it at Douer. The king lyeng thus in Caleys, all his army except a few of his counsail and other that gaue their attendaunce on hym laye encamped at Newnam bridge, in which campe about a. xi. of the clock at night there arose an eskrye, so that the the toune of Caleys began *alarme*, with that the kyng waked and came to the walles, and demaunded what the matter ment, the yo-

man of the tētes, called Richarde Gybson, shewed him howe that certayne horsmen & footmē of Fraunce, profered to come ouer the hauē, & the Archers that laie next the see side entred into the water & defended ẏ passage, w̄ which defence the Frenchmē returned, & so ẏ kyng was satisfied. But after this a Frēchmā of Whitsād bay & one of Bullain were takē, ẏ one called Charles de bone, the other Peter vernowne, which confessed ẏ frō the toune of Whitsand came lx. horsmen &. ii. C. footmen of the garrison of Bullein & the countrey adioynyng entendyng to passe by Rice banke at the low water marke, ouer ẏ hauē of Caleis at a certayn foord shewed to thē by a spy which serued the yomā of ẏ tētes of vitailes, & shewed thē that the tentes were piched vnder Caleis walles betwene the towne & the cāpe, so that thei might burne thē quykly or the towne could issue, or the cāpe, remoue. But the Englishmen kept so good watch as you haue harde that their entreprice came to none effect. The morow after being the first day of Iuly, ẏ noble lord Haward admirall of Englād landed at Whitsand Bay, & entred, spoyled & brent the toune, & returned to his ships for all ẏ Bullonoys, & so recōpensed the imaginaciō that the bayly of Whitsand & the Bullonys had entreprised for the burning of the kynges tentes.

On friday at night blew such a storme ẏ seuered all the nauy, & some were drowned. Vpon the. viii. day of Iuly, the lord Marques Dorsett, therle of Essex, the lord Lisle rode into Flaūders & ther toke ẏ mousters of the lord Lynny, the lord Walō, sonne to the lord of Barow, & bastard Emery which w̄ ther retinue were then admitted into the kynges wages & the lord Linny w̄ a. C. &. l. speres was appointcted to go to ẏ lord Herbert: & the lord Walon & bastard Emery w̄ ther boudes were appointed to go to therle of Shrewsbury liēg before Tirwin: These strāgers were warlycke persons on light horses. While the siege laye thus before Tyrwyn as you haue harde, the Frenchmen diuerse times issued out on horseback and many a staffe was broken & many a proper feat of armes done. Likewise the Almaynes on foot would diuerse times issue out w̄ handgonnes, and morish pycks & assaile the Englishmē, but by force of the archers thei were euer driuen home agayn, & euery day the Englishmen shott at the towne and dyd them muche displeasure.

The. xxi. day of Iuly (when all thinges by counsaill had byn ordered concernyng the order of battayle) the kyng passed out of ẏ towne of Caleis in goodly array of battaile & toke the felde: And notwithstādyng ẏ the forward & the rereward of the kynges great army were before Tirwyn as you haue harde: Yet the kyng of his awne battayle made. iii. battailes after the fasshion of the warre, the lord Lisle marshall of the hoste was capitaine of the forward, and vnder him. iii. M. men. Sir Richard Carew w̄. iii. C. men was the right hand wyng to the forward, & ẏ lord Darcy w̄. iii. C. mē, wyng on ẏ left hand, ẏ skourers and forriders of this battaile were ẏ Northūberland men on light geldynges. Therle of Essex was Lieutenant general of the speres, and sir Ihon Pechy was vice gouernour of the horsmen before ẏ kyng went. viii. C. Almaynes al in a plūpe by them selfs: after thē came the standard w̄ the redde Dragō, next the banner of our lady, & next after the banner of ẏ trinitie, vnder ẏ same were all the kings houshold seruaūtes, then went ẏ bāner of ẏ armes of Englād borne by sir Henry Guildford, vnder which bāner was the kyng him self w̄ diuers noble men & other to the nōber of. iii. M. mē. The duke of Buckynghā with. vi. C. mē was on ẏ kyngs left hād egall w̄ ẏ Almaynes, in likewise on ẏ right hād was sir Edward Pounynges w̄ other. vi. C. men egall with the Almaynes. The lord of Burgainie w̄. viii. C. men, was wyng on ẏ right hand, sir Willia Cōpton w̄ ẏ retinue of ẏ bishop of Wichester, & master Wolsey ẏ kings Almoner to ẏ nōber of. viii. C. was in maner of a rereward, sir Anthony oughtred & sir Ihon Neuell w̄ the kings speres ẏ folowed, were. iiij. C. & so ẏ hole army were. xi. M. & iii. C. men. The master of the ordinaunce set foorth the kinges artilary, as fawcons, slynges bōbardes, cartes with powder, stones, bowes, arrowes & such other thinges necessary for the felde, the hole nomber of the cariages were. xiii. C. the leders and driuers of the same were. xix. C. men and all these were rekened in the battaile, but of good fightynge men ther were not full. ix. M.

Thus in order of battaile ẏ kyng rode to Seutreyca & ther lodged ẏ first night, on friday ẏ garriso

garrisō of Bulleyn mustered nye to Fines Mill, & were askryed by ẏ Northūberland mē, which marched toward thē, but ẏ Frenchmen returned. On saterdaie the hoste remoued to Hambwell and ther rested. On sonday, & on mondaie he entered into the French groūde nye to Arde, & ther euery gentlemā had on his coat of armes, & these tydyngs were brought to ẏ kyng ẏ ẏ Frēch army approched which tidinges pleased him well, for he desyred nothyng but battaile. Tewsday the. xxvi. day of Iuly the kyng passed forward in order of battayle & euer ẏ Frenchmen costed a farre of to take the Englyshmen at some auantage, but thei kept them so close in order that they could not fynd them out of array. Howbeit, by negligence of the carters ẏ mistoke ẏ waye a greate Curtall called the Ihon Euangelist, was ouerthrowen in a depe ponde of water and coulde not quickly be recouered.

The kyng heryng ẏ his enemies approched, leuyng the gonne (because the master carpenter sayde ẏ he would shortely way it out of the water) set forward his hoste, and in good order came to Dornahan where is a fayre castell standyng in a wodde countrey, the Frenchmē were euer lurkyng in the woodes viewing the kyngs cōduite & order as he passed, and so he lefte the towne of Dornahan on his right hande, and came to a village on a litle riuer where ẏ ordinaūce pitched. And when ẏ kyng came to the ryuer he perceyued ẏ many gentlemen made daūger to entre into the riuer: Wherfore he a lighted downe of his horse and without any more abode entred the riuer, then all other entred and came ouer. Then was tydynges brought to hym, that the Frenchmen were nere at hande and would fight that nyght: the kyng still abode in order of battaile, euer lokynge for the commynge of the Frenchmen, and at night woorde was brought that they were reculed, and then he entred into his tente. The courage of the kyng.

Wednesday the. xxvii. daye of Iuly the releffe of the speres brought in askry, wherfore the kyng commaunded to blow to the standarde, and auaunced his banner & toke a faire feld or banke abidyng the comming of the Frenchmen. The capitaines generall of the army of the French kyng were the lord dela Palice and the lord of Piens, accompaignyed with the duke of Longuyle, therle of sainct Polle, the lord of Floringes, the lord Cleremounde, & Richard *dela Pole* traytour of England sonne to ẏ duke Ihon of Suffolke: with these capitaines were cōmyng. xi. M. footmen and. iiij. M. horsmen, all prest in battayle & came ẇin. ii. miles of the kyng of Englande, and there the footmen staled and came no farther: certaine horsmen to the nomber of. iii. M. and aboue marched forward and at the ende of a wodde shewed them selfes open in the sight of the English army. The kyng perceiuyng there demeanure, commaūded al his footmen not to remoue, but to stand still. The Frenchmē remoued and came sumwhat nerer to a place of execucion: then the master Gōner losed a pece of artilery or two. As the kynge lay thus still abydynge his enemies, and that the horsemen stode still in sight, the great armye of Fraunce approched, whiche the Englishmen could not descrye by cause of an hyll that was betwexte them. The Northerne men ran to ẏ Frēchmen, which manly encontered with them and strake some of them downe and maugre all their powre brought certaine prisoners to the kyng of England. Therle of Essex capitaine of the kynges speres with. ii. C. speres lay in a stale, if the Frenchmen had come nerer. Then sodainly apered in sight a great company of horsmen and the kynge knewe not what thei were: but at ẏ last it was perceyued that it was the valiant knyght sir Rice app Thomas with his retinue whiche came to the kyng aboute none: which gentilly receyued hym and sent hym to therle of Essex, which incontinentely departed and compassed the hill and ranne to therle and when they were ioyned, they drewe them about the hyll accompaignyed with sir Thomas Gylforde capitayne of. ii. C. archers on horsbacke to thentent to haue set on the Frenchmē, which perceiuyng ẏ, & dowghtyng more nomber to come after, sodainly drewe back & ioyned them ẇ there great battaile. Then therle of Essex & thenglish horsmen folowed them tyll they came nere the great army of Fraunce and then staled, and sent light horsemen to know ẏ conduite of ẏ French army. When ẏ Frenchmen of armes were retorned to ther battaile, both ẏ footmen & horsemen reculed in order of battell and went back a pace, the Englishe styrrers perceiuyng this folowed. iii. leages and returned to therle, makyng reporte of that they had sene, and then he brake vp his stale and came to ẏ kyng declaryng

The dry Wednesday. claryng to him how ỹ Frenchmen were reculed. This daie was called the drye wednesday, for the day was wonderfull hoat and ỹ kyng and his army were in order of battaile from. vi. of ỹ clock in ỹ mornyng tyll. iii. of the clock at after noone, and some died for lack of moysture & allmost in generall euery man was burned about the mouth with hete of the stomack, for drynke lacked and water was not nere. After this ỹ kyng remoued towarde Tyrwyn hauyng his horsmen behynde hym. lest the Frenshmen should sodainly set on hem behynde & as the kyng was settyng forward, the lord Waloyne of Flaunders came to the kyng w̄ his horsmen which were in the kynges wages, and the kyng declared to him what had chaunced. As the army passed by negligence the same day in a lane, was ouerthrowen one of the kynges great bōbardes of Iron, called the redde gonne, and there left: When the night began to approche the kyng rested and toke his campe. ii. myles from sainct Omers on the northsyde.

On the thursdaye beyng the. xxviii. daie of Iuly the master carpēterwith an hundred carpenters and laborers without knowlege of ỹ marshall went to waye vp ỹ great gonne that was in the ponde as you haue harde. & by force of engynes drew it vp and laied it on a carte redy to cary: But sodainly out of a wodde issued. viii. C. Frenchmen with speres, crosbowes and handgōnes, and assayled the poore labourers which valiantly defended them selfes: but oppressed with multitude, the most parte was slayne and the remnant taken, and they & ỹ pece of ordinaunce caried to bulleyne. This misauenture fel, for the master carpēter would woorke all of his awne hedde without counsayll, with which chaunce ỹ kyng was sore displeased. The Frenchmē ioycus of this chaunce, assembled a great nomber, to take the other gonne ỹ lay still in the high way. Wherfore the lord barnes beyng capiteyne of the pioners and laborers heryng of ỹ misauenture, and considerying that ỹ other gonne was lyēg behynd prepared al maner of engines to recouer the same: The morowe after the kyng entended to reyse his camp, but when he harde of ỹ great pece of ordinaunce that was left behynde, and that the Frēshmen assembled together, he was in a greate musyng and so taryed and commaunded the Almaynes to retreate back and to succour them that went for ỹ pece of ordinaunce. The Almaynes went foorth and staled within two mile, where the pece of ordinaunce lay, and farther thei woulde not go. The earle of Essex with his company of speres, sir Rice ap Thomas, w̄ his compaignie, sir Ihon Neuel with the Northūberland men sett forward to helpe the lord Barnes for recouery of the gonne. And sodainly the northren horsmen espied where al the great army of the Frenshemen were commyng forward, and so reported to therle of Essex, ỹ to sir Ihon pechy Lieutenant of the horsemen and speres & other capitaines, which were in the place where the said gonne was left with a hundred horsmē, which heryng therof sent woorde to sir Rice, which heryng therof desired the erle of Essex to come & to take grounde in that place where he was, which remoued in greate haste: In the meane season by ỹ diligent labor of ỹ lord Barnes, ỹ pece of ordinaunce was raysed & carted, and furthe was it caried, by this time the French army apered in sight.

When therle of Essex saw the great nomber of the Frenchmen in all hast he sent to the lord Walon, willyng hym w̄ his company to come to there ayde, the lord Waloun sayde to ỹ messenger, go tell your capitayne ỹ I come hither to serue the kyng of England more then one daye, and therfore I would all thenglishmen would returne, for w̄ ỹ great power of Fraunce thei be not able to fight, for I esteme them. ix. or. x. M. mē at the lest: with this aunswere ỹ messenger departed & made relacion to the erle of Essex & other capitaynes whiche there w̄ were sore discontent: by this time ỹ scowrers of the *Frenche parte were* come harde to ỹ hādes of the Englishmen: then began ỹ light horsmen to skyrmyshe, ther was folowyng and reskuing on both parties, & in open sight some of both parties slayne. *Then marched forward the hole* battaile of the Frenchmen with stādards, penōs and banners waueryng, and sumptuous bardes, & riche harnys glytteryng, the men of armes in great nōber were in ranges a long redy to chace and charge. Sir Rice ap Thomas beyng a mā of great experience, sagely perceyued in what case ỹ matter stode, saide to therle of Essex, sir we be not. vii. C. horsemē, let vs not be to folysh hardy, our cōmission was to fetie ỹ gonne & none other, let vs folowe the same, therle agreed therto & so softly & not in flyēg maner

maner retreted & folowed ȳ gonne. The Frēchmē perceiuyng ȳ cried al is ours let vs folowe, then pricked forward. ii. M. men of armes & came iuste to ȳ backes of ȳ Englishmen, then thenglishmen cried sainct George & cast them selfe about and made retorne to ȳ Frenchmen, sir William Tyler & sir Ihon sharpe were ȳ first ȳ charged, and after all the other Englishemen, there was a dreadfull chase, for the men of armes of Fraunce flede so fast, that glad was he that might be formost, the hole hoost seynge ther horsmen returnyng in flight, sodainly in great hast returned without any more doyng. Then the erle of Essex staled to an hil, & ther caused his tropet to blowe to the standard for feare of subtyll dealyng: and when they were gathered together vnto array, he returned.

The. xxix. daye of Iuly the kyng with his army came to Arkus, and there embattailed him selfe in a strong grounde, and to hym came therle of Essex and the other capitaines with the gonne, and made reporte of ther aduenture, which thanked them hartly, and ther he lay till Mōday in which time came many noble men of Flaunders to visite him & many of the common people came to se hym.

Mondaye the fyrste daye of Auguste, the kynge remoued his campe to a village myddell way betwene Sayncte Omers and Tyrwyn, and ther fell suche a rayne that the ordynaunce coulde scace be remoued the arable grounde was so softe.

Thursday the. iiij. day of August, the kyng in good order of battaile came before the citie of Tyrwyn & planted his sege in most warlikewise, his campe was enuironed with artilerie, as Fawcones, serpentynes, cast hagbushes, and tryde harowes, spien trestyls, and other warlike defence for the sauegarde of the campe. The kyng for hym selfe had a howse of tymber with a chimney of yron, & for his other lodgynges he had great and goodly tentes of blewe water worke garnyshed w yelowe & white, diuerse romes within thesame for all offices necessary, on ȳ topp of ȳ pauilions stode ȳ kynges bestes holdyng fanes, as ȳ Lion ȳ Dragon, the Greyhounde, the Antelope, the Dōne kow: within all the lodgynge was poyncted fell of the sonnes risynge, the lodgynge was. C. xxv. foot in length. Tyrwyn besieged.

The kīng lyeng before Tirwyn, his great ordinaūce sore bet ȳ towne walles, and thei within likewise shot out of the towne ordinaūce, & slewe diuers Englyshemen in the trenches, among whiche shottes thei had one gonne that euery day & night was ordinarely shotte at certeine howres without fayle: this gonne was of Thenglishmen called the whystelyng gonne, but it neuer did harme in the kynges feld. The siege thus lyeng before the citee of Tytwyn, sir Alexander Baynam a capitaine of ȳ myners, caused a myne to be enterprised to entre into the towne, but the Frenchmen perceyuyng that made a countermyne and so destroyed the other myne, and diuers myners slayne within thesame. The Frenche army houed euer a farre to take the Englishmen at auauntage as thei went a forragyng, & many a skirmish was done, and many good feates of armes achieued on bothe sydes, and diuers prisoners taken. Among the Frenchmen were certaine light horsmen called Stradiotes with shorte styroppes, beuer hatts, small speres, & swerdes like Semiteries of Turkay: dyuers tymes, the northre light horsmē vnder ȳ conduite of sir Ihō Neuel skirmished with these stradiottes and toke diuerse of them prisoners, and brought them to the kyng.

While the kyng lay thus before Tyrwyn, the capitayne of Bullen knowynge by hys espialles that many of the garryson of Caleys were with the kynge at the siege, and also that daylye vitailles were brought out of Englande to Caleys to succour the campe, imagened a greate entreprice and sent for all the men of warre vnder his dominion and rule, and declared to them what honour they shoulde obteyne yf they hurted or spoyled the out partes of Caleis, the kyng of England beyng on that syde the see. The men of warre perceiuyng ȳ good courage of ȳ capitaine, assented to his purpose, and so with all diligence they to the nomber of a. M. men in the euenyng set forward, and came to Newnam Bridge by. iij. of the clock in the morning, and founde ȳ watchmē ȳ kept the bridge a slepe, and so entred ȳ bulwerke & slewe ȳ watchmen, & toke ȳ ordinaunce of ȳ bridge & then let ȳ bridge fall, so ȳ al entred ȳ would. The capitayn of Bulleyn kept. vi. C. men for a stale at ȳ bridge, & sent ȳ other into the marrisshes and meadowes where the Cattell fedde, and some of the

Frenshmen came to Caleys gate, & were askryed of ŷ watch and so rang *alarme*: The English souldiours ran to the walles, and saw the Frenshmen without the toune walles: then thei knewe that Newnam brydge was lost, and would haue issued out, but Sir Gylbert Talbott deputie there, would not suffer any gate to be opened. Now it happened that without Caleys gates were Richard Hunnyng & Richard Brycks of the Caterie, and. iij. or. iiij. of the kynges seruaūntes whiche lay there to sende prouisions to the hoost: which heryng of this *alarme*, called to them the kynges bakers, and cowpers, and a fewe shippemen, which lay in the hauen, and coragiously folowed the Frenchmen. Thenglishmen were not past. vi. skore persones, and sett on ŷ Frenchmen as thei were a forragyng or they might assemble together, & slew them doune right, and toke po prisoners in maner, and so thei came to Newnam brydge & toke it and put the Frenchmen backe. But or Thenglishmē had thus gathered them selfes together, the Frenchmen had forraged all with in the riuer vp to sainct Peters, and had driuen away the cattell and the ordinaunce of Newnam brydge and so passed till they came where the stale lay, and ther they taried lokyng for ther company that were gone a forragyng to Caleys walles. About. v. of the clock in the morenyng, ŷ gate of Caleys called Bulleyn gate, was opened, & then issuyd out one Culpiper the vnder marshall, with. ii. C. hundred archers with the banner of sainct George, and with great hast came to Newnam bridge, where thei found the kynges seruaūntes and the other that had wonne the brydge, and then they all together marched toward the Frenchmen, which kepte the stale. The Frenchmen thought it had ben there awne company that had returned, till they saw the banner of sainct George, then they knewe that their company were ouerthrowen, and that they must nedes fight or dy. Then thenglishmen though thei were the smaller nomber, valiantly set on the Frenchmen, which with great force them defended, but at the last thei were all discomfited and. xxiiii. slayne and. xii. skore taken prisoners and ther ordinaunce and hole booty recouered. These prisoners were brought to Caleys, and there sold in open market: Among all other a Cowper of the towne of Caleys bought a prisoner of this booty ŷ dwelt in Bulleyn, and had of the prisoner C. crownes for his raunsome, and when the mony was paied, the Frenchman praied the Cowper to se hym saue delyuered and to conduite hym out of danger, the Cowper gently graunted and without any knowlege of his frendes, all alone went w the Frenchman till he came beyonde the Cawsey and ther would haue departed: but the Frenchmen perceiued, that the Cowper was aged and that no reskewes was ny, by force toke the Cowper prisoner & caried him to Bulleyn, and made hym paye. ii. C. crownes for his raunsome, thus thorowe foly was the poore Cowper deceaued.

The foly of a Cowper.

The. xi. daie of August beyng thursday, the kynge lyeng at the siege of Tyrwyn, had knowlege that Maximilian thēperour was in ŷ towne of Ayre. The kyng prepared all thinges necessarie to mete with themperour in triumphe. The noble men of the kynges campe were gorgeously apparelled, ther coursers barded of cloth of gold, of damaske & broderie, there apparell all tissue clothe of gold and syluer, and golde smithes woorke, great cheynes of baldericke of gold, and belles of bullion, but in especial ŷ duke of Buckingham, he was in purple satten, his apparell and his barde full of Antelopes and swannes of fyne gold bullion and full of spangyls and littell belles of gold meruelous costly and pleasāt to behold. The kyng was in a garment of greate riches in iuels as perles and stone, he was armed in a light armure, the master of hys horse folowed him with a spare horse, the henxmen folowed beryngе the kynges peces of harnys, euery one mounted on a greate courser, the one bare the helme, the seconde his graūgarde, the thirde his spere, the fourth his axe and so euery one had some thyng belongyng to a man of armes: the aparell of the ix. henxmen were white clothe of golde and crymsyn cloth of gold, richely embrawdered with goldesmythes woorke, the trappers of the corsers were mantell harneys coulpēned, and in euery vent a longe bel of fyne gold, and on euery pendant a depe tassel of fyne gold in bullion, whiche trappers were very ryche. The kyng and themperour mett betwene ayre and the campe, in the fowlest wether that lightly hath beue sene. Themperour gently enterteined

terteined the kyng, and the kyng lykewyse hym, and after a littell communicacion had betwene them, bicause the wether was foule, departed for that tyme. The Emperour and all his men were at that daie all in black cloth for the Emprice his wife was lately disseased. After that the kyng was this returned to his campe, with in a daye or twayne ther arryued in the army a kyng of armes of Scotlād called Lyon with his cote of armes on his back, and desyred to speke with the kyng, who with in shorte tyme was by Garter cheffe kynge of armes brought to the kinges presence, where he beyng almost dismayed seyng the kyng so nobly accompanied, with few woordes and metely good reuerence, deliuered a letter to the king, which receiued ŷ letter and redde it him selfe, and when he had redde it, without any more delay he him selfe aunswered after this sorte. Nowe we perceyue the kynge of Scottes our brother in law & your master to be ŷ same person whome we euer toke hym to be, for we neuer estemed hym to be of any truthe & so nowe we haue founde it, for notwithstandynge his othe, his promise in ŷ woorde of kyng, & his awne hand and seale, yet nowe he hath brokē his faith and promise to his great dishonour and infamie for euer, and entendeth to inuade our realme in our absence whiche he dirst not ones attempte, our person beynge presente, but he sheweth him self not to be degenerate from the condicions of his forefathers, whose faythes for the most parte hath euer byn violated and ther promises neuer obserued, farther than they liste. Therfore tell thy master, first that he shall neuer be comprised in any league where in I am a confederate, & also that I suspecting his treuth (as now the dede proueth) haue left an earle in my realme at home whiche shalbe able to defende him and all his powre, for we haue prouided so, that he shall not fynde our land destitute of people as he thynketh to do: but thus saye to thy master, that I am the very owner of Scotlād, & ŷ he holdeth it of me by homage, and in so much as now contrary to his bounden duety he beinge my vassall, doth rebell against me, w̄ Gods help I shal at my returne expulse him his realme, & so tell hym: sir sayd the kyng of Armes, I am his naturall subiecte, & he my naturall lord, & ŷ he commaundeth me to saye, I may boldely saye w̄ fauour, but the commaundementes of other I may not, nor dare not saye to my souereigne lord, but your letters may with your honour sent, declare your pleasure, for I may not say suche woordes of reproche to him whom I owe only my allegeaunce & fayth. Then sayd the kyng wherefore came you hyther, will you receyue no aunswere? yes sayde Lō, your aunswere requireth doyng and no writynge, that is, that immediatly you should returne home: well said the kyng I will returne to your domage at my pleasure, and not at thy masters somonyng. Then the kyng commaunded garter to take hym to his tente, & make him good chere, which so dyd, and cherished him wel for he was sore appalled: after he was departed, the kynge sent for all the chefe capitaynes, and before them and all his counsaill caused the letter to be redde, the trewe tenor whereof followeth woorde, by woorde.

The letter of the kyng of Scottes.

" Right excellent, right high, and mighty Prince, our deerest brother & Cousyng, we commaunde vs vnto you in our mayst harty maner & receyued Fra Raff heraulde your letters quharuntill, ye approue and allow the doynges of your commissioners lately beyng with ours, at the borders of bathe the realmes for makyng of redresse, quylke is thought to you and your counsell should be continnet and delact to the. xv. daye of October. Als ye write, slaars by see aught not cōpere personally, but by their attorneis. And in your other letters with our heraulde Ilay, ye ascertaine vs ye will nought entre in the treux taken betwext the mast Christian kyng and your father of Aragon because ye and others of the hale liege, nether should ne may take peace, treux nor abstinēce of warre with your common enemy, without consent of all the confederates. And that the Emperour kyng of Aragon, ye and euery of you be bounden to make actuall warre this instant sommer agsynst your common enemie. And that so to do is concluded and openly sworne in Paules kyrke at London vpon saincte Markes daie last by past. And ferther haue denyed saueconduite vpon our requestes ŷ a seruitor of ours might haue resorted

your presence, as our herauld Ilay reportes: Right excellēt, right high and mightie Prince our derest brother and Cousyng, thesayd metyng of our and your commissioners at the borders, was peremptorily appoyncted betwyxt you and vs eftir diuerse dictes for reformaciō before contynued to the Commissioners metynge, to effecte that due redresse suld haue ben made at the sayde metynge, lyke as for our parte our Commissioners offered to haue made that tyme: And for your part na malefactour was then arrested to the sayde dict. And to glose thesame, ye nowe wright that slaars by sec nede not compere personally, but by their attourneys, quylk is agayne the lawe of GOD and man. And gef in crimenall accion, all slaars sulde nought compere personally, na punicion sulde folowe for slaughter, and than vane it were to seke farther metynges or redresse. And hereby apperes as the dede shewes, that ye wyll nouther kepe gude weyes of iustice and equitie nor kyndnes with vs, the greate wronges and vnkyndnes done before to vs and our lyeges we ponderate quhilk we haue suffered this long time in vpberyng, maynswerynge nounredressyng of Attemptates, so as the byll of the taken of in haldynge of bastard Heron with his complices in your cuntree quha slewe our warden vnder traist of dayes of metyng for iustice, and therof was filat and ordaynt to be delyuered in slaynge of our liege noble men vnder colour by your folkes, in takynge of vthers oute of our realme, prisonet and cheinet by the cragges in your cōtre, with halding of our wifes legacie promist in your diuerse letters for dispite of vs, slaughter of Andrew Barton by your awne commaund quha than had nought offended to you nor your lieges vnredressed, and breakynge of the amitie in that behalfe by your dede, and with haldynge of our shippes and artilarie to your vse, quharupon eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, Commissioners, Ambassadors, and your selfe, ye wrate and & als shewe by vthers vnto vs, that ful redresse suld be made at the sayde metynge of commissioners, and sa were in hope of reformacion, or at the lest ye for our sake walde haue desisted fra inuasion of our frendes and Cousynges with in their awne countreis that haue nought offended at you as we firste required you in fauoure of oure tendre Cousynge the duke of Geldre, quham to destroye and disinherite ye send your folkes and dudde that was in them. And right sa we latly desyred for our brother and Cousynge the mast Christen kynge of Fraunce, quham ye haue caused to tyne his countre of Millaigne, and now inuades his selfe quha is with vs in secunde degree of blude, and hase ben vnto you kynde without offense and more kyndar than to vs: notwithstandynge in defense of his persone we mon take parte, and therto ye because of vthers haue gyuen occasion to vs and to our lyeges in tyme by past, nouther doynge iustly nor kyndely towardes vs, procedynge alwayes to the vtter destruccion of our nerest frendes, quha mon doo for vs quhan it shall be necessarie. In euill example that ye wyll hereafter be better vnto vs quham ye lightlye fauoure, manifestly wranged your sister for our sake incōtrary our writtes. And sayeng vnto our herauld that we giue you fayre wordes & thinkes the cōtrary, in dede such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dudde vs, trustynge that ye shoulde haue emended to vs or worthin kyndar to our frendes for our sakes, and sulde nougtight haue stopped oure seruitors passage to laboure peax, that thei might as the papes halines exherted vs by his breuites to do. And therapon we were contented to haue ouersene our harmes & to haue remitted thesame, though vther informacion was made to our haly father pape Inly by the Cardinal of Yorke your Ambassadour. And sen ye haue now put vs fra all gude beleue through the premisses, and specially in denyenge of saueconduyte to our seruauntes to resorte to your presence, as your ambassadour doctor west instantly desyred we sulde sende one of our counsayll vnto you apon greate matters, and appoyncteyng of differentes debatable betwyxt you and vs, furtheryng of peax yf we might betwyxte the most Christen kyng and you, we neuer harde to this purpose saueconduite denied betwixte infideles. Herefore we write to you this tyme at length playnes of our mynde, that we require and desire you to desiste fra farther inuasion and vtter destructiō of our brother and Cousyng the mayst Christen kyng, to whome by all confederacion bloude and alye and also by new bande, quhilk ye haue compelled

pelled vs lately to take through your iniuries and harmes without remedy done daily vnto vs, our lieges and subdites, we are boundē and oblist for mutuall defence like of vthers, like as ye and your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasions and actuall warre: Certifieng you we will take parte in defence of our brother and Cousyng ỹ maist Christen kyng. And wil do what thyng we trayest may crast cause you to desist fra persuite of him, and for denyt and pospoynct iustice to our lieges we mon gyue letters of Marque accordyng to the amitie betwixte you and vs, quharto ye haue had lyttell regarde in tyme by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to saye, gife it like you to here him and gyf hym credence: right excellent, right high and mighty Prince our derest brother and Cousyng, the Trinitie haue you in kepyng. Geuen vnder our signet at Edynborowe the. xxvi. daie of Iuly."

When the kynge rede this letter, he sente it in all haste to the Earle of Surrey into England, whyche then lay at Pomfrett, and caused an other letter to be deuised to the kyng of Scottes, the copie whereof foloweth.

"Right excellent, right high, and mighty prince, &c. and haue receiued your writyng, Dated at Edenburgh the. xxvi. daie of Iuly by your herauld Lyon this bearer, wherein after rehersall and accumulaciō of many surmised iniuries grefes and damages doone by vs & our subiectes to you and your lieges, the specialites whereof were superfluous to reherse, remembryng that to theim and euery of theim in effect reasonable aunswere founded vpon lawe and cōscience hath tofore ben made to you and youre counsail; ye not only requyre vs to desiste from farther inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother & Cousyng the French kyng, but also certefie vs that you will take parte in defence of thesayd kyng, and that thyng whiche ye trust may rather cause vs to desiste, from persuite of him, with many contriued occasions and cōmunications by you causeles sought and imagened, sowynge to the breache of ỹ perpetuall peace, passed, concluded and sworne, betwixt you and vs, of which your inmagened quarelles causeles deuised to breake with vs contrarye to your othe promised, all honor and kyndnesse: We cannot maruayle, consideryng the auncient accustomable maners of your progenitours, whiche neuer kept lenger faythe and promise than pleased them. Howebeit, yf the loue and dread of God, nighnes of blond, honour of the world, lawe and reason, had bound you, we suppose ye wouldе neuer haue so farre proceded, specially in our absence. Wherin the Pope and all princes Christened may well note in you, dishonorable demeanour when ye lyeng in awayte seke the waies to do that in our sayde absence, whiche ye would haue ben well aduised to attempte, we beynge within our realme and present: And for theuident approbation hereof, we nede none other proues ne witnesse but youre owne writynges heretofore to vs sent, we beyng within our realme, wherin ye neuer made mencion of taking parte with our enemie the Frenche kynge, but passed the tyme with vs tyll after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposynge vs soo farre from our said realme to be destitute of defence agaynst your inuasions, haue vterred the olde rancour of your mynde whiche in couert maner ye haue longe kept secrete. Neuerthelesse, we remembryng the brytilnes of your promise and suspectynge though not wholy beleuyng so much vnstedfastnes, thought it right expedient and necessarie to put our saide realme in a readynes for resisting of your sayde enterprises, hauyng firme trust in our Lorde GOD and the right wysnes of our cause with thassistence of our confederates and Alies wee shalbe able to resysie the malice of all Scysmatyques and their adherentes beynge by the generall counsayll expressely excommunicate and interdicted, trustynge also in tyme conueniente to remember our frendes, and requyte you and oure enemies, which by suche vnnaturall demeanour haue gyuen sufficiente cause to the dysherison of you and your posterite for euer from the possybilitie that ye thynke to haue to the royalme, whiche ye now attempte to inuade. And yf the example of the kyng of Nauarre beynge excluded from his royalme for assistence gyuen to the Frenche king cannot restrayne you frō this vnnaturall dealynge, we suppose ye shall haue like assistence of the sayde Frenche kynge as the kyng of Nauarre hath now: Who is a kynge withoute a realme, and so the French kynge peaceably suffereth

hym to contynue wherunto good regarde woulde be taken. And lyke as we heretofore touched in this oure writing, we nede not to make any further aunswere to the manyfolde greues by you surmised in your letter: forasmuche as yf any lawe or reason coulde haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue ben many and often tymes sufficiently aunswered to thesame: Excepte onely to the pretended greues touchynge the denyeng of our saufeconduyte to your Ambassadoure too bee last sent vnto vs: Where vnto we make this aunswere, that we had graunted thesayde saufeconduite, and yf your herauld would haue taken the same with him lyke as he hath ben accustomed to sollicitee saueconduytes for marchauntes and others heretofore, ye might as sone haue had that as any other, for we neuer denyed saufeconduyte to any your lieges to come vnto vs & no further to passe, but we see wel lyke as your sayde herauld hath heretofore made sinister reporte contrary to trouthe so hath he done nowe in this case as it is manifest and open. Fynally as towchyng your requisicion to desist from farther attemptyng againste our enemy the French kyng, we knowe you for no competent iudge of so high auctboritie to require vs in that behalfe: wherfor God willyng we purpose with the ayde and assistence of our confederates & Alies to persecute thesame, and as ye do to vs and our realme, so it shalbe remebred and acquited hereafter by the helpe of our lord and our Patrone saincte George. Who righte excellent, right highe and myghtie Prynce. &c. Yeuen vnder our signet in our campe before Tyrwyn the. xii. daye of August.

When this letter was written and sealed, the kynge sent for Lyon the Scottyshe heraulde, and declared to him that he had wel considered his masters letter, and therto had made a reasonable answere, and gaue to him in reward a hundred angels, for which reward he humbly thãked the kyng and so taried with gartier al night, and euer he sayde that he was sory to thynke what domage shoulde be done in Englande by his Master or the kynge returned, and so the nexte daie he departed into Flaunders wyth hys Letter to haue taken shyppe to sayle in to Scotlande, but or he coulde haue shyp and wynde hys master was slayne.

After the defyaunce declared by the kyng of Scottes herauld, ỹ king of England wrote to the quene and other whiche he had left behynde of his counsayll, to prepare in all haste for the defence of thesayde kynge of Scottes, which so did ẅ great diligence as you shal here shortly after. While the kyng lay thus at siege before Tirwyn, the Frenchmẽ studied all the wayes possible how to vitayle the towne of Tirwyn, & imagened in a night by some waye to conuey vitayle to the towne: wherfore euery day they sent ther stradiates to espie by which way they might take their most auantage, and many times the English horsmen met ẅ the stradiates and of them slew parte.

The French kyng woulde in any wise that the kyng of Englande shoulde be fought with all, wherfore he sent the duke of Vandosme, The duke of Longuyle with diuerse other valiant captains of Bligoy. Then was ther a conclusiõ taken that the duke of Alanson should wyth v.M. men fight with the Earle of Shrewesbury, or els to kepe that nother he nother the lord Harbert should ayde or come to the kynges battayle, & with the king should skyrmish the duke of Vandosme & Longuyle, while in the meane season the cariages with vitayle might entre the towne. For accomplyshyng of this entreprice, the Frenchmen made greate puruiaunce and all on horsebacke, this was not so secretly cõcluded but the kyng of England had an yukelyng therof, and sent woorde to the Emperour whiche laye at Ayre and knewe nothyng of this deuise and desyered hym to come to the campe to haue his aduyse: which gladly aunswered that he woulde come the morowe after. The kyng continually sent foorth his lighthorses to seke the countrey and to se yf any apparaunce were, and they euer brought tidynges of such things as thei sawe, so that alwaies it was forsene that the kyng nor his people should be taken vnpuruyed, nor the Frenchmen shoulde not come on them sodainly vnaskryed.

While these thynges were thus in commonynge and imagenyng. Themperour Maximilian and all his seruauntes whiche were reteyned with the kyng of England in wages by the day, euery

euery person accordynge to his degree, and Themperour as the kynges soldioure ware a Crosse of sayncte George with a Rose, and so he and all his trayne came to the kynges campe the. xiii. day of August beyng Frydaye, and there was receyued with greate magnyfficence and brought to a tente of cloth of golde all ready apparelled accordynge to his estate, for all the tente within was syled with clothe of golde and blewe velues, and all the blewe velues was embrowdered with. H. K. of fyne golde, and hys cupboorde was rychely furnyshed and officers appoyncted to geue on hym attendaunce: and there he taried tyll Sonday, and from thence he went agayne to Ayre for his pleasure. The kyng and his counsaill were enformed by their espialles, and also it was confessed by certayne prysoners, howe the Frenche armye whiche lay at Blangoy, entended to vitayle the cytee of Tyrwyn. Wherfore on Frydaye at nygat, the. xiii. day of August the Duke of Buckyngham, the Earle of Essex, the Marques Dorsett the Lorde of Burgaynye, the Lord Willoghby, and dyuerse other gentelmen with. vi. thousand men on foote and the Lorde Walon and the Lorde Ligny with ther horsemen were layed at Gyngate on the south syde of Tyrwyn, where they were all nyghte in order of battayle, awaytynge the reskewe of the cytee, but the Englishmen were askryed, and so the Frenchmen brake there purpose for that time: and so the Duke of Buckyngham and his compaygnions returned to the campe. Monday the. xiii. daye of August by infortune, with oute any cause knowen, there fell a greate debate betwene the Almaynes of the kynges felde and Thenglyshemen, in so muche that they fell to fyghtynge and many men slayne, the Almaynes sodaynely ran to the kynges ordynaunce and toke it, and embattayled them selfes, and bent the ordinaunce agaynste the kynge and his campe. Thenglishemē were greatly famed with this matter: in so muche the archers set forward to haue ioyned with the Almaynes, and they lykewyse prepared there pykes, but the capitaynes tooke suche payne that the fray was appesed and al things done for that time, but as this cōmocion was in trouble, the Emperour came from Ayre and saw all the demener of both parties and was glad to se the discrete handelyng of the capitaynes. After themperour was come to the kynges felde, the king called Thēperour and all the lordes of his counsayll together asserteynyng them that he was credibly enformed that the Frenchmen entended to reskewe the cytee of Tyrwyn, wherefore it was agreed that the master of the ordynaunce shoulde in haste make fyne bridges ouer the water for the army to passe ouer, to thentent to besege the cytee on that syde: the carpenters dyd so there deuer that nyght, so that by daye all the brydges were made, so that all the horsemen passed ouer and askryed the countrey. On Twesdaye the. xvi. day of August the kyng reysed hys campe and with great ordinaunce and all other artilerye and cariage he passed the Ryuer, and to him came Sir Ihon Neuell with hys lyghte horsemen and tolde him that behinde the tower of Gyngate was a great plumpe of horsemen. In the meane season, as Sir Ihon Neuell tolde the kynge these tydynges, by a nother waye was therle of Essex Sir Ihon Peche and the kings speres passed and skirmished wyth the plumpe of speres that Sir Ihon spake of, and there were many profers made on bothe sides, but in conclusion the Frenchmen were compelled to leaue their stale, and one horseman taken and sente to the kyng whiche in hope of pardon of his Raunsome shewed howe that the Frenche armye with their full power and strength were commynge from Blangoy the nomber of fyften thowsande horsemen of armes to ayde Tyrwyn on that side of the water. And to thentente that the armye of the Lorde Stewarde and the Lorde Chamberlayne shoulde not ayde the kynge, there were appoyncted. v. thousande of the. xv. thousande horsemen on the other side of the water. As these tydynges was tolde came one from Sir Ryce, and sayde that a prysoner that he had that day taken confessed that the cytee shoulde be reskowed the same day, and that he had askryed a nomber of horsemen to hys iudgemente vppon the poynct of syx thowsand. Then sodaynely came the Northren men whyche affirmed that they had sene the Frenche armye in order of battayle commynge forwarde, but they iudged them not past twelfe thowsande men. Then the kynges felde was pytched and the ordynaunce set, but some counsaylled the kynge to take downe hys tentes but the kynge sayde I will this daye that my felde be made and sett in as royall wise as maye

bee,

bee, and all my ryche tentes sett vp, whyche was done. Then the kynge called the Lorde Darcy, and commaunded hym to kepe his felde, treasure ordynaunce and other stoffe, whyche was lothe to goo from hys Master but by streyte commaundemente. Then every man prepared hym selfe to battayle resortynge to the standarde, the horsemen marched before the footmen by the space of a myle, still came curroures berynge tydynges that the Frenche armye approched. The kynge bad sette forwarde and to auaunce hys banner in name of GOD and Sainct George. The Almaynes seynge this (to what purpose it was not knowen) sodainly embatteled them selfes on the left hande of the kyng and left the brest or fronte of the kyngs battayle bare. As the kyng was thus marchyng forwarde towarde the battaile, to him came the Emperour Maximilian with. xxx. men of armes he and all his companye armed in on sute with redde crosses: then by the counsayll of the Emperour the kynge caused certaine peces of small ordinaunce to be laied on the toppe of a long hill or banke for the out skowerers: thus the kynges horsemen and a fewe archers on horsebacke marched forwarde. The kyng woulde fayne haue been afore with the horsmen, but his counsayll perswaded him the contrary, and so he taried with the footmē accompanied with themperour.

The Frenchmen came on in. iii. ranges. xxxvi. mens thickenes & well they perceiued the kynges battayle of footmen marching forward: the erle of Essex capitayne of the horsmen, and sir Iho Peche with the kynges horsmen and the Burgonyons to the nomber of a xi.C. stode with banner displayed in a valey. The lorde Walonne and the lord Ligny with bastarde Emery and there bende to the nomber of. iiii.C. horsmen seuered them selfes and stode a syde from the Englishmen: so then thenglishmen were but. vii.C. yet they with banner displayed remoued vp to the toppe of the hill, and there they mett with sir Ihon Gylforde a. C. talle archers on horsebacke, which had askryed the Frenchemen. Now on the topp of the hill was a fayre plaine of good grounde, on the left hand a lowe wodde, and on the right hand a falowe felde. The lord Walonne and the Burgonions kept them a loofe, then appered in sight the Frenchmen with banners and standardes displaied. Then came to the capitaynes of Thenglishmen of armes, an English officer of armes called Clarenseux and sayde, in Gods name sett forward, for the victorie is yours for I see by them, they will not abide, and I will go with you in my coate of armes. Then the horsmen set forward, and the archers alighted and were set in order by an hedge all a long a village side called Bomye: the Frenchmen came on with xxxiii. standardes displayed, and the archers shotte a pace and gailed their horses, and the English speres set on freshly, cryēg sainct George, & fought valiantly with the Frenchmen and threw downe their standarde, the dust was great and the crye more, but sodainly the Frenchmen shocked to their standarde and fledde, and threw away there speres, swerdes, and mases and cut of the bardes of their horses to ronne the lighter, when the hinder parte saw the former fly, they fled also, but the soner for one cause which was this. As ỹ English horsmen mounted vpp the hill, the stradiates were cōmyng downe wardes on the one syde of the hill before the French hoste, which sodainly saw the banners of the English horsmen, and the kynges battayle folowyng vpwarde, wenyng to them that all had been horsmen, then they cast them self about and fledde, the Frenchmen so fast in array that the stradiates could haue no entre, and so they ran still by thēdes of ỹ ranges of the French army: and when they behynde saw the fall of their standardes and their stradiates in whome they had greate confidence retorne, they that were farthest of fledde firste, then vp pranced the Burgonyons and folowed the chace: this battaile was of horsmen to horsmē but not in egal nomber, for the Frenchmen were. x. to one, which had not byn sene before tyme, that Thenglishe horsemen gatt the victory of the men of armes of Fraunce. The Frenchmen call this battaile the iourney of Spurres because they rāne away so fast on horsbacke. This battaile was the. xvi. daye of August, in the whiche battayle was taken the duke of Longuyle, loys brother to therle of Dunoys whiche had maried the Marques of Rutilons heyre, the lorde Cleremounde and many other noble men to the nomber of. xii. skore and all brought to the kynges presence, and lykewyse all the standardes and

The iourney of Spurres.

banners were brought to the king. The Burgoniõs kept their prisoners and brought them not to sight. The fame wẽt that *Moüsire de la Palayce* was by them taken and lett go. Thenglyshemen folowed the chace. iii. myle longe from the felde to a water in a valey, and there a Frenchman sayde to Sir Gyles Capell that one daye they wouldе haue a daye, whiche aunswered hym agayne in Frenche that it was a bragge of Fraunce: and so Thenglishmen returned to the kynge. whiche was commyng forward who gaue them thankes with greate praisynges for their valiantnes, and there he made Sir Ihon Peche bannaretl and made Ihon Car knyght which was sore hurt, and sir Ihon Peche had his guyd hone taken and diuers of his men hurt, they folowed so farre. Then the kyng retreted to Gyngate, to whom came sir Rise and shewed him how hoat the Frenchmen had skirmished with hym all daye on the other syde of the ryuer, and how therle of Shrewesbury with banner displaied was al daye prest in order of battayle to haue fought with the duke of Alanson and therle of sainct Polie and the lord of Florenges which with. v.M. men as you haue herd were appoincted to reskewe the towne on that syde where the lord of Shrewesbury lay, and to let him to come to aid the king, but how so euer that it happened, they stode still and came not downe but only skirmished with Sir Rice: The citie of Tyrwyn was this day in hope of ayde, and when they saw ther helpers cõmyng here, they thesame day proudely issued out on the lord Harbert & skirmished with his people very valiantly, and they within also shot out ordinaũce of all partes. The lorde Harbert and his capitaines coragiously defended them, and so sore they set on the Frenchmẽ, that they draue them by force to their gates for all ther succours, and many of them were slayne: this night the kyng sent for the duke of Longeuyle and the lord Cleremounde and diuerse other noblemen, and the duke supped at ỹ kyngs borde that night.

Then the Frenchmen after this discomfiture assembled together and returned to Blangoy. xii. myle from the coste, and there talked of their losses, and because they knewe not who were taken and who were slaĩn, therefore they sent an heraulde to the kyng to knowe the nomber of the prisoners, the kynges counsayll according to there desyer sent to them the names. The kyng beyng assertayned that the French kynges purpose was yet agayne to gene hym battayle, commaunded the best of the prisoners shoulde be conueyed to the towne of Ayre in Flaunders: but when Thenglyshmen had brought them thyther, the capitayne denyed that Thenglishmen shoulde entre the towne with prysoners of Fraunce with whome he and his countrey had peace: but yf the Frenchemen would desyre lodgyng for their ease, they shoulde be permitted to entre. But thenglishmen in a fury aunswered, that yf you wyll not suffer vs to kepe our prisoners, we will slay them: then the Frenchmen mekely praied the capitayne to suffer the Englishemen to entre, and sware to their kepers to be trewe prysoners, and so they entered, and after were conueyed into Englaud. The Lord Powntremy of the house of Cresquy capitayne generall of Tyrwyn perceyued the discomfiture of the French partie, and perceyued how the Earle of Shrewesbury and the Lorde Harbert had brought thither great ordinaunce so nere the toune that nerer it coulde not be brought, and that in the walles was suche batterie that it was not lyke to continue, yet he manfully defended the cytee and shotte gonnes euery daye as he was accustomed and neuer was in despayre, tyll the. xviii. daye of thesayde moneth he sawe the kynge remoue his campe from Gyngate and layed his campe on the southe syde of the towne betwene their reskewe and the toune: then when he sawe this and consydered that hys succoures were put backe and that the towne was sore febeled, and that the kynges greatest ordinaunce was bent agaynst the towne. he therfore by the aduyse of other capytaynes sent to therle of Shrewesburye and the Lorde Harberte a trumpet, desyerynge abstinence of warre for a daye, they incontynente sent to the kynge to knowe his pleasure, the kynge aunswered that he wouldе not graunte till he knewe the consideracion: then the capitayne sent woorde that with saufeconduyte he would come and speke with the kynges counsayll, which to him was graunted, then he sent certayne commyssioners whyche offered to delyuer the towne with all the ordynaunce and municions without any fraude, so that the townes men that wouldе there dwell myght

haue

haue life and goodes safe, and that ỹ men of warre myght departe wyth horse and harneys for goodes they sayde they had none, and there horse and harneys was of lytell valure to so great a prynce. After that the kyng and his counsayll had debated this matter, it was answered the commissioners that although the kynge knewe ther penury of vitayle and the dayly mortalite among them and that the towne by reason of great batteries was not able long to resiste, yet because they asked marcy he wouldē not extende rigor, and graunted there requeste: so that they delyuered the towne with all the ordynaunce as they had promysed, to the whyche all they were sworne, and so returned. And thesame nyght Therle of Shrewesburye entred the toune and had the walles and towers and the banner of saint George was set in the highest place in signe of victory, & the lord Powtremy with al the garryson departed with horse and harneys accordyng to the appointemente. Then the lord George Talbot erle of Shrewesburye, with iii.C. men serched the towne for fere of treason or that any inconuenience might be vnto the king and his people: and after that he saw all thing sure, he called all the townes men together, and sware them to be trew to the king of England. When all this was done, the kyng on the xxiiii. day of August entered into the cytye of Tyrwyn at. ix. of the clocke before noone with great triūphe and honour, his persone was apparelled in armure gilt and grauen, his garment and barde purple velnet full of borders, and in all places trauersed with branches in romuyng worke of fyne golde, the branches were of hawthorne wrought by goldesmythes crafte wounde with a braūche of Roses, and euery flower, lefe & bury were embossed: After whome folowed his henxmen with the peces of armure accustomed. Thus with greate glory this goodly prince entered and toke possession of the towne of Tyrwyn and was receiued at the Cathedral church with procession, and they heard masse & dyned in the bishoppes palyce; and at after none retorned to his campe, leuynge in the towne the Earle of Shrewesbury with his retinue. The xxvi. daye of Au-
Tirwyn burned. gust the kyng remoued agayn to Gyngate, and there it was agreed that the walles, gates, bulwarkes and towers of Tyrwyn should be defaced, rased and cast downe: of whiche conclusion the Empercur sent word to sainct Omers, and to Ayre, which beyng loyous of that tidynges (for Tyrwyn was to them a scorge) sent thither pyoners with all maner of instrumentes, and so they and thenglish pioners brake down the walles, gates and towers of the foundacion & filled the diche and fyered the towne, except the Cathedrall church and the palayce, and all the ordinaūce was by the king sent to Ayre, to be kept to his vse. After this, it was concluded that the king in person should ley his siege to the citee or towne of Turney, wherfor he set forwarde three goodly battayles, the first was conduyted by therle of Shrewsbury, the second battayle led the kyng hym selfe with whome was Themperour. The rereward was conduyted by the lord Harbert: and so the first night they laye in campe besyde Ayre, whiche night vitaile was skant, diuerse Englishmen tarried in Tyrwyn when the kynge was past for pillage & fyred certayne houses, on whom came sodainly the French stradiates, & some they slew and some they caste into the fier, they that fledde, scaped narrowly.

Wednesday the. xiiii. daie of Septēber the king and his army came to Beatwyn, and there had plentie of all thynges, and on the morowe he with his army passed forward and came to a strayt where was a foorde and all the carriages must nedes come downe a stepe hill to the foorde & so to the streyt, where as one wagon scace alone might passe, and the wether was hoat and the beastes had not dronke all daye, wherfore at the foorde the horses would drynke maugre ther leders, and so the carriages wēt not all hole together which was a dowtfull case, but yet by wise order they passed the streyte & so did the army & came to a place betwene Cauon and Camblyne and there lodged that night in a playne barren grounde, and the next day he remoued his campe and the forward passed a bridge called pount Auandieu into Flaunders side & there lay, the king lay at the other ende of the bridge on Arthoys syde, & the rereward lay in a fayre grounde behynde the king.

Saterday the. xvii. day of September tidinges came to ỹ kyng how the Frenchmen had assembled a great puissaūce & would fight with the king, wherfore the kyng caused his forward

ward to remoue farther & sent the Almaynes to kepe the passage the pount dassaus. Then the great ordynaunce passed the bridge of pount auandien and the king was remoued frō thence & as his tentes were takyng vp. an askrye was made that the enemies were in sight, which noyse was sodainly seased and sir William Sandes with. vii. C. Englishmē & strangers was appointed to kepe ỹ bridge and certayne ordinaunce was to him appointed.

When the king and all the carriages were passed, then the lord Harbert remoued ouer the bridge and encamped hym behynde the kyng by a fayre mylle, when the kynge was encamped and all thynges in order, there came to him a noble man of Flaunders called the lorde Rauesten which after his humble reuerence done, shewed the king that the young prynce of castel Charles and the lady Margarete gouernes of thesayde prince most hartely desyred him for his pastime after his long trauayle to come and repose in his towne of Lysle and to see his brother ỹ prince and the ladies of the court of Burgoyne: sayenge that it became not ladies to visite him in his marcyall, campe, whiche to them was terrible. The king gentelly graunted his request, & then he sent his officers thether to make prouision and appoyncted the duke of Buckyngham the Marques Dersett therle of Essex and the lord Lysle and diuerse other to gene ther attendaunce on him, and committed his campe to his counsayll. Then he mounted on a courser, his apparell and barde were cloth of syluer of small quadraut cuttes trauersed and edged with cutt cloth of golde, and the border set full of redde rooses, his armore freshe and set full of iuels: the Master of hys horse Sir Henry Guylforde and the henshmen folowed as you haue heard before, and the coursers richly apparelled and so were many capitaynes that wayted on the kyng: by the way met the king the lorde Rauesten with many noble men: and a myle withoute the towne ther mette with him the Bourgesses of Lysle and presented to him the keyes of the towne, sayeng, that Themperour their souereigne lord had so commaunded them to do. The king praised ther obedies to their souereigne, & thaked ỹ Emperour & thē for so high a presente as the keyes of such a towne. Neuerthelesse he had suche confidence in them, that he trusted them no lesse then his awne subiectes, and so delyuered the keyes to the prouost of the towne whiche was well accompanyed: then mette the king a great nomber of nobles of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and Henawde, which nobly receaued hym. After thē came the Cōtye Palatine or Paulsgraue one of ỹ electors of the empire with. xxx. horses al his men gorgiously apparelled after the fasshion of his countrey, and humbly saluted the king. At the gate of Lisle the capitayn of the towne stode with a garrison in armure wel appoincted, all the strets were sett on bothe sydes with burnyng torches and diuerse goodly pagiantes pleasant to beholde: thus he passed thorowe the towne with his swerde and maces borne before hym, and alighted at the hall dore with his swerde borne, where mett w̄ him thēperour, the prince of castel & the lady Margaret and hūbly saluted him: then for reuerence of themperour, the kyng caused his swerde to be put vp and his maces to be leyed downe, then was the kyng and all other nobles lodged and feasted according to their degrees.

In the towne of Lisle was a noys that. iii. gonners with handgonnes should haue slayne ỹ kyng: For which rumour many were attached, but nothynge proued, but when this tidynges came to the campe, they were neuer mery tyl they saw the king agayne, great was the chere with bankettes, playes, commodies, maskes and other pastymes that was shewed to the king in the courte of Burgoyne, and so in solace he soiorned there Sondaye and Mondaye the. xix. daye of September: the. xx. daye he sent woorde that his army shoulde remoue towarde Tournay, and so they remoued to a place conuenient betwene Tournay and Lisle, and certayn capitaines were appoicted to kepe ỹ passage at the bridge of Auandien.

After that the kyng had taryed at Lisle. iii. daies, and had well reposed him selfe, he toke his leaue and thanked the Emperour & the young prince & the lady Margaret & all the ladies of all his high chere & solace and about. vi. of the clock at night, he departed out of Lisle, and ỹ noble men brought the kynge forth and so returned, and then the capitayne shutt the gates.

When the kyng was a mile and more out of the toune, he asked were his campe lay: and no man there could tell the way, and guyde had they none, the night was darke and mistie: thus the kyng taryed a lōg whyle and wist not whyther to go, at last they mette with a vitayler commyng from the campe whiche was ther guyde and brought them thither. The master of the ordynaunce shotte dyuerse peces of ordynaunce but they were not harde, but in safetie the king with all his company returned.

The. xxi. daye of September the kyng remoued his campe towarde Tournay and lodged within. iii. myles of the cytie, on a corne grounde by the ryuer. The whiche nyght came to the kyng Themperour and the Paulsgraue whiche were lodged in ryche tentes and nobly serued of all vyandes and thynges necessarye. The people aboute Tournay were with their goodes fledde to the cytie, and yet the cytie had no men of warre to defende it, but with multitude of inhabitauntes the cytee was well replenished; the king cōmaunded sir Rice and his horsemen to vewe one quarter, and therle of Essex and his company another quarter, and the lord Walowne & the lord Ligny the other quarters: so the. xxii. day of september these. iiii. capitains at one time were sone opely w̄ banners displaied before the towne, and there made a long stale & retorned. The king sent Gartier king of armes & a pursiuant of armes with a trompett to somon the citee, which declared that the kyng of England and of Fraunce commaunded them to yelde to him his citee & to receaue him as there naturall lord, or he would put them and ther citee to swerde, fyer, and bloude. To whome they prowdely aunswered, ẏ thei toke no citee of him to kepe nor none would they reder, w̄ which answer he departed. Then they fortified there walles, & made prouysion for vitaile, corne, wine, & artilerie, & for all fortificacions that might be gotte. And the citee of it selfe was strong, well walled, & turryted w̄ good Bulwarkes & defenses: But when they sawe the kyng with suche a puisaūce draw nere ther cytee, they were sore abashed and called a generall cōsayll: then the prouost sayde, brethern you knowe how ẏ kyng of England sent an herauldе to somon vs to rendre to hym this cytee, or els he woulde put it & vs to the swerde, fyer, and bloude, we aunswered we would be at defence: nowe he is come in our sight to fulfull the message sent by his herauld, & now is come the time of our defence, & in this matter stādeth. iii. mischiefes, one is our bōuden deuty & allegeaūce that we owe to our souereigne lord king Loys of Fraunce, the seconde the lifes of vs, our wifes, children, and neighbours, the thirde how to defende the finall destruccio of this aūcient cytee which is lickely to fall, which cytee was neuer conquired & now our cytee is hole (your liues in sauity, your goodes your own) determine whither you wyl haue warr or peace: then the cōmon people cried all war, war, war, then said the prouost take cōpassiō of wifes & childrē & of the old folke, cōsider yf you haue no quick reskue you can not continue against yōder puisance, al tho your corages were as good as Hectors or Achilles, this ẏ wisest of the citee and I haue cōsidered. Then sodainly was ther in ẏ counsaill, a vauntparler, a botcher which beryng this, called a great nomber of his affinitie & went out of the counsayll, & so out of the gates & sett fier of the suborbes on all sydes. When the counsaill saw the myndes of the commons and that ther wayes might not be folowed, then they comforted the people and mayntеyned them for ther defence. The kyng Raysed his campe & came in Array of battayle before Tornay, the Earle of Shrcsbury with the forward was a littell space on the right hand brest with the kyngs battayle, and the lorde Harbert with the rereward on the left hande in lyke manner, the day was fayer and the harneys glistered and banners waued that they of the cytee were sore affrayed: thus stode the kynges battayles in Array before Tourney. Then the kynge commaunded hys greate ordynaunce to be caried in the waye passynge towarde the cytee & so euery thing accordyng to his commaundemēt was accōplished. Then the kyng him selfe with a fewe persones rode betwene his ordynaunce and the towne, and rode in great aduenture so nere the walles, ẏ he might vewe the walles and the towers very well: they shotte out of there towers peces of ordinaūce & hurt such as came within there leuell. Then they rong the *alarme* bell, which was harde

wel in the felde. Then the citezens issued out at the gate by the ryuer and manfully profered to skyrmish, but they w archers were sone driuen backe to their gates. The Englishe cariers that came with the harbeshers to take ground ranne to the gates of Tornay, and toke certayne wagons with beere and vitayle and yet the Turnoyes dyrst not resiste, although they were in greater nomber then the men of cariage. In this skirmish the horse of the lorde Ihon Gray brother to the Marques Dorsett which went to defende the Cariours was slayne with a gonne, and he not hurt. After that the king in person had thus in ieopardie auëtured hym self and vewed the toune, he caused immediatly. xxi. peces of great artilery to be brought in a plain feld before the towne, and when they were charged, they were immediatly shotte, & the most parte of the stones fell with in the citee, & so they shotte diuerse shottes one after another.

Then the king with all his battayle planted hys siege on the northe parte of the citee: Therle of Shrewsbury with his battayle warded toward the south syde of the ryuer and there lay that nyght. The Lord Harbert with the rereward plated his battall on the west side of the citee, and with great ordynaunce daily bett the walles and towers of the citee. On the morowe beynge the. xxiii. daie: the Lorde Talbott Earle of Shrewsbury accompanied with the noble men of his battaill whose names you haue harde at his first passyng the see, passed ouer the ryuer of Tornay and planted his siege on the south syde stretching to the east ende of the citee, & bent his artillery against the walles of the citee. Thus was the citee of Tornay beseged on all partes, & euer in hope of reskue valiantly defended her selfe.

Nowe must I leue the kynge at the siege of Turnay, and diuerte to thinges done in England in his absence, and declare how the kynge of Scottes inuaded the realme of Englande, and how he was defended and fought with al, and in conclusion slayn the. vii. daye of this moneth of September.

When the king of England was determined in his high court of Parliament to passe the see, in proper person for the recouery of his realme of Fraunce, he and his counsaill forgat not the olde Prankes of the Scottes which is euer to inuade England when the kyng is out, or with in age: and also he had knowlege that at Camphere in Zeeland the Scottes dayly shipped long speres called colleyne clowystes, armure & artilerie, which dealyng made his grace and his counsaill to dowte: notwithstanding that the king of Scottes was sworne on the sacramẽt to kepe the peace, yet for voydynge of all dowtes, the kyng appointed the lord Thomas Haward erle of Surrey sonne to the lorde Ihõ Haward duke of Norffolke and high treasourer and marshall of Englande, to be hys lieutenaunt in the North parties agaynste thesayde kynge of Scottes, if he fortuned to inuade (as he dyd in dede) accordinge to the olde traytorous accustome of hys progenitors, and that the sayde erle should reyse the powers of the contrey of Chester, Lancaster, Duresme, Northumberlande, Westmerlande, and Comberland, besyde other aydes to be apoynted by the quene. And whe the kyng should take ship at Douer, he toke the erle by the hande, and sayde, my lorde I trust not the Scottes, therfore I pray you be not negligent, then sayde the erle I shall so do my duety, that your grace shall fynde me diligent, and to fulfill your will shalbe my gladnes: Therle couide skantly speake whe he toke his leaue, for the departing fro the noble prynce hys soureeigne lorde and kyng, and from the floure of all the nobilitie of this realme, beyng redy in suche an honorable iorney. And when he was somewhat settelled in hys mode, he sayde to some that were about hym: Sory may I se hym or I dye, that is cause of my abydinge behynde, and if euer he and I mete, I shall do that in me lyeth to make hym as sory if I can: meanynge thesame by the kynge of Scottes. From Douer he attendid on the quene to London, comfortynge her the best he myght, and shortely sent for hys gentelmen and tenauntes, whiche were. v. C. able men, whiche mustered before syr Thomas Iouel, knyght, the. xxi. daye of Iuly, and the. xxii. daye he rode thorough London Northward, and came to Dancaster, and there commaunded syr William bulmer knight, to make haste to the marches of Scotlande, and to lye in the castels

and fortresses on the frontiers with. ii. C. archers on horsebacke: for the erle by open tokens dayly perceiued that ỹ Scottes entended warre. Then the sayde syr William with all spede departed and came to the borders and the erle came to Pomfret, the first daye of August, & there taried. After that syr William bulmer was come to the borders, one daye in August, the lorde Chamberlayne and warden of Scotland with. vii. or viii. M. men with banner displayed entered into England, and brent & haryed a great praye in Northumberland: that hering syr Willia bulmer, called to hym the gentelmen of the borders with his archers, and all they were not a thousand men. And when they were nere assembled, they brought the selfes in to a brome felde, called Mylfeld, where the Scottes should passe. And as ỹ Scottes proudely returned with their pray, the Englishmen brake oute, and the Scottes on fote like men them defended, but the archers shotte so holy together, that they made ỹ Scottes geue place, and. v. or. vi. hundred of them were slayne, and. iiii. hundred and more taken prisoners, and the pray reskued beside a great nüber of geldinges that were taken in the countrey, and the lord Hume, lord Chamberlayne fled & his banner taken. This was the fyrst open token of warre, shewed by the Scottes, whiche call this iourney the yll Roade.

The erle of Surrey, beyng at Pomfret, called to hym the most parte of the Gentelmen of the Counties to hym apoynted as is before rehersed, declaringe to them the kynges hygh commaundement, shewynge them, that he beynge there the kynges Lieutenaunt muste nedes haue ayde and counsayll: Wherefore he sware the mooste wysest and experte gentelmen in suche causes of the kynges counsayll and hys for that tyme for the better compassynge hys charge and purpose, and for too brynge euery thynge in dew order: Fyrst they toke a determinacion with syr Philippe Tylney knight, Treasurer of the warres, howe the charges should be payde, and secondarely with syr Nycholas applyarde, master of the ordinaunce, for the conueyaunce of the kynges royall ordinaunce, pouder and artillerie to Newcastell, and so forwarde as the case shoulde requyer, whiche syr Nycholas by William Blacknall, clerke of the kynges spycerie, sent the saide ordinaunce and artillerie to Durham before, so that all thynges, concerning that office were in a redynes. The erle forgat not to sende too all lordes Spirituall and Temporall, knyghtes, Gentelmen, or other whiche had tenauntes, or were rulers of tounes or liberties (able to make men) to certefie what number of able men horsed and harnesed, they were able to make within an houres warnynge & to geue their attendaunce on hym, and also he layed postes euery waye, which postes stretched to the marches of Wales to the counsayll there, by reason, whereof, he had knowlege what was done in euery coste.

The erle was enformed by the lord Dacres, of the numbrynge and preparynge of men in Scotlande, and Proclamacions soundinge to the breche of peace, and yet though he considered that the Roade made by the lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande into England, beyng distrusted by syr William Bulmer, as is afore rehersed, was an open breche of the perpetuall peace: yet the sayde lorde Dacres auysed the earle for many and greate weyghty causes, not to reyse or styrre the powers of the countrey, to hym appoynted tyll he mighte perceyue and openly know the subtyle purpose and entent of the Scottes aforesaid, lest if the Scottes had perceyued the Englishemen redy to fight, they woulde haue desisted of theyr purpose for that tyme, tyll the Englishemen were returned to their countreys, and then sodaynely too ryse agayne.

Then the Erle knowynge that the towne of Barwycke was strõg ynough, sent to the Capitayne of Norham, certefienge hym, that if he thought the Castell in anye daungier or debylitie, he woulde put hym selfe in a readynes to reskew it, if it were beseged, the capitayn wrote to the Erle thankynge hym and prayed GOD that the kynge of Scottes woulde come wyth hys puyssaunce, for he woulde kepe hym playe tyll the tyme that the Kynge of Englande came out of Fraunce to reskew it, whiche aunswere reioysed the Erle muche.

After the kynge of Scottes had sent hys defyaunce to the kynge of Englande, lyenge before

before Tyrwyn, as you haue harde, he dayly made hys musters, and assembled hys people ouer all hys realme, whereof the brute was that they were two hundred thousand, but for a suertye they were an hundred thousand good fightynge men at the lest, & wyth all hys hoste and power entered into Englande (and threw doune pyles) the. xxii. daye of August, and planted hys siege before the Castell of Norham, and sore abated the walles. The erle hard tydynges thereof the fyue and twenty day of August, beynge saynct Barthelmewes daye.

Then he wrote to all the gentelmen of the shyres aforesayde, to be with hym at Newcastell, the fyrst daye of Septeber next with all there retynew accordynge to the certificat. On the morow, he with his fyue hundred men came to Yorke, and the. xxvi. daye he went toward Newcastell, and notwithstandyng that he had the fowlest day and nyght ỹ could be, and the wayes so depe, in so much that hys guyde was almost drowned before hym, yet he neuer ceased, but kept on his iorney to geue example to them that should folow. He beyng at Durham was aduertised how the kyng of Scottes with hys greate ordinaunce had rased the walles of the Castell of Norham, and had made thre great Assaultes thre dayes together, and the Capitayne valyauntly defended hym, but he spent vaynely so muche of hys ordinaunce, bowes and arrowes and other municions that at the laste he lacked, and so was at the. vi. daye compelled to yelde hym symply to the kynges mercy. This castell was thought inpregnable, if it had bene well furnished, but the Scottes by the vndiscrete spendynge of the Capitayne, toke it in sixe dayes: thys chaunce was more sorowfull to the erle then to the Bishoppe owner of the same. All that nyghte the wynde blewe corragiously, wherfore the erle doubted least the Lorde Hawarde hys sonne greate Admyrall of Englande shoulde perishe that nyght on the sea, who promised to lande at Newcastell with a thousand men, to accompaynie his father, whyche promyse he accomplished.

The erle harde Masse, and appoynted with the Prior for saincte Cutberdes banner, and so that daye beynge the thirty daye of August he came to Newcastell: thither came the lorde Dacres, syr William Bulmer, syr Marmaducke Constable, and many other substanciall gentelmen, whome he reteyned wyth hym as counsayllers, and there determined that on Sundaye nexte ensuynge, he shoulde take the felde at Bolton in Glendale, and because many souldiours were repayrynge to hym, he lefte Newcastell to the entent that they that folowed, shoulde haue there more rome, and came to Alnewyke the thyrde daye of September, and because hys souldiars were not come, by reason of the foule waye he was fayne to tarye there all the fourthe daye beyng Sundaye, whiche daye came to hym the lorde Admyrall hys sonne, with a compaignye of valyaunt Capitaynes and able souldiars and maryners, whiche all came from the sea, the commynge of hym muche reioyced hys father, for he was very wyse, hardy, and of greate credence and experience. Then the Erle and his counsayll, with greate deliberacion appoynted his battayles in order with wynges and with ryders necessarie. S. Cutberdes banne.

¶ Fyrste of the forwarde was Capitayne the lorde Hawarde, Admyrall of Englande, with suche as came from the sea, and with hym syr Nycholas Applyarde, syr Stephen Bull, syr Henry Shyreburne syr William Sydney, syr Edwarde Echyngham, the lorde Clyfforde, the lorde Conyers, the lorde Latymer, the lorde Scrope of Vpsale, the lorde Egle, the lorde Lomley, syr William Bulmer with the power of the Bishoprycke of Durham, syr William Gascoyne, syr Christopher Warde, syr Ihon Eueryngham, syr Thomas Methan, syr Water Gryffith, and many other.

¶ Of the wynge on the righte hande of the forwarde, was capitayne syr Edmond Hawarde knyght, Marshall of the hoste, and with hym Bryan Tunstall, Raufe Brearton, Ihon Laurence, Rycharde Bolde Esquyers, and syr Ihon Bothe, syr Thomas Butler knyghtes, Rycharde Donne, Ihon Bygod, Thomas Fitzwilliam, Ihon Claruys, Bryan Stapulton, Robert warcoppe, Rycharde Cholmeley, with the men of Hull, and the kynges tenauntes of Hatfelde and other.

¶ Of

¶ Of the wyng of the left hande, was Capitayn syr Marmaduke Constable with hys sonnes and kynnesmen, syr william Percy, and of Lancashere a thousand men.

¶ Of the rerewarde was Capitayne the Erle of Surrey hym selfe, and with hym the lorde Scrope of Bolton, syr Philippe Tylney, syr George Darcy, syr Thomas Barkeby, syr Ihon Rocliffe, syr Christopher Pykeryng, Rycharde Tempest, syr Ihon Stanley with the Bisshop of Elyes seruauntes, syr Bryan Stapulton, Lyonell Percy, with the Abbot of Whitbyes tenauntes, Christopher Claphani, Syr Williã Gascoing the younger, syr Guy Dawney, Master Magnus, Master Dalbyes seruauntes, syr Ihon Normauyle, the citizens of Yorke, syr Nynyan Markanuyle, syr Ihon Wylloghby with other.

¶ Of the wyng on the right hande was capitayne the lorde Dacres with hys power.

¶ On the lefthande wynge was syr Edwarde Stanley knyght, with the residue of the power of the countye Palantyne and of Lancaster.

And when all men were appoynted and knewe what too do. The erle and hys counsayll concluded and determined emonge other thynges to sende Rouge crosse pursiuaunt of armes with a trompet too the kynge of Scottes, with certayne instruccions, signed by the sayde erle, conteynynge woorde by woorde as foloweth.

Fyrst where there hath bene suyte made to the kyng of Scottes by Elyzabeth Heron, wyfe to William Heron of Forde, nowe prysoner in Scotlande, for castynge doune of the house or Castell of Forde, and as the sayde Elizabeth reporteth vppon communicacion had, the sayde kynge hath promysed and condiscended to the sayde Elizabeth, that if she any tyme before none, the fift daye of September, woulde brynge and deliuer vnto hym the lorde Ihonstowne, and Alexander Hume, then prysoners that time in England, he then is contented and agreed that the sayde house or Castell shall stande without castynge doune, brennynge or spoylynge the same: Whereunto the sayde erle is content with that, vppon this condicion, that if the sayde kyng will promytte the assuraunce of the sayde Castell, in maner and forme aforesayde vnder hys seale, to deliuer the sayde lorde of Ihonstowne and Alexander Hume, immediately vppon the same assuraunce. And in case the sayde kynge can and will be content to delyuer the sayde Heron oute of Scotlande, then the sayde erle shall cause to be deliuered to the sayde kynge the two gentelmen and two other, syr George Hume and William Carre.

Farther the sayde erle woll that you Rouge Crosse, shewe the sayde kyng, that where he contrary to his othe and league, and vnnaturally agaynste all reason and conscience hathe entred and inuaded this hys brothers realme of Englande, and done great hurte to the same, in castynge doune Castelles, Towers and houses, brenninge, spoylynge and destroynge of the same, and cruelly murderynge the kynge of Englande hys brothers subiectes. Wherefore the sayde earle wyll be readye too trye the rightfulness of the matter wyth the king in battaill by Frydaye nexte commynge at the farthest if he of hys noble conrage wyll geue hym tarienge, and abode, within thys the kynges Realme so longe tyme: And the same the sayde erle promiseth, as he is true knyghte to God and the kynge of England hys master. And before Rouge Crosse shoulde departe with the sayde instruccions, the sayde lorde Admyrall gaue hym in credence too shewe the sayde kynge of hys commynge, and parte of his compaignye on the sea with hym: and that he hadde sought te the Scottyshe Nauye, then beynge on the sea, but he coulde not mete with theim, because they were fledde into Fraunce, by the coste of Irelande.

And in asmuche as the sayde kynge hadde diuerse and many tymes caused the sayde lorde, too be called at dayes of true, too make redresse for Andrew Barton, a Pirate of the sea, longe before that vanquyshed by the same lorde Admyrall, he was nowe come in hys awne proper person too be in the Vauntgarde of the felde to Iustifie the death of the sayde Andrewe, agaynste hym and all hys people, and woulde se what coulde be layed to hys charge the saydedaye, and that he nor none of hys compaignye shoulde take no Scottishe noble man prysoner, nor any other, but they shoulde dye if they came in hys daunger, oneles it were the kynges awne person, for he sayde he trusted to none other curtesye at the handes of the Scottes.

And

And in thys maner he shoulde fynde hym in the Vauntgarde of the felde by the grace of GOD and sayncte Georges as he was a trew knyghte. Yet before the departynge of Rouge Crosse with the sayde instruccions and credence, it was thoughte by the Erle and hys counsayll, that the sayde kynge woulde fayne and Imagen some other message, too sende an Herauldе of hys with the same, onely to View, and ouer se the maner and order of the kynges royall armye, ordinaunce, and artillerie, then beynge with the Erle, wherby myghte haue ensued greate daungier to the same, and for exchuynge thereof he hadde in commaundemente, that if any such message were sente, not to bryng any person, commynge therewith within three or two myle of the felde at the nyghest, where the sayde Erle woulde come, and heare what he would saye: And thus departed Rouge Crosse with his trumpet apparayled in his Cote of armes.

On Mondaye the fift daye of September, the Erle tooke hys felde at Bolton in Glendall as he had appoyncted, where all the noble men and gentelmen met with their retynewes to the number of six and twenty thousande men, and aboute mydnighte next ensuyng, came the trompette, whiche went with Rouge Crosse, and declared how the kynge of Scottes, after the message done to hym by Rouge Crosse accordynge too hys instruccions, the sayde Kynge detayned hym, and sent on Ilay a Harauld of hys wyth hym vnto the Erle, to declare too hym the sayde Kynges pleasure, too whome the Erle sente Yorke Herauldе at armes, to accompaignie the sayde Ilay, at a Village called Mylo, twoo myles from the felde, vntyll the commynge thether of the sayde Erle the next morow.

The sixt daye of September, early in the mornynge, the Erle accompaignied with the moost parte of the lordes, knyghtes and gentelmen of the felde, euery man hauynge with hym but one man to holde hys horsse, and so the sayde Herauldе met with the erle, and with bloût reuerence declared to him that he was come from hys master the Kynge of Scottes, whiche woulde knowe, whither the Erle sente anye suche message by Rouge Crosse, the Erle iustified the same, saiynge farther, that Rouge Crosse hadde the same message of hym in writynge signed with hys awne hande, whereunto the sayde Ilay sayde, as touchynge the sauynge from brennynge or destroiynge, and castynge doune of the Castell of Forde, for the deliueraunce of the sayde prisoners, The kyng his master woulde thereto make no aunswer. But as too the abydynge for battayll betwene that and Frydaye, then nexte folowynge, the kynge his master badde hym shewe to the Earle, that he was as welcome as any noble man of England vnto the same kynge, and that if he had bene at home in his Towne of Edēborough, there receyuynge suche a message from the sayde Erle he would gladlye haue come and fulfylled the sayde Erles desyre: and the Herauldе assured the Erle on the kynge hys masters behalfe, that the same kynge woulde abyde him battayll at the daye prefixed, whereof the sayde erle was righte ioyous and muche praysed the honourable agrement of the sayde royall kynge and estemed the same too procede of an high and noble courage, promysynge the Herauldе that he and good suertye with hym shoulde be bounde in ten thousande pound sterlynge too kepe the sayde daye appoynted, so that the kynge woulde fynde an Erle of his, and thereto a good suerty with him to be bounde in lyke summe, for the performās of the same: And farthermore the Erle bad the Herauldе for to say to his master, that if he for his parte kept not hys appoyntemente, then he was content, that the Scottes shoulde Baffull hym, which is a great reproche amonge the Scottes, and is vsed when a man is openly periured, and then they make of hym an Image paynted reuersed, with hys beles vpwarde, with hys name, wonderyng, cryenge and blowing out of hym with hornes, in the most despitefull maner they can. In token that he is worthy too be exiled the compaignie of all good Creatures.

Then Ilay deliuered too the Earle a littell Cedule wryten with the kynges Secretaries hande vnsigned, the tenor whereof foloweth.

¶ "As to the causes alleged of oure commynge into Englande agayne, oure bande and promyse (as is alleged) thereto we aunswer, ower brother was bounde also farre to vs as we to hym. And when we sware laste before hys Ambassade, in presence of oure counsayll, we expressed specially in oure othe, that we woulde kepe to oure brother, if oure brother kepte

kepte to vs, and nat elles, we sware oure brother brake fyrste to vs, and sythe hys breke, we haue requyred dyuerse tymes hym too amend, and lately we warned oure brother as he dyd not vs or he brake, and thys we take for oure quarell, and with Goddes grace shall defende thesame at youre affixed tyme whiche with Goddes grace we shall abyde."

And for as muche as the sayde Kynge kepte styll Rouge Crosse with hym, who was not yet returned, the same Earle caused the sayde Hay too be in the kepynge of Syr Humfrey Lysse and Yorke Heraulde, in the same Vyllage, vntyll the tyme that a seruaunt of the sayde Hay myghte ryde in all haste too the royall Kynge of Scottes, for the delyuerynge of the sayde Rouge Crosse. Then the erle Ioyous of the kynges answer, returned to hys campe, and set forward fyue myle, too a place called Woller Hawgh, in suche order of battayll, as euen then he should haue fought, and there lodged for that nighte, three lyttell myles from the kynge of Scottes, and betwene the kynge and hym was a goodly and large corne felde, called Mylfelde whiche was a conuenient and fayre grounde for twoo hostes too fight on, there euery hoste myghte perceyue other.

The morowe beynge Wednysdaye, the. vii. daye of that Moneth, the kynge of Scottes caused hys greate ordinaunce too be shotte at the Englishe armye, but it hurte neither man nor beast. When the kynge of Scottes sawe that Hay was deteyned, he sent away Rouge Crosse to the erle, by whome, and other of the borders he was aduertised that the kynge laye vppon the syde of a hyghe mountayne, called Floddon on the edge of Cheuyot, where was but one narow felde for any man to ascende vp the sayde hyll to hym, and at the foote of the hyll laye all hys ordinaunce. On the one syde of hys armye was a greate Marrishe, and compassed with the hylles of Cheuyot, so that he laye to stronge too be approched of any syde: excepte the Englishemen would haue temerariously ronne on hys ordinaunce, whiche matter well considered by the Erle and hys sonne, and other of the counsayll there they called to theim Rouge Crosse, and sent hym the nexte daye to the kynge of Scottes, willinge hym too shewe the kynge, that the sayde erle, with dyuerse of the kynges nobles and subiectes hadde avaunced them selfes to geue battayll too hys grace, trustynge that accordinge to hys promise, he woulde auaunce hym selfe and hys armye to ioyne the battayll, whiche as yet he hath not doue. Wherefore he desyred the kynge that he myghte haue knowlege by noone that daye, whether he of hys noble courage woulde discende the hyll, where he lay and too geue battayll or not: and if he saye that I shall not knowe hys entent, or wyll saye, that he will kepe the grounde: then shewe hym that he perceyueth well that that place is no indifferent grounde for twoo armyes too fighte, and therefore I will looke for no mo of his delayes. The same daye beynge oure Ladye daye the natiuite Rouge Crosse departed to the kyng of Scottes, whiche woulde not beare hym speke, but sente one of hys seruitours to beare his message, Whiche seruitour after he hadde disclosed the same to the kynge, made aunswer, that it besemed not an erle, after that maner too handle a kynge, and that he woulde vse no sorcery, nor had no trust of any grounde: You haue harde before, howe Hay the Scottishe Heraulde was returned for Rouge Crosse, and as sone as Rouge Crosse was returned, he was discharged, but he taryed with Yorke an Englishe Heraulde makynge good chere, and was not returned that mornynge that Rouge Crosse came on hys message, wherefore Rouge Crosse and hys trompet were detayned by the seruaunte of Hay, whiche the daye before went for Rouge Crosse, assurynge them that if Hay came not home before none, that he was not liuinge, and then they shoulde haue their heddes stryken of, then Rouge Crosse, offered that hys seruaunt shoulde go for Hay, but it would not be excepted, but as hap was Hay came home before none, and shewed of his gentell enterteynynge, And then Rouge Crosse was deliuered, and came to the Englishe armye, and made reporte as you haue hearde.

Then the Englishemen remoued their felde on the water of Tyll, and so forthe ouer many hylles and streytes, marchynge toward the Scottes on another syde, and in their sight the Scottes burned certayne poore Vyllages on the other syde of the Marishe.

The Englishemen, alwayes leauynge the Scotttshe armye on the left hande, toke their felde

vnder a wood syde, called Barmer wood, two myle from the Scottes, and betwene the two armyes was the Ryuer of Tyll, & there was a littell hyll that saued the Englishemen from the gonneshotte, on which hyll the lorde Admyrall perfightly saw and discouered them all.

In the euenynge of thesame daye it was concluded betwene the erle and hys counsayll, and most parte of the armye thereto agreed, that the Vauntgarde with the ordinaunce should passe ouer agayne the water of Tyll, at a bridge called Twysell bridge the. ix. day of September, and the rerewarde to passe ouer at Mylforde, puttinge theym selfes as nye as they coulde betwene the Scottes and Scotlande, and so to geue battayll to the Scottes on the hyll, called Floddon hyll. Frydaye the sayde nynth daye, the lorde Admyrall, lyke a valiaunte knyghte, passed ouer Twysell bridge with the Vantgarde, marchyng towarde hys enemyes, lyke diligence was made by the Erle for passynge ouer at Mylfforde with the rerewarde, saiynge to hys Capytaines, now good fellowes, do lyke Englishemen this day, take my parte lyke men, whiche parte is the kynges parte, and I wyste you would not, I will in my awne person fighte with the kynge of Scottes, rather to dye honourably by hys crueltye, then to lyue in shame, or that any reproche shoulde be layed to me hereafter. To whome they aunswered, that they would serue the kynge and him truely that daye. The Englishe armye that daye hadde no vitayle and were fastynge, and two dayes afore they had onely dronke water, and coulde scace get anye other sustenaunce for money, and yet they kept array on horsebacke from fyue of the clocke in the mornynge tyll foure of the clocke at after none, and were alwayes in the sighte of the Scottes.

The kynge of Scottes perceyuinge the Englishemen, marchinge towarde Scotlande, thought that they would haue entered into Scotlande, and burne and forray the plentifull countray, called the Marche, for so was he made beleue by an Englishema named Gyles Musgraue whyche was familiar with the kynge of Scottes, and dyd it for a pollecie to cause hym to come doune from the hyll: Wherefore the sayde kynge caused hys tentes to be remoued to an other hyll in greate haste, least the Englishemen shoulde haue taken thesame hyll: And at theyr departinge they set fyer on theyr litter and other fylthy ordure, accordynge to theyr custome, and of the fyer and smolder dyd ryse suche a smooke so thicke and so darke, that the one host could not perceyue theother, for the wynde did driue the smoke betwene the twoo armyes the Scottes euer kepyng the heygth of the hyll on the edge of the cheuyot, and the Englishemen passed forward still in the lowe grounde, and euer in the couert of the smoke in so muche that bothe the hostes were very nere together within the space of a quarter of a myle, before one of them could perceyue another for the smoke. Then, when the Englishemen had passed a lyttel brooke, called Sandyfforde, whyche is but a mans step ouer, and that the smoke was passed, and the Ayre fayre and cleare, eche army myghte playnly see one an other at hande. Then the lord Admyrall perceyued foure great battayles of the Scottes all on foote with long speres lyke moorishe pykes: whyche Scottes furnished them warlike, and bent theim to the forwarde, whiche was conducted by the lord Admirall, whiche perceyuynge that sent to hys Father the erle of Surrey hys *Agnus dei* that honge at hys brest that in all hast he would ioyne battayll, euen wyth the bront or brest of the vantgarde: for the forward alone was not able to encountre the whole battayll of the Scottes, the erle perceyuynge well the saiynge of hys sonne, and seynge the Scottes ready to discende the hyll auaunsed hym selfe and hys people forwarde, and broughte theym egall in grounde wyth the forwarde on the left hande, euen at the bront or brest of thesame at the foote of the hyll called Brauston, the Englishe army stretched East and West, and their backes Northe, and the Scottes in the Southe before theim on the forsayde hyll called Bramston. Then oute braste the ordinaunce on bothe sydes wyth fyre flamme and hydeous noyse, and the Master gonner of the Englishe parte slewe the Master gonner of Scotlande, and bet all hys men from theyr ordinaunce, so that the Scottishe ordynaunce dyd no harme too the Englishemen, but the Englishemens Artyilerie shotte into the myddes of the Kynges battayll, and slewe many persones, which seynge the kyng of Scottes and hys noble men, made the more haste too come too ioynyng, and so all the foure battayles in maner discended the hyl

at once. And after that the shotte was done, whiche they defended with Pauishes, they came to handestrokes, and were encontered seuerally as you shall here.

j. Fyrst on the Englyshe syde next the West, was Syr Edmonde Hawarde knyghte, Marshall of the hoste chief Capitayne of a wyng on the ryghte hand of oure vantgarde, and was encountryd with the Chamberlayne of Scotlande wyth hys battayle of sperys on foote, to the number of ten thousande at the least, whiche foughte valiauntly, so that they by force caused the lytle wynge to flye, and thesame syr Edmonde thre tymes felled to the grounde, and left alone sauyng his standarde berar, and two of hys seruauntes, too whome came Ihon Heron bastarde sore hurte, saiynge there was neuer noble mans sonne so lyke too be loste as you be thys daye, for all my hurtes I shall here lyue and dye wyth you, and there thesayde syr Edmonde Hawarde was in a great daunger and ieopardie of hys lyfe, and hardelye escaped, and yet as he was goynge to the body of the Vantgard he met with Dauy Home, and slew hym hys awne hande, and so came to the Vantgarde.

ij. Secondely, Eastwarde from the sayde battayle was the lorde Admyrall with the Vantgarde, with whom encountred the erles of Crafforde and Montroos, accompaignied with many lordes, knyghtes and gentelmen, all with sperys on foote, but the lorde Admyrall and hys compaignie acquyted them selfes so well, and that with pure fighting, that they brought to grounde a great number, and both the erles slayne.

iij. Thirdely, Eastwarde from the lorde Admyrall was the erle of Surrey, Capitayne generall, to whose standarde the kynge of Scottes in hys awne person marched, beynge accompaigned wyth many Bishoppes, Erles, Barons, knyghtes and Gentelmen of the Realme, with a great number of commens, all chosen men with speres on foote, whiche were the most assuredly harnesed that hath bene sene, and that the tallest and goodlyest personages with all, and they abode the most daungerous shot of arrowes, which sore them noyed, and yet except it hit them in some bare place it dyd them no hurt. After the shotte endyd, the battayll was cruell, none spared other, and the kynge hym self fought valiauntly. O what a noble and triumphaunt courage was thys for a kyng to fyghte in a battayll as a meane souldier: But what auayled hys strong harnes, the puyssaunce of hys myghtye champions with whome he descended the hyll, in whome he soo much trusted that with hys stronge people and great number of men, he was able as he thought to haue vanquished that day the greatest prynce of the world, if he had ben there as the erle of Surrey was, or els he thought to do such an hygh enterprice hym selfe in his person, that should surmount the enterprises of all other princes: but how soeuer it happened God gaue the stroke, and he was no more regarded then a poore souldier, for all went one way. So that of his awne battaill none escaped, but syr William Scot knight his chauncelour, and syr Ihon forman knight, his seruiaunt Porter, whiche were taken prisoners, & w great difficulty saued. This may be a great myrror to all prynces, how that they aduenter them selfes in such a battail.

Forthely, Eastward was syr Edward Stanley knight, capitayn of the left wyng with the sayde erle, which clame vp to the toppe of the hyll called Bramston, or the Scottes wiste, and with him encontred the erles of Huntley, Lenoux, and Argile, with a great number of Scottes whiche were sore fought with all, whiche perceyuinge the erle of Huntley toke a horse and saued hym selfe, if he had taryed he had bene likely to haue gone with his compaignie: suche as fled, the sayde syr Edward and his people folowed the ouer thesame grounde, where the erles battell first ioyned, and founde ther the Scottes, whiche were by the erles battaill slayne before, and sodainly left the chase and fell a spoyling, and spoyled the kyng of Scottes, and many that wer slayne in his battaill, but they knew him not, and found a Crosse and certayne thinges of his, by reason wherof some sayde that he was slayne by that wyng, whiche could not be true, for the prisoners of Scotlād testified that the kinges battaill fought onely with the erles battels, but for a truthe this wyng did very valiauntly: wherfore it was thought that the said syr Edward might that daye not haue bene missed.

All these iiii. battels, in maner fought at one tyme, and were determined in effect, littell in distance of the beginnyng and endynge of any of them one before the other, sauyng

yng that syr Edward Stanley, which was the last that fought, for he came vp to the toppe of the hyll, and there fought with the Scottes valiauntly, and chaced them doune the hyll ouer that place, where the kynges battail ioyned. Beside these. iiii. battayles of the Scottes were twoo other battayls, whiche neuer came to hande strokes.

Thus thorough the power of God on Friday, beyng the. ix. daye of Septēber, in the yere of our lorde. M. D. xiij. was Iames the. iiii. kyng of Scottes slayn at Bramstone (chiefly by the power of ỹ erle of Surrey, lieutenaunt for kyng Henry the. viii. kyng of England, which then lay at the sege before Tornay) and with the sayde kynge were slayne.

	Lordes.
The Archebishop of saynct Androwes, the kynges bastard sonne.	The lord Louet.
The bishop of the Iles.	The lord Forbos.
The Abbot of Inchaffrey.	The lord Elueston.
The Abbot of Kylwenny.	The lord Roos
Erles.	The lord Inderby.
The erle Mountroos	The lord Sentclere.
The erle of Crafford	The lord Maxwell.
The erle of Arguyle.	and his. iiii. brethren.
The erle of Lennoux.	The lord Daunley
The erle of Glencarre.	The lord Seympyll.
The erle of Katenes.	The lord Borthyck.
The erle of Castelles.	The lord Bogony.
The erle of Bothwell.	The lord Arskyll.
The erle Arrell Constable of Scotland.	The lord Blakkater.
The erle Addill.	The lord Cowyn.
The erle Athel.	
The erle Morton.	

Knyghtes and gentlemen.

Sir Ihon Dowglasse.	Master Marshall.
Cutbert Home lord of Fastcastell.	Master Keye.
Sir Alexander Seton.	Master Ellot.
Sir Dauy Home.	Master Cawell clerck of the chauncery.
Master Ihon Graunt.	
Sir Dunkyn Caufelde.	The Deane of Ellester.
Sir Saunder Lowder.	Mack, Kene.
Sir George Lowder.	Mack, Clene, and many other gentlemen,

whiche be vnknowen, because no officer of armes of Scotland would come to make serche for them: and yf the daie had bene lēger by. iii. houres, (for it was. iiii. of the clock at after none or the battailes ioyned) or that the Englishmen had had vitayles, so that they myght haue bidden still together, they had not alonely made the greatest distresse of Scottes by death and takyng, that the lyke hath not bene sene in one daye: but also within a litle while might haue put the realme of Scotland in suche a miserie, & trouble, that for euer they should haue ben ware how to enter the realme of England, and specially the kyng being absent: for the Englysh men wanted no good wyll, for of the Scottes they slew. xii. M. at the lest of the best gentlemen and flower of Scotlād and of the Englysh syde were slayne and taken not. xv. C. men, as it appered by the boke of wages whe the souldiours were paied. Thus therle of Surrey accomplished the promise at his daye prefixed ỹ the kyng of Scottes to his great fame and honour.

After that the feld was fought & the Scottes fled, many Englyshmen folowed them into Scotland, and were so farre that they wyst not whiche waye to returne and so were taken prisoners of the Scottes that were in the. ii. battayles that fled first and neuer faught. Also dyuerse were taken by the lorde Chamberlayne of Scotlande whych fought with the wyng of Sir Edmond Haward, and were caried wyth hym to the nomber of. lx. Of the Scottes that

fled some passed ouer the water of Twede at Caudestreme foorde, and other by the dry marches, during the tyme of the fighte, and the nyght after many men lost there horses and suche stoffe as they left in their tentes and pauilyons by the robbars of Tyndale and Tyuidale.

The lord Dacre with his company stode styll all daye vnfoughten with all. When the feld was done and the skoute watch brought woord that there was no more apperaunce of the Scottes, but all were returned. Thearle thanked God with humble harte, and called to hym certayne lordes and other gentlemen and them made knyghtes as syr Edmond Haward his sonne and the Lorde Scrope, Syr Wylliam Percy and many other. Then therle and the Lorde Admirall departed to Barmer wodde and appoyncted Sir Phylippe Tylney knyghte wyth the compaignye of the lorde Admirall and the compaignye of the Lorde Scrope of Bolton, the lorde Latymer, olde Sir Marmaduke Constable, Sir William Percy, Sir Nicholas Applyard, and their companyes, and a fewe other to kepe the place where the felde was for sauyng of the Englyshe ordynaunce, and the ordynaunce that was taken from the Scottes, whiche was. v. greate Curtalles, twoo greate Culuerynges, foure Sacres, and syx Serpentynes as fayre ordynaunce as hath ben sene, bysyde other small peces. Well knowen it was by them that fought, and also reported by the prysoners of Scotlande, that theyr kynge was taken or slayne, but hys body was not founde tyll the nexte daye, because all the meane people aswell Scottes as Englyshe were strypped out of their apparell as they laye on the felde, yet at the laste he was founde by the Lorde Dacres, who knewe hym well by hys pryuie tookens in that same place where the battayle of the Earle of Surrey and hys, fyrste ioyned together.

Thys kynge had dyuerse deadely woundes and in especiall one with an Arowe, and another wyth a byll as apered when he was naked. After that the bodye of the Kynge of Scottes was fownde and broughte too Barwycke, the Earle shewed it too Sir William Scott hys Chancceller, and Syr Ihon Forman hys seriante porter, whiche knewe hym at the fyrste sighte and made greate lamentacyon. Then was the bodye bowelled, embawmed, and cered, and secretly amongest other stuffe conueyed to Newcastell, but the same daye the Lorde Admyrall came to the felde and there some Scottes appered on an hyl: but William Blackenall whiche was the cheffe doar and ruler of all the ordynaunce shott suche a peale, that the Scottes fledd, or els the Lorde Admyrall had ben in greate ieopardye: and then all the ordynaunce was broughte in sauetye to the Castell of Cytell, and there remayned for a tyme. After thys noble vyctorye therle wrote fyrste to the Quene whiche had raysed a great power to resiste the sayde kynge of Scottes, of the wynnynge of the battayle, for then the bodye of the kynge of Scottes was not fownde, and she yet beynge at the towne of Buckingham had woorde the next daye after that the kynge of Scottes was slayne and a parte of hys coate armure to her sente, for whiche victorye she thanked GOD, and so the Earle after that the Northe parte was sett in a quietnes, returned to the Queene with the deade body of the Scottyshe king and brought it to Richemond.

Nowe lett vs returne too the kynge of Englande lyenge before Tournaye whyche the. xxv. daye of September receyued the gauntelett and letters of the Earle of Surrey, and knewe all the dealynge of bothe parties. Then he thanked GOD and highly praysed the Earle and the Lorde Admyrall and his sonne, and all the gentlemen and commons that were at that valiante entreprycc: Howebeit, the kynge had a secrete letter that the Cheshyre men fledde from Syr Edmond Hawarde, whyche letter caused greate harte burning and many woordes, but the kyng thankefully accepted al thynge, and would no man to be dispraysed. So, on the Mondaye at nyght the. xxvi. daye of September, the Lorde Harbarte and the Earle of Shrewsburye made greate fyers in there armies in token of vyctorye and triumph: and on Teusdaye the. xxvii. daye, the tente of cloth of gold was sett vp, and the kynges Chapell sange masse, and after that *Te Deum*, and then the Byshoppe of Rochester made a Sermond and shewed the deathe of the kynge of Scottes and muche lamented the yll deathe and periurye of him.

The kynge of Englande lyenge thus before Tournay, caused hys greate ordynaunce to be

be planted rounde aboute the Cytee, and dyuerse trenches were cast and rampiers made and the Lorde Lysle, and the Lorde Wylogbby were appoyncted to mayntayne the ordynaunce, wyth ther bendes, and therle of Kent was lodged before the gate called port Valencyen, so that the Cytizens coulde not issue out, nor no ayde coulde come in. The ordynaunce dayly bett the gates, towers, and walles, whiche made a greate batterie: and a fewe Englyshmen assaulted the port Coquerell, but they were to few in nomber, and yf they had ben more in nomber, they had taken the towne as the Tournosyns confessed after. The Cytyzens of Tournay consyderynge their estate, came together to counsayll, and there the Prouost sayde, frendes and brethren of thys noble Cytee, I cannot to muche prayse youre treuth and fidelite to youre souereigne Lorde the kynge of Fraunce considerynge how manfully you haue defended this Cytee sythe the beginnynge of this siege, but alas allthough it be wrytten on the gates grauen in stone *Iammes ton ne a perdeu ton pucellage*, that is to saye thou hast neuer lost thy maydenhed: yet yf thys Cytee had not been well furnyshed and euer at the daie appoyncted suer of reskeue, it coulde not haue contynued: nowe you se that reskeue fayleth, our gates be rased, our towers betyn downe, our chiefe towar lyke to fall, so that yf thys perilous siege continue, or els yf our enemies assaute vs, we be not able to defende vs: wherfore nowe, all these thynges consydered, I woulde knowe whyther you wyll treate with the kyng of Englande or abyde the chaunce. Then they which at the last counsayll cryed warre, warre, nowe cryed peace, peace, yet all were not agreed: then one wyseman sayde, Sirs yf the towne be assawted once agayne with a greate nomber, suerly it will be taken: you sawe thexperience at the last assaute, and then consider yf it be taken by force who is there that can saye he is sure of his life: But by entretie, the kyuge of Englande is so mercyfull that wee maye fortune to saue bothe lyfe and goodes. Then fynally all agreed to treate. Then the Prouost sent to the kyng a trompett desyeryuge a saufeconduyte for hym, and certayne other to come and to speke wyth hym, whyche request was to hym graunted. Then the Prouost of the cytee accompanied with eleuen wyth hym of the best of the cytee, came to the armye and spake with the lordes of the counsail and after were broughte to the kynges presence, the Prouost kneled downe and all his compaignye and sayde: Ryght highe and myghtye Prynce although the Cytee of Tournay is stronge, well walled, well replenished wyth people, vytayles, artylerie, ye and the people in feare and dread of nothynge, yet we knowe that agaynste your greate puyssaunce yt can not contynue long, although yt were ten times as stronge as it is, wherefore we knowynge by reporte, your honoure, your wysedome, your iustyce, and noble harte, are contente to become your subiectes and vassalles, so that we maye haue and enioye oure olde lawes, customes, lyberties, and Franchesses, vnder you as we haue before thys done vnder other Princes. Then the kynge aunswered, we haue well harde your petycyon, we will common wyth our counsayll and make you aunswere, and when he had communed wyth his counsayll, he aunswered sayenge: Sirs he that asketh mercye of vs shall not be denyed, seynge you come to treate, we remytte you to oure counsayll. Then they wente into the tente of counsayll, and there the Tournasyns fell at a poyncte, and in conclusion, they yelded the Cytee and ten thowsande pound sterlynge for the redempcyon of theyr lybertyes, and so departed to the cytee, makynge relacion of the kynge and hys noble corage. On Thursdaye the xxix. daye of September, the kynge was in hys ryche tente of clothe of golde vnder hys clothe of estate, to whome came the Cytezens of the Cytee and were sworne to hym and became his subiectes. Then the kynge appoyncted the lord Lysle, the Lorde of Burgavny & the Lord Wylloghby to take possession, whiche with six thowsand men entered the Cytee and toke the markett place and the walles, and serched the howses for feare of treason and then master Thomas Wolsey the kings almoner called before him all the citizens young and old and sware them to the kyng of England, the nober whereof was. iiii. skore thousand. Thus the kyng of England by conquest came to the possession of the cytee of Tournay: on Sondaie the. ii. daye of October the kyng entered the cytee of Tournay at porte Fountayne, and. iiii. of the chiefe of the cytee ouer him bare a cannapye with all the

armes

armes of England, euery person was in his best apparell, ỹ Ladies and gentlewomen lay in the wyndowes beholdynge the kynge and his nobilite, euery citizen had in his hande a staf torche, the kynge hym selfe was rychely appereilled in ryche armure on a barded courser, his henxmē beryng his peces of warr, as axe, spere and other, there coursers were barded with tharmes of England; Fraunce, Ireland, & other the kynges dominions all of ryche embraudery, thus the kyng with hys nobilite all richely apparelled with his swerde borne before him, his heraulides and seriantes of armes with trumpettes and mynstrelsy entered the cytee and came to our ladye churche, and there *te deum* was song. Then the kyng called to his presence, Edwarde Guldeforde, Wylliam Fitzwilliam, Ihon Dauncye, William Tiler, Ihon Sharpe, William Huse, Ihon Sauage, Cristopher Garnyshe, and diuerse other valiaunt esquyers and gaue to them the order of knyghthode, and then went to his lodgynge, & at after none he came to ỹ market place, where was prepared for him a place: then he caused a proclamacion to be made in his name kyng of England and of Fraunce that no man shoulde greue the citizens, during which proclamacion the turnesyns sease loked vp, nor shewed once to him anny amiable countenaunce which was much marked, the Cry finished, the king departed to his campe leuynge the cytee in safe kepyng. This weke the kyng rode to see the castel of Morton, & ther his grace toke greate pleasure. The king remembrynge the great chere that the prince of castell and the lady Margarete had made him at Lysle which was but. xii. mile English from Tornay, desired thesaid prince and lady with diuerse other to come to him to his cytee of Tornay and made preparacion for the same, and appoincted a iustes wherof he him selfe would be one, and caused a Tilt to be made in the market place. While these thynges were preparyng, the king and his counsaill ordered for the sure kepyng of the cytee of Tornay, and there ordeyned Sir Edward Pownynges knight of the order of the gartier to be his Lieutenaunt with. iiii. C. archers, with capytaynes horsemen and artilerie conuenient, and to haue ayde of Henawde and other the kynges frindes adioynyng, and of his garde he left there. iiii. C. archers, & ordinaūce was appoyncted for the defence of thesame. Monday the. xi. daye of October the kng without the towne receyued the prince of castel, the lady Margaret and diuerse other nobles of their countreys and them brought into Tornay with great triumphe. The Noys went that the lord Lisle made request of mariage to the ladye Margarete duches of Sauoy and doughter to Themperour Maximilian, which before that tyme was departed from the kyng with many riche giftes and money borowed but whether he profered mariage or not she fauored him highly: there the prince and duches soiorned with great solace by the space of. x. dayes. Duryng whiche tyme, the. xviii. daye of October began the iustes, the king and the lorde Lisle aunswered all commers: vppon the kyng attended. xxiv. knyghtes on foote in coates of purple veluet and cloth of gold. A tent of cloth of gold was set in the place for the armorie and releuc, the king had a base and a trapper of purple veluet bothe set full of. S. S. of fyne bulliō and the lord Lisle in thesame suyte, ther were many speres broken and many a good buffet geuen, the strangers as the lord Walon and lorde Emery and other dyd right well. When ỹ iustes wer done, the kyng and al the other vnhelmed them & rode about the Tilt and did great reuerence to the ladies, and then the heraulides cryed to lodgyng.

A Iustes.

This night the king made a sumpteous banket of a. C. dishes to the prince of Castell and the lady Margarete & to all other lordes & ladies, and after the banket, the ladies daunsed, and then came in the king & a xi. in a maske, all richely apparcled w bonettes of gold, & when they had passed the time at their pleasure, the garmentes of the maske were cast of amongest the ladies, take who could take.

The. xx. daye of October, the Prince of Castell and the lady Margarete with many great giftes to them geuen returned to Lyle with all their trayne. After that the kyng was enformed that all direccions were taken and euery thing put in an order for the sure kepyng of the citee of Tornay, he tooke thesame to sir Edward Pownynges knight which valiantly kept it in good order and iustice.

The kinge & his counsayll before this had considered that the Frēchmen would geue them no battayle, & that winter aprochied, which was no time to lie at siege of other townes, concluded to kepe Tournay sauely, and to breake vp his campe for that winter, and to begin again war in the spring of the yere: this was a full conclusion taken by the kynge and his counsayl, and so the kynge and all his people (excepte suche as were appoyncted to be with syr Edward Powpynges) departed out of Tournay the. xx. daye of September: and the king and the noble men made suche spede, that shortely they came to Caleys, and thyther came the Lorde Admyrall whome the kynge hartely thanked of his paynes and there euery man was paied of his wages and conduyte money, and shippes prepared for the passage, and so the. xxiiii. daye of Septēber the kyng with a priuy cōpany toke shippe & the same day landed at Douer and shortly after all his people folowed, then he with a small company rode to Rychemonde in post to the quene, where was suche a louing metyng that euery creature reioysed. This season began a great mortalite in London and other places where much people died: All this winter the kynges nauy kept the seas and robbed and spoyled the Frenchmen on their costes.

When the kynge was thus returned he forgat not the good seruyce that many a gentleman dyd at the battayle of Bramston, wherefore he wrote to them his louing letters with such thankes and fauorable wordes that euery man thought him selfe well rewarded. And on the daye of the purificacion of our lady at Lambeth the kynge created the Earle of Surrey duke of Norffolke with an augmentacion of the armes of Scotlande, and Sir Charles Brandon Viconte Lisle, he created duke of Suffolke, and the Lord Haward high Admirall he created Earle of Surrey, and Sir Charles Somersett Lorde Harbert, his chiefe Chamberlayne, he created Earle of Worcester: and after that at a nother daye he made Sir Edwarde Stanley for his good seruice, lorde Montaygle, and in marche folowyng was master Thomas Wolsey the kynges almoner consecrate bisshop of Lyncolne, which ther to was named on Newers daye before: This man was borne at Ypswyche and was a good Philosopher, very eloquente and full of witte, but for pride, couetous, and ambicion, he excelled all other as you shall hear after.

In the tyme of kynge Henrye the seuenth father to kynge Henrye the eyght it was concluded betwene the sayde kynge, and kynge Phylyppe of Castell sonne to Maxymilian Themperour and kynge of Castell and his wife, that Charles his eldest sonne should marye the Lady Mary doughter to the kynge of Englande with a dowrye to her appoyncted, at whyche tyme they were bothe younge: Nowe at the kynges retourne from Tournay he made preparacyon too sende thesayde Ladye his syster to the Prince of Castell. But the counsayll of Flaunders aunswered that concernynge her selfe they would gladly receyue to be espowsed to their Prynce, for she was then one of the fayrest Ladyes of the worlde: but as concernynge the articles of her dowar, they coulde not fulfyll without thassente of the kynge of Arragon and the realme of Castell (whyche as was sayde, mynded to haue hym maryed in Spayne.) The kynge lyke a louynge brother woulde not sende his syster wyldely wythoute a dowar assured, tooke the fyrste agremente betwene the kynge her father and kynge Phylyppe hys father to bee of none effecte, syth the Spanyardes woulde not conferme the same, and the cause was, by reason that kynge Phylyppe was not naturally borne to be there kynge, but was kynge in the ryghte of his wyfe, and so they were not bounde too hys agreementes made withoute their consente. So thus the kynge of Englande reteyned styll hys syster and all the preparacion that he had done for her conueyaunce, whyche was verye costely.

The discripcō of Thomas Wolsey, which afterward was made Cardinall.

This season the lady Margarete quene of Scottes late wife to king Iames the. iiii. slayne at Bramston, and sister to the kyng, wrote to the kynge to haue compassion of her and his two Nephewes her sonnes, for she was in feare lest he wouldde haue inuaded her realme. The king moued with brotherly cōpassion, sent her word, that yf the Scottes kept peace he would kepe peace, yf they would haue war he would likewise haue war & so with that aunswere the messenger departed. In the sprīg tyme of the yere the kyng wrote hys letters

to

to all noble men and gentlemen that he woulde shortly passe agayn into Fraunce in his awne person, wherfore euery mā prepared him self mete for that iourney: the Flēmynges hering therof, made puruiaunce for wagans, vitaile and other thynges which turned them to great losse for that viage brake of as you shall here.

All this season Sir Richard Whethill and syr Ihon Tremayle kept so Thenglishe pale that the Frenchmen durst not medyl, and yet they spoyled to base bollen.

Before this time the townes about London as Islyngton, Hoxston, Shordysh and other, had so enclosed the common feldes with hedges & diches, that nother the young men of the cytee might shote, nor the auncient persones might walke for ther pleasure in the feldes, excepte either ther bowes and arrowes were broken or taken a waye, or the honest and substanciall persons arrested or indited, saieng that no Londoner should go out of the cytee but in the high wayes. This sayeng sore greued the Londoners, and sodainly this yere a great nomber of the citee assembled them selfes in a mornynge, and a turnar in a fooles cotte came cryenge through the cytee, shouels and spades, and so many people folowed that it was wonder, and within a short space all the hedges about the townes were cast downe, and the diches filled, and euery thing made plain the woorkemen were so diligent. The kynges counsayll heryng of this assembly came to the Gray Frears, and sent for the mayre and the counsayll of the cytee to knowe the cause, whiche declared to them the noysaunce done to the Citezens, and ther commodities and liberties taken from them, though they would not yet the commonaltie and young persons which were dampnified by the noysaūce would pluck vp & remedy the same. And when the kynges counsayl had harde the answer, they dissimuled the matter & commaunded the mayer to see that no other thyng were attempted, and to call home the citezens, which when they had *done* ther entreprice, came home before the kynges counsayll and the Mayer departed without any more harme doing, and so after, the feldes were neuer hedged.

¶ THE. VI. YERE.

IN the moneth of Maye the kynge and the newe Duke of Suffolke were defenders at the Tilt against al commers, the kynge was in a scopelary mantel, and hat of clothe of syluer and like a whyte armite, and the duke appareilled like a black armite all of blacke veluet, both ther berdes were of Damaske syluer, and when they had ridden about the Tilt and shewed them selfes to the quene, then they threwe of their apparell & sent it to the ladies for a *larges*, then was the king in black, and the Duke in white with black staues, on the staues was written with white letters *who can hold that wyl away:* this poyse was iudged to be made for the duke of Suffolke and the duches of Sauoy, at these iustes were the duke of Longeuyle and the lord Cleremond, and there the kyng and the duke dyd so valiantly that they obteyned the price, at these iustes were broken. C. xiiii. speres in a short season.

The kyng at this season sent agayne into Flaunders for the performaunce of the mariage of the young prince of castell and the fayre lady Mary his sister, and shewed how he had prepared all thinges necessary and conuenient for suche an high estate. The counsayl of Flaunders aunswered that they woulde not receyue her that yere, with many subtyl argumentes, by reason wherof the perfite loue betwene England and ỹ low countreys was much slaked.

The Capp of mayntenaunce.

The. xix. day of May was receyued into London a Capp of mayntenaunce and a swerde sent from Pope Iuly, with a great compaignye of nobles and gentlemen, which was presented to the kyng on the Sonday then next ensuyng with great solempnytie in the Cathedrall church of sainct Paul. About this time, the warres yet contynewynge betwene England and Fraunce, prior Ihon (of whom you haue harde before in the. iiii. yere) great capitayne of the Frenche nauy, with his Galeys and Foystes charged with great basylyskes and other greate artilery came on the border of Sussex and came a land in the night at a poore village

in

in Sussex called bright Helmston and or the watch coulde him escrye he sett fyer on the towne and toke suche poore goodes as he founde: then the watche fyred the bekyns and people began to gather, whiche seynge prior Ihon Sowned his trompett to call his men aborde, and by that tyme it was day: then. vi. archers whiche kept the watche folowed prior Ihon to the sea and shott so fast, that they bett the galymē from the shore and prior Ihon hym selfe waded to his foyst, and Thenglishemen went into the water after, but they were put back with pickes or els they had entered the foyst, but they shott so fast, that they wounded many in ỹ foyst and prior Ihon was shott in the face with an Arrow, and was likely to haue dyed, and therefore he offered his image of wax before our lady at Bolleyn with the English arrow in the face for a myracle.

When the lorde Admirall of England had hard these newes he was not content and sent Sir Ihon Wallopp to the sea incontinent with diuerse English shippes, which sayled to the cost of Normandy & ther landed and brent. xxi. villages and townes with great slaughter of people, and brēt shippes and boates in the hauens of Treaport, stapils and in euery place. This sir Ihon Wallopp quit hym self so, that men marueled of his enterprises, consyderyng he had at the most but. viii.C. men and toke land ther so often.

In the moneth of June the lord Powntremy that was capitayne of Tyrwyn with banner displayed and great ordinaunce, with a great army came into Picardy nere to Arde. Sir Nycholas Vaux captain of Guysnes cōsyderyng that ỹ Frenchmen had such ordinaunce thought ỹ they would haue beseged Guysnes, and wrote therof to the king which incontinente prouided a greate armye for the reskewe. And when euery thyng was redy and the army forward, the lord Pountremy reysed his campe and departed without anye more doing, but for all that ỹ kyng sent ouer sir Thomas Louell knyght with. vi.C. men to Caleys for the more strength of that towne and other townes and castelles beyng ẅ in the English pale and the marches there.

The French king this yere appoynctet to Richard *dela Pole* traitor of England and banished the realme. xii.M. lanceknyghtes to kepe Normaudie, and also to entre into England and to conquere thesame, where they made suche a Ryott that many of them were slayn & he was fayn to carye them to sēte Malos in Britaigne to take shippe: for the Frenchmen woulde fayne haue bene rydde of them they cared not how, there condicions were so vyle and shameful, but by the reason that the French kyng suyd for peace, this iornay toke no effect.

The French king by an herauld wrote to the king of England, that he marueled greatly why he made him so sore war, and brent and toke his townes, slew and robbed his people with outte any cause geuen on his parte, wherfore he required the king to graunt saufeconduyte to his ambassadours, whiche shoulde entreate the cause: whereupon in June ỹ French king sent a commission with the president of Roan and the generall boyer and certayne other nobles of Fraunce to entreate peace and allyaunce betwene both the prynces: & farther by cause that they knewe that the mariage was broken betwene the prince of castell and the lady Mary (as you haue hard) they desyred thesayde lady to be espoused to the French king, affirming a great dower and suerties for the same, ẅ great treasures: so much was offered that the king moued by his cōsayl, and specially by the Bishop of Lyncolne Wolsey, consented, vpon condicion that yf thesayde French king Loys died, then she should if it pleased her retorne into England again with all her dowar and riches: after suche entretie, the indentures were sealed and the peace proclamed the. vii. daye of August and the king in presence of the French ambassadours sworn to kepe thesame, & likewise ther was sent an Ambassade out of England to see the French kyng swere thesame.

The Dutchmen heryng these newes were sory, and repēted them that they receyued not the lady, and spake shamefully of this mariage, that a feble old & pocky man should mary so fayre a lady, but the voys of people let not princes purposes.

By the conclusion of this peace was the Duke of Longayle & other prisoners delyuered, payeng ther Raunson, and thesaid duke affied the lady Mary in the name of kyng Lewes his

mayster. This Duke was highly enterteyned in England of many noble men and had great chere, but when they came into Fraunce with the quene he would scace know them. Then when all thinges were redy for the conueyaunce of this noble Ladye, the kyng her brother in the moneth of September with the quene his wife and his sayde sister and all the court came to Douer and there taryed, for the wynde was troblous and the wether fowle, in so muche that a shipp of the kynges called the Libeck of. ix.C. tonne was dryuen a shore before Sangate and there brast & of. vi.C. men scantely escaped. iii.C. and yet the most part of them were hurt with the wrecke. When the wether was fayre then all her wardrobe, stable, and riches was shipped, and suche as were appoyncted to geue their attendaunce on her, as the duke of Norfolke, the Marques Dorset the Bysshop of Durham, the Earle of Surrey, the lorde Delawar, the lorde Barnes, the lord Montaigle, the Marques. iiii. brother, sir Morice Barkely, sir Ihon Peche, sir William Sandes, sir Thomas Bulleyn, sir Ihō Carr and many other knightes, Squyers, gētlemen & ladies, al these went to ship and thesayde lady toke her leaue of the quene in the castell of Douer and the king brought her to the sea syde, and kissed her and betoke her to GOD and the fortune of the see, and to the gouernaunce of the French king her husband. Thus the. ii. daye of October at the bower of foure of the clocke in the morenynge thys fayre ladye tooke her ship with all her noble compaignie: and when they had sayled a quarter of the see, the wynde rose and seuered some of the shyppes to Caleys, and some in Flaunders and her shippe with greate difficultie was brought to Bulleyn, and with great ieopardy at the entryng of the hauen, for the master ran the ship hard on shore, but the botes were redy and receyued this noble lady, and at the landyng Sir Christopher Garnyshe stode in the water and toke her in his armes, and so caryed her to land, where the Duke of Vandosme and a Cardynall with many estates receyued her, and her ladies, and welcommed all the noble men into that countrey and so the Quene and all her trayne came to Bulleyn, and ther rested, and from thence she remoued by dyuerse lodgynges tyll she came all most within. iii. mile of Abuyle besyde the forrest of Arders, and ther kynge Loyes vppon a great courser met with her, and she would haue alyghted but he woulde not suffer her, and welcomed her to his countrey, and when he had sene her beauty (whiche he so long desired) and talked w̄ her a lide space, then he returned to Abuyle by a secret waye, & she was w̄ great triūphe, procession & pagiantes receyued into the toune of Abuyle the. viii. daye of October by the Dolphin, which receyued her w̄ great honor, she was appareilled in cloth of siluer, her horse was trapped in goldsmythes work very rychly. After her folowed. xxxvi. ladies, al ther palfreys trapped with crymsyn veluet, embraudered: after them folowed one charyott of clothe of tyssue, the seconde clothe of golde and the third Crymsyn veluet embrawdered with the kyngs armes & hers, full of roses. After them folowed a great nomber of archers, and then wagons laden w̄ their stuf. Great was the riches in plate, iuels, money, apparel, and hangynges that this lady brought into Fraūce. The Mōday beyng the daye of Saincte Denyse, thesame kynge Lewes maried the lady Mary in the great church of Abuyle, bothe appareled in goldesmythes woorke. After the masse was done, ther was a great banket and fest and the ladyes of England highly entreteyned.

The Tewesdaye beyng the. x. daye of October all Thenglishmen except a fewe that were officers with thesayde quene, were discharged whiche was a greate sorowe for theim, for some had serued her longe in hope of preferrmente, and some that had honest romes lefte them to serue her, & now they were with out seruice, which caused thē to take thought in so much some dyed by the way returning, and sone fell mad, but ther was no remedy. After the English lordes had done there commission the Frēch king wylled thē to take no lenger payne, & so gaue to them good rewardes and they toke ther leaue of the quene and returned. Then the Dolphin of Fraunce called lord Fraūcys duke of Valoys, and by hys wife duke of Brytaigne for the more honoure of this mariage, before Thenglishmen departed from Abuyle, caused a solempne iustes to be proclaymed which shoulde be kept at Paris in the moneth of Nouēber next ensuyng, and that he with his. ix. aydes shoulde aunswere,

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all commers beynge gentlemen of name and of armes. Fyrste to ronne. v. courses at the Tylt with peces of auantage, and also. v. courses at Randon with sharpe speres, and twelfe strokes with sharpe swordes, and that done, he and his aydes to fight at the barriers with al gentlemen of name and of armes. Fyrste syx foynes with hand speres, and after that eyght strokes to the most auantage yf the spere so long held, and after that twelfe strokes with the swerde, and yf any man be vnhorsed or be felled wyth fyghtynge on foote, then hys horse and armoure to be rendered to the officers of armes, and euery man of this chalenge must setvp his armes and name vpon an arche triumphante, whiche shalbe made at the place where the iustes shalbe, and further shall wryte too what poynct he wyll aunswere to one or to all. When this proclamacion was reported in Englande by the noble men that returned from the mariage: the Duke of Suffolke the Marques Dorsett and his foure brethrene, the Lorde Clynton, Sir Edward Neuel, Sir Gyles Capell, Thomas Cheney and other sued to the kynge to be at the chalenge, which request, he graciously graunted. Then the Lordes and knyghtes prepared all thynge necessarye for there entreprice, and shypped there horses and harnesse, and dyd so muche by iournay, that they came to Parys, at the ende of the moneth of October, whiche were hartely welcomed of the kyng and the Dolphin: but most of all of the Frēch quene which then lay at sainct Denyse, and was not yet crowned nor entred in to Paris.

The Dolphin desired the duke of Suffolke and the lord Marques Dorset, whose actiuite he knew well by reporte, to be two of his immediat aides, which therto assented. Therfore was erected an Arch of widnes at the tournelles beside the strete on sainct Anthony, directly before ỹ Bastel, on the which were set. iiii. targettes or scutchiōs, the one siluer and he that sett his name vnder that shylde, runne at the Tylt accordyng to ỹ articles: he that put his name vnder the golden target should ronne with the sharpe speres and fight with sharpe swerdes: they that put ther names to the black shilde should fight a foote with speres and swerdes for the one hand. And he that touched the tawny sheld shoulde caste a spere on foot with a targett on his arme, & after to fight with a. ii. hand swerde: on this arche aboue stode ỹ armes of the kyng & the quene, and benethe them stode the armes of the Dolphin & his aydes, & vnder nethe stode the. iiii. scochions that you haue harde of, and vnder them all the armes and names of suche as set their names to any of thesayde. iiii. scochions. While all these thynges were preparynge, the lady Mary of Englande the. v. daye of Nouember then being Sondaye, was w̄ great solempnitee crowned Quene of Fraunce in the monasterye of Sayncte Denyce, and the Dolphyn all the season held the croune ouer her hed, because it was of greate waight to her greuaunce, at whiche coronacyon were the lordes of England, and accordynge to ther degrees well enterteyned.

Mondaye the. vi. daye of Nouember ther the sayde Queue was receyued into the cytee of Parys after the order that foloweth. First the garde of the Cytee met with her with oute Sayncte Denyce all in coates of goldesmythes woorke with shippes gylt, and after them mett her all the prestes and religious whiche were estemed to be. iii. M. The quene was in a chyre couered about (but not ouer her person) in white cloth of golde, the horses that drewe it couered in cloth of golde, on her hed a coronall all of greate perles, her necke and brest full of Iuels, before her wente a garde of Almaynes after their fascion, and after them al noblemen, as the Dolphyn, the duke of Alanson, the Duke of Burbon, the Duke of Vandosme, the Duke of Longeoyle, and the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorsett. v. Cardynalles and a greate nomber of estates, aboute her person rode the kynges garde whiche were Scottes. Thus was this quene receyued into Paris and so cōueyed to the cathedral churche and ther offered, and from thence to the pallayce where she offered at the holy Chapel, and from thence she went to her lodgyng for that nyght, for whome was prouided a great supper and the herauides cryed a *larges* and had to them geuen a ship of siluer and gylt, and other plate to the valewe of. ii. C. marke, and after supper began daūsyng and pastyme. On the morowe begā the iustes, and the Dolphin w̄ his aydes entered the feld, the apparell & bardes were cloth of golde cloth of sylver and crymsyn veluet kanteled together all in one sute, they shewed them selfs before the kyng & quene who were in a goodly stage,

and the quene stode so that all men might see her and wondered at her beautie, and the kyng was feble and lay on a couche for weakenes. Then entered ỹ coũter parte by a rayle for combryng the place. These iustes contynued iii. dayes, in the whiche were aunswered iii. hundred and. v. men of armes and euery man ran. v. courses, and with sharpe speres, dyuerse were slayne and not spoken of: the English lordes and knyghtes dyd as well as the best of any the other. At the Randon and Tournay the Duke of Suffolke hurt a gentleman that he was like to die, the Marques strok Mounsire Grew an Albanoys with his spere and perced his bed pece & put hym in ieopardy: the duke of Suffolke in the tornay ouerthrewe a man of armes horse and man, and so dyd the lorde Marques another, and yet the Frenchmen woulde in no wyse prayse them. At this tornay the Dolphyn was hurt in the hande, so that he coulde not performe hys chalenge at the barriers and put one of his ayde in his rome, the nexte daye after began the fight at the barriers and because the Dolphin was not present, the duke of Suffolke and the lorde Marques Dorsett that daye began the feld, and toke the barriers with speres in hand abydyng all commers. The Dolphin brought a mã secretly, which in all the court of Fraunce was the tallest and the strongest man, & he was an Almayne and put him in the place of an other person to haue had ỹ duke of Suffolke rebuked. The same great Almayne came to the barres fyersly with face hyd, because he would not be knowen, and bare his spere to the duke of Suffolke with all his strength, and the duke him receiued, and for all his strength put hym by strong strokes from the barriers, and with the but ende of the spere strake the Almaine that he staggared, but for al that the Almayne strake strõgly and hardly at the duke, and the iudges suffered many mo strokes to be foughten then were appoincted, but whẽ they saw the Almayne rele & staggar, then they let fall the rayle betwene them. The lorde Marques Dorsett at the same time, euen at the same barre fought with a gentleman of Fraunce that he lost his spere, and in maner with drewe: When the rayle was let fall, these two noble men put vp their vysers & toke ayer, & then they tooke swerdes with poynct & edges abated, and came to the barriers, and ỹ Almayne foughte sore with the duke, which imagened that he was a person set on for the nonce but ỹ duke by pure stre gth tooke hym about the necke, and pomeled so aboute the hed that the bloud yssued out of his nose, & then they were departed, and the Almayne was conueyed by the Dolphyn lest he should be knowen. These twoo noble men of Englande that daye fought valiantly diuerse feates, and the Frenchmen likewise nobly them defended but it happened the lord Marques one time to put for his aide his yoũgest brother called the Lorde Edward Grey of the age of. xix. yere, and to hym was put a gentleman of Fraunce of greate stature and strength to thentente to plucke hym ouer the barres, but yet the younge Lorde was of suche strength, powre and pollecy, that he so stroke his aduersarie that he disarmed hym, al the face bare. Thus was these entreprynces fynished to the laude of al parties, and Thenglyshmen receyued muche honoure and no spott of rebuke, yet they were priuely sett at and in many ieopardies: for the declaracion of this triumphe, he that sawe it can tell howe goodly the coursers trotted boũded and quickly turned: How valiantely the men of armes behaued them selfes and howe the Duke of Burbones bende was apparelled, and bassed in tawney veluet, and clothe of sylver clowdy, the bende of therle of Sayncte Polle apparelled and barded in purple veluet all to cutt, on purple satten, the enfante of Arragon sonne to Frederycke last kynge of Naples, and hys bende all in clothe of golde and sylver paled. This lord was but young but was very towarde. The Duke of Vandosme and his bende in clothe of golde, and plucket veluet bende. The Dolphyn and hys aydes were euery daye newe apparelled at his coste, one daye in sylver and golde, a nother in Crymesyn veluet and yelowe veluet, and another daye in white veluet and grene, some daye myxted with satyn, some daie embrawdered, some daye pounced with golde, and so euery daye in chaunge as the woorkers funtasye coulde deuyse, but the Englishemen had euer on their apparell red crosses to be knowen for loue of their coũtre: at this triumphe the countie Galeas came into the place on a Ienet trapped in blew satten and he hym selfe lykewyse apparelled and ran a corse with a spere, which was at the hed. v. ynches on euery syde square, that is. xx. ynches about, & at the but. ix. ynches square,

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that is. xxxvi. ynches, this spere was massy tymber & yet for al that he rā cleane with it a long course and slightely auoyded it to his great honour.

Also ther was another gentleman called Anthony Bownarme which came into the feld all armed, and on his body brought in sight. x. speres that is to wyt. iii. speres set in euery styroppe forward, and vnder euery thygh. ii. speres vpwarde, and vnder his lefte arme was on spere backeward, and the. x. in his hand, and when he came before the Quene he let hys horse ronne and neuer stopped tyll he had taken euery spere after other and broken it on the grounde, and he neuer stopped his horse tyll all were broken, this gentleman was highely praysed and so he was worthy: when all this great triumphe was done, the lordes of England toke ther leue and were highly thanked of the kyng, quene, Dolphin and all the lords, and so departed and came into England before Christmas. In Nouember the quene was delyuered of a prynce which lyued not long after.

This yere in December ther was one Richard Hun a marchāt tayllor of London in Lollers tower by the commaundement of the Bishop of London, called Rychard Fitziames & doctoure Horsey his chaunceler, whiche was a man more of witt to preferre the Byshoppes iurysdicion and the clergie, and then the truth of the Gospell: but so it was that the sayde Hūn was found dead hāging by ẏ neck in a gordle of silke, ẇin ẏ said towre. The begīning of this matter must be shewed for ẏ folowīg of ẏ cōsequēt: for this Hū had a child ẏ died in his house being an infant, the Curate clamed ẏ beryng shete, for a mortuary. Hun answered ẏ the infant had no propertie in the shete whervpon the priest ascited him in the spiritual courte, he taking to him good counsayll, sued the Curate in a preminire, and when the prestes hard of this, they did so much of malice that they accused him of heresy, and brought him to the lollers tower and ther was founde deed as you hard. Richard Hun cōmitted to ẏ lowers tower & murthered.

This man was counted of honest reputacion, no man to the sight of people more vertuous, wherfore vpon this matter a greate matter folowed, for the Byshoppe and hys Chaunceller doctour Horsey sayde that he hanged hym selfe, and all the temperaltie sayde that he was murthered, and there vpon. xii. men were charged before the Coronour whyche. xii. were elected by greate dyscrecion, and many tymes they were wyth the kynges counsayll and hard their opinions, but in the meane season the Bysshop of London brent the dead Carcase of the sayde Rycharde Hun in smythfeld, to the abhominacion of the people: but after that the matter had ben hard by the iudges, and after by the kynges counsayll his grace beyng present and hering the cause openly debated and much borne by the spiritualtie, yet at the last he remitted it to the tryall of the lawe, and so vpon good euidence doctour Horsey the Chaunceller and Belrynger with Charles Ioseph the somner, were endyted of the murther: but afterward by the meanes of the spiritualty & money, Doctour Horsey caused the kynges attorney to confesse on his arraynement hym not to be gylty, and so he escaped and wēt to exetre, and for very shame durst neuer come after to London. But yet for a further truthe to be declared in this abhominable and detestable murther here shall folow the whole inquyry and verdicte of thenquest woorde for woorde.

The. v. and the. vi. daie of December in the. vi. yere of the reigne of our souereigne lorde kyng Henry the. viii. Wyllyam Barnewell crowner of London, the daye and yere aboue sayde within the warde of Castylbaynerd of London assembled a quest, whose names afterwarde doo appere, and hath sworne theim truely to enquire of the death of one Rychard Hun, whiche lately was founde dead in the Lollers tower with in Pauls church of London, wherupon al we of the inquest together went vp into the sayd tower, where we found the body of the sayde Hun hāging vpon a staple of iron in a gyrdle of sylke, with fayre countenaunce hys heed fayre kemed, and his bonet right sittyng vpon his heed, ẇ his eyen & mouth fayre closed, withoute any staring, gapyng, or frownyng. Also without any dreuelyng or spurgyng in any place of his body, wherupō by one assent all we agreed to take downe the body of the sayde Hun, and as sone as we began to heue the body it was loose, wherby by good aduysement we perceiued that the girdle had no knot aboue the staple, but it was double cast and the lynkes of an iron chayne which did hang on the same staple were layd vpon the same The inquiry of of Richard Hun.

same gyrdle wherby he did hang: Also the knot of the gyrdel that went about his neck stode vnder his left eare, which caused his head to leane toward his right shoulder. Not wtstanding there came out of his nostrels. ii. small stremes of bloud to the quantite of. iiii. dropes, saue only these. iiii. dropes of blode, the face lippes chinne, doublet, coler, & shurt of the sayde Hun was cleane from any bloud. Also we fynd ỹ the skyn both of his neck & throte beneth the gyrdell of sylk, was fret & fased away, with that thing which ỹ murtherers had broken his neck with all. Also the bādes of the sayd Hun were wrōg in the wristes, wherby we perceyued that his handes had been bounde.

Moreouer we fynd that within the sayde prison was no meane wherby any man might hang him selfe, but only a stole which stole stode vpon a bolster of a bed, so tyckle that any man or beast myght not touche it so litle but it was redy to fall, wherby we perceyued that yt was not possible that Hun might hange hymselfe the stole so standynge. Also all the gyrdell from the staple to his necke, as well as the part which went about his neck was to litle for his heed to come out therat. Also it was not possible that the soft sylken gyrdell shoulde breake his neck or skyn beneth the gyrdle. Also we finde in a corner somewhat beyonde the place wher he dyd hang a great persell of bloud, also we fynde that vpon the lyfte syde of Huns Iacket from the brest downeward. ii. great stremes of bloud. Also within the flappe of the lyft syde of his Iacket, we fynde a greate cluster of bloude and the Iacket folden downe therupon, whiche thing the sayde Hun coulde neuer folde nor do after he was hanged: Whereby it appereth plainly to vs all, that the necke of Hun was broken, and the greate plenty of blude was shed before he was hanged. Wherefore all wee fynde by God and all our consciences that Rychard Hun was murthered: also we acquyte the sayde Richard Hun of his aune deathe.

Also an ende of a waxe candell whyche as Ihon Belrynger sayeth, he lefte in the pryson burnyng with Hun that same Sondaye at nyght that Hun was murthered, whyche waxe candell we founde styckynge vppon the stockes fayre put oute, aboute seuen or eyght foot from the place where Hun was hanged, whyche candell after oure opynion was neuer put oute by hym, for many likelyhodes whiche we haue perceyued. Also at the goynge vp of Master Chaunceller into the Lollars tower, wee haue good proofe, that there laye on the stockes a gowne eyther of murrey or crymosyn in grayn furred with shankes, whose goune yt was wee could neuer proue, neyther who bare it awaye. All wee fynde that Master Wyllyam Horsey Chaunceller to my lorde of London hath had at hys commaundement bothe the rule and guydynge of the sayde prysoner. Moreouer all we fynd that the sayde Master Horsey Chaunceller hath put Charles Ioseph out of his office, as the sayde Charles hath confessed, because he would not dele and vse the sayde prisoner so cruelly and do to him as the Chaunceller would haue had him to do. Notwithstanding the keyes delyueraunce to the Chaunceller by Charles on the Saturdaye at nyght before Huns deathe and Charles rydyng out of the towne on the Sondaye in the mornyng ensuyng was but a conuencion made betwixte Charles and the Chaunceller, for to colour the murther, for the same Sōday that Charles rode furth, he came agayne to towne the Sonday at nyght, and kylled Rychard Hun, as in the deposycions of Iulian Littell, Thomas Chitcheley, Thomas Symondes, and Peter Turner doeth appere.

After colouryng of the murther betwixte Charles and the Chaunceller conspired, the Chaunceller called to hym one Ihon Spaldyng Belrynger of Poules and delyuered to the same belrynger the keyes of the Lollars towre, geuyng to the sayde belrynger a great charge, sayeng I charge the to kepe Hun more straytely then he hath been kepte, and let hym haue but one meale a daye. Moreouer I charge the, let nobody come to hym wythoute my lycence, neyther to brynge hym shurt, cap, kercheffe, or any other thynge, but that I see it before yt come to hym. Also before Hun was caried to Fulham, the Chaunceller commaunded too be put vppon Huns necke a greate coller of Iron with a greate chayne whiche is to heuy for any man or beast to were and longe to endure.

Moreouer it is well proued that before Huns death the sayd Chaunceller came vp into the

sayde Lollers tower, and kneled downe before Hun holdynge vp hys handes to hym, prayenge hym of forgeuenesse of all that he had done to hym and muste do to hym. And on the Sondaye folowynge the Chaunceller commaunded the Penytensary of Poules, too goo vp to hym and saye a Gospell, and make for hym holy water and holye breade, and geue yt to hym, whyche so dyd and also the Chaunceller cõmaunded that Hun should haue his diner. And the same dyner tyme Charles boye was shute in pryson with Hun, whiche was neuer so before, and after dyner whan the Belrynger fett oute the boye, the Belrynger sayde to the same boye, come no more hyther with mete for hym, vntyll to morowe at noone, for my mayster Chaunceller hathe commaunded that he shall haue but one meale a daye: and the same night folowynge Rychard Hun was murthered, whiche murder coulde not haue beene done withoute consente and lycence of the Chaunceller, and also by the wittynge and knowelege of Ihon Spaldynge Belrynger, for there coulde no man come in to the prysone but by the keyes beyng in Ihon Belryngers kepynge. Also as by my Lorde of Londons booke doeth appere, Ihon Belrynger is a poore innocente man, wherefore all wee doo perceyue that thys murther coulde not be done, but by the commaundement of the Chaunceller, and by the wittyng & knowing of Ihon Belrynger.

Charles Ioseph within the tower of London of hys awne free wyll and vnconstreyned sayde, that Master Chaunceller deuysed and wrote with his awne hand, all suche heresyes as were layd to Hũs charge, recorde Ihon God, Ihon Truy, Ihon Pasmar, Richard Gybson w many other.

Also Charles Ioseph sayeth, that whan Rychard Hun was slayne Ihon Belrynger bare vpp the steyre into Lollars tower a waxe candell, hauynge the keyes of the dores hangynge on hys arme, and I Charles went nexte to hym, and master Chaunceller came vp last, and whan all wee came vp, we founde Hun lyenge on hys bedde, and than Mayster chaunceller sayde, lay handes on the thefe and so al we murthered Hun, and than I Charles put the gyrdell aboute Huns necke, and than Ihon Belrynger and I Charles dyd heue vp Hun and Master Chaunceller pulled the gyrdell ouer the staple and so Hun was hanged.

The deposycion of Iulian littell Late seruaunt to Charles Ioseph by her fre will vnconstrayned the. vi. yere of oure souereigne lord kyng Henry the. viii. within the Chapell of our lady of Bethlehem shewed to thynquest.

Fyrst Iulian sayeth, that the Wednesdaye at nyght after the death of Rychard Hun, that Charles Ioseph her master came home to hys supper: than Iulian sayde to hym, master it was tolde me that ye were in pryson, Charles aunswered, it is merye to turne the penye, and after supper Charles trussed persell of his goodes, and with helpe of Iulyan bare them into master Porters howse to kepe, and that done Charles sayde to Iulian. Iulian yf thou wilt be sworne to kepe my counsayll I wyll shewe the my mynde. Iulian aunswered ye, yf it be neyther felonie or treason: than Charles toke a boke oute of his purse, and Iulian sware to hym therupon, than sayde Charles to Iulian, I haue distroyed Richarde Hun. Alas master sayde Iulian, howe he was called an honest man? Charles aunswered, I put a wyre in his nose, Alas sayde Iulyan nowe be ye cast awaye and vndone, than sayde Charles Iulyan I truste in the that thou wylt kepe my counsayll, and Iulyan aunswered ye, but for Godes sake master shifte for your selfe, and than Charles sayde I had leuer than hundred pound yt were not done, but that is done can not be vndone. Moreouer Charles sayde than to Iulyan, vpon Sondaye whan I rode to my cousyn Baryngtons house, I tarved there and made good chere all daye tyll yt was nyght, and yet before yt was myd nyght I was in London, and had kylled Hun, and vpon the next day I rode ỹ ther agayn and was there at dyner, and sent for neyghbours and made good chere. Than Iulian asked Charles, where set you your horse that nyght you came to towne, and wherfore came ye not home, Charles aunswered, I came not home for feare of bewrayenge, and than Iulian asked Charles who was wyth you at the kyllynge of Hun. Charles aunswered, I wyll not tell the: and Iulyan

sayde:

saythe that vpon the thursdaye folowynge Charles tarved all daye in his house with great fere, and vpon Fridaye folowyng erly in the mornynge before daye, Charles went fourth (as he sayde) he wente to Poules, and at hys comnyng in agayne he was in great fere sayenge. Hastely get me my horse and with great feare and hast made hym redye to ryde, and bad Mayster Porters lad lede his horse into the felde by the backsyde, and than Charles put into hys sleue hys mase or masor wyth other plate, and borowed of Masteres Porter bothe golde and sylner but howe moche I am not sure, and Charles wente into the felde after hys horse and Iulyan brought hys booget after hym. Also vpon Frydaye in Christmas weke folowyng, Charles came home late in the night and brought with him. iii. bakers and a smyth of Stratforde, and the same nyght they caried out of Charles howse all his goodes by the feld syde to the Bell at Shoredyche and erly in the morenynge conueyed yt with cartes to Stratford.

Moreouer Iulyan sayth that the Saturdaye at nyght before the death of Hun, Chrles came home and broughte with him a Gurnard, sayenge, yt was for Hun, and Charles boye telled to Iulian, that there was also ordeyned a pece of freshe Salmon, whiche Ihon Belrynger had.

Also Charles sayde to the sayde Iulyan, were not this vngratious trouble, I coulde brynge my Lorde of London to the dores of heretyques in London bothe of men and women that ben worthe a thowsand pound: but I am aferd that the vngracious mydwyfe shall bewraye vs all.

Also Charles sayde vnto maistres Porter in lykewyse & more larger sayeng of the best in London, where to maistres porter answered, the best in London is my lord Mayer, than Charles saide, I will not skuse him quyte for he taketh this matter whote.

Where as Charles Ioseph sayeth he laye at necke hill with a harlott a mans wyfe in Baryngtons house the same nyght, and there abode vntyll the morowe at. xi. of the clocke that Rycharde Hun was murthered whereupon he brought before the kynges counsayll for his purgacion the forsayde baude Baryngtons wyfe, and also the forsayde harlott, whiche purgacion we haue proued al vntreue as right largely may appere as well by the deposicion of Iulian Littell, as of Thomas Chytcheley Taylor and of Ihon Symons Stacioner, with other, as of Robert Ihonson and Peter Turner.

The deposycion of Thomas Chitcheley Taylor.

The sayd Thomas sayeth, the same Monday that Richard Hun was found dead, within a quarter of an hower after. vii. a clocke in the morning, he met w Charles Ioseph comyng out of Pouls at ỹ nether north dore, goyng toward Pater noster row, sayeg good morow master Charles, & the sayd Charles answered, good morow, & turned hys back whan he was withoute the churche dore, and loked vpon the sayde Chitchelay.

The deposicion of Thomas Symondes Stacioner.

He sayeth, the same mornyng that Hun was founde deed, ỹ with in a quarter of an hower after. vii. a clock in the mornynge, Charles Ioseph came before him at his stall & sayd good morow gossyp Symons, & the same Symons sayd good morow to him agayne, & the wyfe of the same Symons was by him, & because of the dedly cõtenaunce & hasty goyng of Charles, the sayd Thomas bad hys wife loke whither Charles gothe, and as she could perceyue, Charles went into an ale howse standing in Pater noster rowe by the Aley ledyng into the rode of Northorne, or into the Aley whither she could not well tell.

The deposicion of Roberte Ihonson and his wife dwellyng at the bell in Shorditche, where Charles Ioseph sett his horse that nyghte that he came to toune to murther Richard Hun.

Thesayde Robert sayeth that Charles Ioseph sent hys horse to hys house vpon a holydaye at nyght about. iii. wekes before Christmas by a boy, which horse was al beswet, and albe myred:

myred: and thesayd boye sayd, let my fathers horse stand sadelled, for I can not tell whether my father wyll ryde agayne to nyghte or not, and thesayde horse stode sadelled all nyght and in the morenynge folowynge Charles came boted and spurred aboute. viii. of the clocke, and asked yf hys horse was sadelled, and the seruaunt aunswered: ye, and thesayde Charles lepte vpon his horse and prayed the hoste to let hym out of his backe gate that he myght ryde out by the feld syde, whyche host so dyd. And because he was vncertayne of the daye, we asked hym if he hard speke of the death of Hun at that tyme or not, and he aunswered nay: but shortly after he did. Neuerthelesse Peter Turner Charles sonne in law which brought the horse be nyght into the Bell Robert Ihonsons house, confessed it was the same night before that Hun was founde ded in the morning. Moreouer the Frydaye before Huns deth Peter Turner sayde to an honest woman a waxe chaundelers wife dwellyng before sainct Maries spitel gate, that before this daye seuen night Hun should haue a mischeuoose death. And the same daye at after none this Hun was founde dead, the sayde Peter came to thesame wyfe and tolde her that Hun was hanged, sayenge what told I you.

Also Iames the Chauncelers cooke, the Frydaye before Huns death, sayde to. v. honest men, ỹ Hun shoulde dye or Christmas, or els he would dye for hym, and on the Mondaye that Hun was founde dead thesayde Iames came to thesame men: and sayde, what tolde I you, is he not now hanged.

And we of thynquest asked both of Peter Turner & of Iames cooke wher they had knowlege that Hun should so shortelye dye, and thei sayd in master Chauncellers place by euery man.

The deposicion of Ihon Spaldyng, Belrynger.

Fyrste thesayde deponent sayeth, that on Saturdaye the seconde daye of December. Anno. M. D. Xiiii. he toke the charge of the pryson at foure of the clocke at after none, by the commaundemente of master Chaunceller, and so toke the keyes, wherupon he gaue commaundement to the deponent, that he should let no maner of person speke w̄ the prysoner excepte he had knowlege of them, and so at. v. of the clocke thesame daye thesayde deponent went to the prysoner hym selfe alone, and sawe hym and cheryshed hym, where he gaue thesayde deponente a pece of fresh Salmon for his wyfe. And after that thesayde deponent sayeth that he went to master commissaries to supper with his felowe, where he remembred that he had left his knyfe with thesayde prysoner, wherupō by the counsayll of master Commissary he went to the prysoner and fetched his knyfe, where he founde the prisoner sayeng of his beades, and so thesayde deponent requyred his knyfe of thesayde prisoner, and thesaide prisoner deluered the knyfe to thesayd deponent gladly, and so departed for that nyght.

And after that on the Sonday next folowyng thesayd deponent came to the prisoner at. ix. of the clock, and asked him what mete he would haue to his diner, and he aunswered but a morsell, and so thesaide deponēt departed and went to the Chaunceller into the quere, and he cōmaūded, that he should take the penytensary vp to the prysoner w̄ hym to make hym holy water and holy bread, and made thesaide deponent to departe the prison house for a whyle, and after that he brought hym his dyner, & locked Charles boye with hym all dyner while, vnto the hower of. i. of ỹ clocke, and so let the lad out agayne and asked him what he would haue to his supper, and he answered that he had meate ynough, & so departed vntyll vi. of the clocke, and then thesayde deponente broughte hym a quarte of ale, and at the tyme one Wyllyam Sampson went with thesayde deponent to see the prysoner where he was, and sawe hym & spake together, and so from the howre of. vi. a foresayde vnto twelfe a clocke on the morow thesaide deponent came not there and whan he came there he met the Chaunceller with other doctoures goynge to se the prisoner where he hanged.

The deposicion of Peter Turner, sonne in law of Charles Ioseph.

Fyrste he sayeth that his father in lawe rode out of the toune vpon Sondaye the. iii. day

of December. An. xv. C. &. xiiii. at. vi. of the clocke in the mornynge, weryng a cote of orenge tawny, on a horse cooler grysell, trottyng.

He sayeth the Sondaye next before that one Buttons wyfe gaue knowlege to thesayde deponente that his father shoulde bee arested by dyuerse sergeantes assone as he coulde be taken, and thereupon thesayde deponente gaue knowlege to thesayde father in lawe at the blacke Fryars at the water syde. Wherupon he auoyded, and thesame nyghte mayster chaunceller gaue the keyes to Ihon Belrynger, and gaue him charge of the prisoner and on thesayde Sondaye thesayde deponente wyth Ihon Belrynger serued thesayde prisoner of his diner at. xii. of ỳ clocke and than Ihon Belrynger sayde to the deponēt, that he would not come to him vnto the morowe for my lord had cōmaunded him that the prisoner should haue but one meales mete of the daye. Notwithstādyng that thesayde Ihon Belrynger after that he had shut Poules church dores, went to the foresayde prisoner, with another with him at. vii. of the clock at nyght thesayde Sondaye.

And thesayde deponent sayeth, that he came on the Monday at the hower of eyghte of the clocke in the morenynge to seke Ihon Belrynger, and coulde not fynde hym. and taryed vntyll the hye Masse of Poules was done, and yet he coulde not fynde Ihon Belrynger, and than Ihon Belryngers felowe, one Wyllyam, delyuered the keyes to thesayde deponent, and so thesayd deponent with two officers of my lordes beyng somners went to serue thesayd prisoner, and whan they came the prisoner (thei saide) was hanged, his face to the wall warde, and vpō that thesayde deponent immediately gaue knowelege to the chaunceller, wherupon the chaunceller went vp ẁ the master of the rolles, & master Subdeane with other doctoures vnknowen, to the nomber of a dosen & their seruauntes.

The deposicion of Ihon Enderby Barber.

The sayde Ihon Enderby sayth, the Frydaye before the death of Richard Hun, betwixte. viii. &. ix. of the clock in the mornyng, he met ẁ Ihō Belrynger in estchepe, and asked of him how master Hun fared, thesayd Belrynger aunswered, sayenge: There is ordeyned for him so greuouse penaunce that when men here of it, they shall haue great maruel therof: wytnesses that hard Ihon Belrynger saye these woordes Ihon Rutter Skreuener, and William Segar armourer.

Also thesayd Ihon Enderby sayth, thesame Mondaye that Richard Hun was founde dedd, he met with thesayd Ihon Belrynger at ỳ cōdyth in gracious strete about. ix. of the clock in the mornyng, askyng thesayd Belrynger, how master Hun fared, thesayde Belrynger aunswered, sayeng, he fared well this day in the mornyng betwixte. v. &. vi. of the clock. Howbeit, I am sory for hym, for there can no body, come to him vntill I come, for I haue the keyes of the dores here by my Gyrdel, and shewed keyes to the sayd Enderby.

The deposicion of Alen Creswell wax Chaundeler.

Thesayde Alen sayth, that Ihon Grandger seruaunte ẁ my lorde of Londō, in my lord of Londōs kechyn, at such time as thesayd Alen was seryng of Huns coffen that Grandger tolde to him that he was present with Ihon Belrynger thesame Sonday at night ỳ Richard was foūde ded of the morowe whan his keper set hym in the stockes, in so muche thesayde Hun desyred to borow the kepers knyfe, & the keper asked him what he would do with his knyfe, & aunswered, I had leuer kyll my self than to be thus entreted. This deposicion thesayde Alen wyll proue as farforth as any christen man may, saieng that Grandger shewed to hym these woordes of his awne frewyll and mynde, without any question or enquiry to him made by thesayd Alen. Moreouer thesayd Alen sayth, ỳ all that euenyng Grandger was in great feare.

The deposicion of Richard Horsnayle Bailyfe of the sanctuary towne called Good Esture in Essex.

Thesaide Richard saith, the Fryday before Christmas daie last past, ỳ one Charles

Ioseph, somner to my lord of Lōdō, became a sanctuary man, and theaforsayde Frydaye he regestred his name, thesayde Charles sayenge yt was for the sauegarde of his body, for there be certayne men in London so extreme agaynst hym for the deathe of Richard Hun, that he dare not abyde in London: Howbeit the sayde Charles saithe, he knowlegeth hym selfe gyltles of Huns death, for he delyuered the keyes to the Chauncellor by Huns life, also the sayde Balife sayth, that Charles payd ȳ deuty of thesayde regestryng, both to him and sir Ihon Studely Vicar.

The copye of my lorde of Londons Letter sent to my lorde Cardinall.

I beseche your good lordshipp to stande so good lord vnto my poore chaunceller nowe inwarde, and endited by an vntrewe quest for ȳ death of Richard Hun, vpon the only accusacion of Charles Ioseph made by payne und duraunce, that by your intercession it may please the kynges grace to haue the matter duly and sufficiently examined by indifferente persones of his discrete counsayll in the presence of the parties, or there be any more done in that cause, and that vpon the innocency of my saide Chaunceller declared, it may further please the kynges grace, to a warde a plackard vnto his Attornay to confesse the saide enditement to be vntrewe whan the tyme shall require it, for assured am I if my Chaunceller be tryed by any. xii. men in London, they be so maliciously set. *In fauorem heretice prauitatis*, that they wyll cast and condempne any clerke, though he were as innocent as Abell. *Quare si potes beate pater adiuua infirmitates nostras & tibi in perpetuum deuincti erimus.* Ouer this in most hūble wyse I beseche you that I maye haue the kynges gracious fauour, whome I neuer offended willingly, and that by your good meanes I might speke with his grace and you, and I with all myne, shall pray for your prosperouse estate long to continue.

Your most humble Oratour. R. L.

The woordes that my lord of London spake before the lordes in the parliament chamber.

Memorandum, that the Byshop of London sayde in the parliament chamber, that there was a byll brought to the parliamente to make the iury that was charged vppon the deathe of Hun true men, and sayde and tooke vpon his conscience that they were false periurie catyfes, and sayde further more too all the Lordes ther than beynge, for the loue of GOD, loke vpon this matter, for yf ye do not I dare not kepe myne awne house for heretiques: and sayde that thesaide Rychard Hun hanged hym selfe, and that yt was hys awne dede and no mans els. And further more sayde, that there came a man to hys howse (whose wyfe was appeched of heresye) to specke with hym, and he sayde that he had no mynde to speke with thesame man, which man spake and reported to the seruaunte of the same Byshoppe, that yf hys wyfe woulde not holde styll her opinion, he woulde cutte her throte with his awne handes, with other woordes.

The sentence of the quest, subscribed by the crouner.

The inquisicion intendid & taken at the cytie of London, in the Parishe of saint Gregorie, in the ward of Baynard castell in Londō the. vi. daye of December, in the yere and reigne of kynge Henry the. viii. the. vi. yere, afore Thomas Barnewell crouner of our soueraigne lorde the kynge, within the citie of London aforesayde. Also afore Iames Yarford, and Ihon Mondey Sheriffes of thesayde citie, vppon the sight of the bodye of Rychard Hun late of London Taylour, which was founde hanged in ȳ Lollars Towre, and by the othe and profe of lawfull men of thesame warde, and of other. iii. wardes next adioyning as it ought to be after the custome in the citie aforesayde, to enquyre, how, and in what maner wyse, thesayde Rycharde Hun came vnto hys death, and vpon the othe of Ihon Bernard, Thomas Sterte, William Warren, Henry Abraham, Ihon Aborow, Ihon Turner, Robert Alen, William Marler, Ihon Burton, Iames Page, Thomas Pickehyll, William Burton, Robert Brigewater, Thomas Busted, Gilbert Howell, Rychard Gibson, Christopher Crof-

ton, Ihon God, Rychard Holte, Ihon Pasmere, Edmonde Hudson, Ihon Aunsell, Rycharde Couper, Ihon Tynie, the which sayde vpon their othes, that where thesayd Rychard Hun, by the commaundement of Rycharde, bishop of Londo, was emprisoned and brought to holde in a pryson of the sayd bishops, called Lollars Towre lyeng in the cathedral churche of saincte Paule in London, in the paryshe of sainct Gregorie, in the warde of Baynerd castell aforesayde, William Horsely of London clercke, otherwise called William Heresie, Chauncelour to Rycharde bishop of London, & one Charles Ioseph late of Lōdō sonner, and Ihon Spaldyng of Lōdon, otherwise called Ihon belrynger, felonyously as felōs to our lord the kynge, with force and armes againste the peace of oure soueraigne lorde the kynge, and dignitie of his croune, the. iiii. daye of December, the yere of the reygne of our soueraigne lorde the. vi. aforesayd, of their great malice, at the parishe of saincte Gregorie aforesayde, vppon the sayde Rycharde Hun made a fraye, and thesame Rycharde Hun felonyously strangeled and smodered, and also the necke they did breake of thesayde Rychard Hun, and there felonyously slew him and murthered hym: and also the body of the sayd Rycharde Hun afterwarde the same. iiii. daye, yere, place, parishe and warde aforesayde, with the proper gyrdell of thesame Rychard Hun of sylke, blacke of colour, of the value of. xii.d. after his death vpon a hoke dryuen into a pece of tymber in the walle of the pryson aforesayd made faste, and so hanged hym agaynst the peace of oure soueraigne lorde the kynge, and the dignitie of hys croune, and so thesayd Iury hathe sworne vpon the holy Euangelist, ỹ thesayde William Horsey clercke, Charles Ioseph, and Ihon Spaldynge of their set malice then, & their, felonyously kylled & murthered thesayde Rychard Hun, in maner & forme abouesayde, agaynste the peace of our soueraigne lord the kyng, his croune and dignitie.

Subscribed in this maner.

Thomas Barnewell, crouner of the citie of London.

This Christemas on Newyeres night, ỹ king, ỹ duke of Suffolke and. ii. other in mantels of cloth of siluer, & lyned with blew veluet, the sylver was pounsed in letters, so that ỹ veluet might be sene through, the mantels had great capes like to the Portingal slopys, and all their hosen, dublettes & cotes were of thesame fasshion cut and of thesame stuffe, with thē were. iiii. ladyes in gounes, after the fashion of Sauoy, of blew veluet, lyned with clothe of golde, the veluet all to cutte, and mantels like typpettes knytte together al of siluer and on there heddes bonettes of burned golde, the. iiii. torche bearers were in satten white and blewe. This straunge apparell pleased muche euery person, and in especial the Quene, & thus these. iiii. lordes and. iiii. ladyes came into the Quenes chamber with great light of torches, and daunced a greate season, and then put of their visers, & then they were well knowen, and the Quene hartely thanked the kynges grace for her goodly pastyme, and kyssed hym.

Likewise on the twelfe night, the kyng and the Quene came into the hall of Grenewyche, and sodainlye entered a tent of clothe of golde and before the tent stode. iiii. men of armes, armed at all poinctes and swerdes in their handes, and sodainly with noyes of trompettes entered. iiii. other persons all armed, and ran to the other fourc, and there was a great and a fearce fight, and sodainly came oute of a place lyke a wood. viii. wyldemen, all apparayled in grene mosse, made with slyued sylke, with Vggly weapons and terrible visages, and there foughte with the knyghtes. viii. to. viii. & after long fighting, the armed knightes drawe the wylde men out of their places, and folowed the chace out of the hall: and whē they were departed, the tent opened, and there came out. vi. lordes and. vi. ladyes rychely apparayled, & daunsed a great tyme: when they had daunsed their pleasure, they entered the tent again and so was conueyed out of ỹ hall, & then the kynge and the quene were serued with a right sumpteous banquet.

The. iii. daye of Februarie, the kynge made a solempne Iustes, & he and the Marques Dorset would aunswer all commers, their apparell & bardes were of blewe veluet, and clothe of siluer, all too cutte in suttell knottes, rychely embraudered, all the seruitours in

white & blew sylke. The counterparte, whiche were. xiiii. in number, rychely apparailed in velvet, clothe of golde, & brouderie, euery man after his awne deuice. The kynge was that daye highly to be praysed, for he brake. xxiii. speres besyde attaynes, and bare doune to ground a man of armes & hys horse: the lorde Marques and all other dyd valiauntly, and hadde muche prayse, for euery man did passinge well, which is seldome sene in suche a case, but the kynge for a suertie exceded all other.

The. iiii. daye of October, the kynge remoued to Lambeth, and on the morow beganne the high courte of Parliamēt, syr Thomas Neuel was then speaker, in this Parliament was diuerse actes made, but in especial two, which were muche spokē of, the one was the acte of apparayll, and the other the acte of laborers, of these ii. actes was muche cōmonynge and muche busynes arose, for the laborers woulde in no wise labour by the daye, but all by taske and in grette, and therefore muche trouble fell in the courte, and in especial in Haruest tyme, for then husband men coulde scace get workemen to helpe in their Haruest. This Parliament contynued tyl Easter, in the which dyuerse subsidies were graunted to the kynge towarde hys greate costes and charges, that he had bene at in his vyage Royall in Fraunce, and after Easter the xix. daye of the moneth of Aprill, the kynge delitynge to set forth yoūg Gentelmen, called Nycholas Carew, and Fraunces Bryan, and caused dyuerse other young Gentelmen to-be on the counter parte, and lent to them horse and harnes to encourage all youthe to seke dedes of armes. This yere died at Rome by poyson as was reported the Archebishop of Yorke & Cardinall, called doctor Benbrycke, whyche was the kynges Ambassadour there: this was a wise mā & of a holy courage. The kyng then gaue thesayd Archebishoprike to Thomas Wolsey, then bishop of Lyncoln, which at that tyme bare all the rule aboute ỹ kyng, & what he sayd was obeyed in all places. And whē he was once Archebishop, he studied day & night how to be a Cardinal, & caused ỹ kyng & the Frenche kyng to write to Rome for him, & at their requestes he obteyned his purpose as you shall here afterwarde. Cardinal Bēbrick poysoned at Rome.

At this tyme was much cōmoning, & verely as it appered it was entended, that the kyng in person woulde passe the sea to Caleys, & there on the marches of thesame, the Frenche king and quene to come & se the kyng their brother, and for thesame iorney many costly workes were wrought, & much ryche apparel prouided for, & much preparaciō made against the next spring: but death, which is the last ende of all thinges, let this iornay, for before the next spring the Frenche kyng dyed at the citie of Paris, the first daye of Ianuary, whē he had ben maryed. lxxxii. dayes. And when the kyng was aduertised of the death of the Frenche kyng, he caused a solēpne obsequie to be songe for him in the cathedral church of s. Poule w a costly herse, & many noble men being present.

And after he sent a letter to comfort the Quene his sister, requyrynge too knowe her pleasure whither she woulde continue still in Fraunce or returne into Englande agayne. And when he was aduertised of her purpose, which was to retorne into England. He sent the duke of Suffolke, syr Richard Wyngfeld, and doctor West with a goodly bāde of yomen, all in blacke to Parys, whiche were well receyued of the newe Frēch king Fraūces ỹ first of ỹ name, & declared to him, that according to the couenauntes made at the tyme of the mariage betwene kynge Loyes & the ladye Marie, sister to the king of Englāde, they demaūded to haue thesayde quene deliuered to thē with her dower, & shewed their cōmission for the receite of her. Then the cōsaill of Fraūce, accordinge to the appointmentes assigned her a dower, & the duke of Suffolke put in officers, and then she was by endenture deliuered to the duke, which behaued him selfe so to her, that he obteyned her good will to be her husbande, & therupon he wrote to the kyng her brother, mekely besechynge hym of pardon of his request & hūblye requiring him of his wil & cōsent, at which thynge the kyng a while staied, and at the last by ỹ meane of the Frenche quene her selfe, & other great frendes on the dukes parte, After lōg suyte it was agreed that ỹ duke of Suffolke should bring her into England vnmaryed, & at his retorne to mary her in England: but for doubt of chaunge he maryed her secretely in Parys as was sayde.

¶ THE.

¶ THE. VII. YERE.

AFter that the duke of Suffolke had receaued the Frenche quene with her dower apoynted, & all her apparell, iuels and housholde stuffe deliuered, he with ŷ quene toke their leaue of the Frēche kyng, leaning doctor West, nominate bishop of Ely, for the conclusion of the newe league to be made betwene the kyng of England, & the newe Frenche kynge called Fraunces the first, and so passed thorough Fraunce to Caleys, where she was honorably enterteined. And after with great honour maried to lord Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolke opēly: howbeit, some sayd he was maryed priuely before at Parys, in the house of Cluigny. Against this mariage many men grudged & sayd that it was a great losse to the realme that she was not maryed to the prince of Castell: but the wisest sorte was cōtēt, cōsidering that if she had ben maryed agayn out of the realm, she should haue caried much riches with her, & now she brought euery yere into the realme. ix. or. x.M. markes: but whatsoeuer the rude people said, ŷ duke behaued him selfe so, that he had both the fauour of the kyng and of the people, his wytte and demeanour was such.

The king & the quene accōpanyed with many lordes & ladies roade to the high ground of shoters hil to take the open ayre, and as they passed by the way, they espied a cōpany of tall yomen, clothed all in grene with grene whodes & bowes & arrowes, to the nūber of. A maiynge. ii.C. Then one of them, which called him selfe Robyn hood, came to the kyng, desyring him to se his men shoote, & the kyng was cōtent. Then he whisteled, & al the. ii.C. archers shot & losed at once, & then he whisteled agayne, & they likewyse shot agayne, their arrowes whisteled by crafte of the head, so that the noyes was straunge and great, & muche pleased the kynge the quene and all the company. All these archers were of the kynges garde and had thus appareled them selues to make solace to the kynge. Then Robyn hood desyred the kynge and quene to come into the grene wood, & to se how the outlawes lyue. The kyng demaunded of ŷ quene & her ladyes, if they durst aduenture to go into the wood with so many outlawes. Then the quene sayde, that if it pleased him, she was content, then the hornes blewe tyl they came to the wood vnder shoters hil, and there was an Arber made of boowes with a hal, and a great chāber and an inner chamber very well made & couered with floures & swete herbes, whiche the kyng muche praysed. Then said Robyn hood, Sir Outlawes brekefastes is venyson, and therefore you must be content with such fare as we vse. Then the kyng and quene sate doune, & were serued with venyson and wyne by Robyn hood and his men, to their great contentacion. Then the *kyng* departed and hys *company*, & Robyn hood and hys men them conduicted, and as they were returnynge, there met with them. ii. ladyes in a ryche chariot drawen with. v. horses and euery horse had hys name on his head, and on euery horse sate a ladye ẅ her name writē. On the first courser called Cawde, sate *humidite*, or *humide*. On the. ii. courser called *Memeon*, roade lady vert. On the iii. called *pheton* sate lady vegetaue. On the. iiii. called *Rimphon* sate lady pleasaunce. On the. v. called *lampace*, sate swete *odour*, and in the Chayre sate the lady May, accōpanyed with lady *Flora*, rychely appareled, and they saluted the kinge with diuerse goodly songes, & so brought hym to Grenewyche. At this Maiyng was a great nūbre of people to beholde to their great solace and confort.

Thesame after none, the king, ŷ duke of Suffolke, ŷ Marques dorset, & the erle of Essex, their bardes & bases of grene veluet and cloth of golde, came into the felde on great coursers, on whome wayted diuerse gētlemē in sylke of thesame colour. On the other side entred. xvi. lordes & gētlemē, all appareyled richely after their deuises, & so valiauntly they rāne their courses appointed: & after ŷ they rāne volāt one as fast as he might ouertake another, which was a goodly sight to se: & when al was done they departed, and went to a goodly banquet.

This Sōmer the kyng tooke his progresse Westward, & visited his tounes & castels there, & harde

& harde the cõplayntes of his poore cõ nualtie, & euer as he roade, he bũted & liberally departed with venyson: & in the myddes of Septẽber he came to his maner of Okyng. & thether came to hym the Archebishop of Yorke, whome he hartely welcõmed & shewed him great pleasures: And while he soiourned ther, a letter was brought to ỹ Archebishop frõ Rome, certefiyng him how he was elected to be a Cardinal, which incõtinẽt shewed thesame to the kyng, disabling him self in wordes, though his entẽt was otherwise, & so the king did encourage him, & willed him to take ỹ order on him, & so called him my lorde Cardinal, but his hat, but nor other ceremonies were not yet come.

In the moneth of Nouember, the kyng assembled hys hygh court of Parliament at Westmynster, and diuerse actes made in the Parliamẽt the. vi. yere, amended and altered, & especially the acte of apparell, and the acte of labourers, as by the booke of statutes more plainly apereth. And at the ende of this Parliament, the Archebishop of Cantourbury perceauyng that the Archebishop of Yorke medled more in his office of Chauncelourship then it became him to suffer, except he would auẽture the kynges displeasure, & seynge also that thesayd bishop of Yorke coueted to beare all the rule, and to haue all the whole authoritie, considerynge also his awne great age, gaue vp into the kinges hãdes his rowme of Chauncelour, and deliuered to the kynge the greate seale, whiche deliuered the same to the Archebishop of Yorke, and made him Chauncelour. And assone as he was Chãcelour, he directed cõmissiõs into al Shires, for to put the statute of apparell and the statute of labourers in execution. And he him selfe one day called a gentelmã named Symon fyz Richard, and tooke from him an olde Iacket of Crymosyn veluet and diuerse brooches, whiche extreme doyng caused him greatly to be hated, and by his exsample many cruell officers for malice, euell intreated dyuerse of the kynges subiectes, in so muche that one Shynynge Mayre of Rochester, set a young man on the Pillory for wering of a ryuen shert.

In the ende of this moneth was sent into England the Cardinalles hat, & receaued by gentelmen of Kent, & brought to London with suche triumphe as though the greatest prince of Christendõ had bene come into the realme. And on a Sonday at s. Peters church at Westmynster he receaued the habite, hat, and piller, and other vaynglorious tryfles, apperteygnyng to the ordre of a Cardinall. And when he was once a perfite Cardinal, he loked then aboue all estates, so that all mẽ almost hated hym, and disdayned hym. The Cardinals hat receaued.

Then after the Parliamẽt syr Edward pouninges laboured to be discharged of ỹ keping of the citie of Torney, for there he was euer sickly, and so he was discharged, & syr Williã blunt lorde Moũtioye was sent thether. And for Marshall there was apoynted sir Sãpson Nortõ. And when the lorde Mountioye was come thether, & sir Sampson Norton, there happened such a ryot that the citie was in great ieopardy, ỹ very cause was vnknowen, but all the souldiours, except such as were of the kynges garde rebelled, & put the lord Moũtioye in ieopardy of his life. And in cõclusion to appease the people, sir Sãpson Nortõ was banished the toune for euer. And after the citie was appeased, & euery thing thought to be forgottẽ, diuerse were executed, & diuerse banished ỹ *town and some* fled & were banysshed both England and the toune.

After the Parliamẽt was ended, the king kept a solẽpne Christmas at his maner of Elthã & on the. xii. night in the hall was made a goodly castel, wõderously set out, & in it certeyn ladyes & knyghtes, & when the kyng & quene were set, in came other knightes, & assailed the castel wher many a good strype was geuen, & at the last, the assaylantes were beatẽ awaye. And then issued out knightes and ladies out of the castel, which ladyes were ryche & straungely disguysed, for all theyr apparel was in braydes of gold, fret with mouing spangels, syluer and gilt, set on Crymosyn satten lose and not fastened: the mens apparell of thesame stuyte made lyke Iulys of Hungary, and the ladyes heddes & bodyes were after the fassion of Amsterdam. And when the daunsing was done, the banquet was serued in of. ii. C. dyshes, with great plẽty to euery body.

This yere was the new league betwene the kyng & the French kyng *openly Proclaymed* thorough the citie of London with a tropet. This yere also, Margaret quene of the Scottes, wife

wife to Iames the. iiii. slain at Bramston the. v. yere of the kyng, & elder syster to the kyng, after the death of her late husband maried Archibald Douglas erle of Angus, without the kyng her brothers assent, or the cõsayl of Scotlãd, for the whiche he was not wel cõtent. But after that, there fell such a strife betwene the lordes of Scotlãd, that she & her husband like banished persones came into England, & wrote to the kyng for mercy & cõfort. The kyng euer enclyned to mercy, sent theim apparell, vessell & all thynges necesary, willyng them to lye still in Northumberland, till they knewe farther of his pleasure: And so they laye still at Harbotell, & the quene was there deliuered of a fayre lady called Margaret, and all the countrey were commaunded by the kyng to do them pleasure.

This yere the. xviii. of February, at Grenewyche was borne a fayre prynces and christened with great solempnitie, and named Mary.

This yere dyed the kyng of Arragon father to the quene, for whome was kept a solempne obsequy in the Cathedral churche of Paules.

¶ THE. VIII. YERE.

YE haue harde the last yere how the quene of Scottes w̃ her husband was come for succour into Englãd, & laye at Harbottell in Northumberland, tyll the kynges pleasure was to send for thẽ. So he, lyke a natural brother sent for her & her husband to come to his courte for their solace. For the which kyndnes the erle Hũbly thanked the kyng, & promised to geue his attendaũce on the quene his wife to the Court: wherupõ the kyng sent William blacknall esquyer, clerck of hys Spycery with siluer vessell, plate and other thynges necessary for the conueyaũce of her, and sent to her all maner of officers for her estate cõuenyent. And whẽ she was ready to departe, she asked for her husband, but he was departed into Scotland, & left her alone, nothing remembringe his promes, which sodeyn departyng muche made her to muse: Howbeit, the lordes of England greatly encoraged her to kepe her promyse with the kynge her brother: & so after she was somewhat appeased, she set forward, & in euery toune she was well receaued, & so on the. iii. day of May she made her entry into Lõdõ, riding on a white palfreye (which ỹ quene of England had sent to her) behind sir Thomas par richely besene, & w̃ great cõpany of lordes & ladies, she roade thoroughe the citie to Baynardes Castel, & frõ thence she was cõueyghed to Grenewiche, & there receaued ioyously of the kyng, the quene, the Frẽche quene her syster, and highly was she feasted. And when the kyng hearde that the erle of Angus her husband was departed, he sayd, it was done like a Scot. This quene sometyme was at the courte, and sometyme at Baynardes castel, and so she continued in Englande all this yere.

The kyng for the honour of his syster, the. xix. & xx. daye of Maye prepared. ii. solẽpne dayes of Iustes, & the kyng him selfe, & the duke of Suffolke, the erle of Essex, & Nicholas Carew esquyer, toke on them to aunswer all cõmers. The apparell of thẽ & their horses was blacke veluet, couered all ouer with braũches of bony suckels of fine flat gold of dãmaske, of lose worke, euery lefe of the braũche mouing, the embroudery was very cõning & sumpteous. On the kyng was attẽding in one suyte on horseback, the lord Marques dorset, the erle of Surrey, ỹ lord Burgainy, the lord Hastinges, syr Ihon pechy, ỹ lord Ferreys, syr William Fitzwillia, &. xii. other knyghtes, all these were in frockes of blewe veluet, garded with ryche cloth of golde, & their horse trappers of blew veluet, frynged with golde: And on foote were. xl. persons all in blewe sattyn, garded with clothe of golde. And so they entered the felde wyth trompettes, dronslades and other minstrelsey.

Then in came the cõutreparte, richely appareled, to the nũber of xii. & on that daye euery mã did wel, but the kyng did best, & so was adiudged, and so at night they ceassed, and came to supper.

The kyng, the next day & his cõpany were appareyled horse & all in purple veluet, set ful of leaues of cloth of gold, engrailed with fyne flat gold of dãmaske, embroudered like to

Rose

Rose leues, & euery lefe fastened to other with pointes of dāmaske gold, & on all their borders were letters of gold, bullion. And on the kyng wayted. v. lordes. xiiii. knightes in frockes of yelow veluet, garded & bounde with riche clothe of golde, & xxx. gentelmē were in like apparel on fote, &. xl. officers in yelow satyn edged with cloth of gold: Thus with great triūphe they entred ỹ felde. Then the cōtrepartie entred, all clothed & barded in white sattyn, trauersed w̄ cloth of gold richely. This day was many a great stripe geuē. The kyng & syr Williā kyngstō rāne together, whiche syr Williā was a strōg & a tall knight, & yet ỹ king by strēgth ouerthrew him to ỹ grouud. And after that ỹ king & his aides had performed their courses, they rāne volāt at al cōmers, which was a pleasaūt sight to se. And whē night approched, they all disarmed thē, and wēt to the quenes chāber, where was a great bauket for the welcome of the quene of Scottes.

This moneth of May were sent out of England. xii. C. masons and Carpenters, &. iii. C. laborers to the citie of Torney: for the kyng & his cōusail, cōsidering ỹ the garrison that was kept there, was chargeable, & therefore it was determined that there should be buylded a Castel to chastice the citie if they rebelled, and to minyshe the garrison. And therfore these workemen were sent thether, whiche this yere began a strong Castell, and wrought still on it.

This yere, by the Cardinall, were all men called to accompt that had the occupiyng of the kynges money in the warres or els where, not to euery mans contentacion, for some were found in arrerages, & some saued them selfes by pollecy & brybory, and waxed ryche, and some Innocentes were punished. And for a truthe he so punished periurye with open punyshment & open papers werynge, that in his tyme it was lesse used. He punyshed also lordes, knyghtes, and men of all sortes for ryottes, beryng and mayntenaunce in their countreyes, that the poore mē lyued quyetly, so that no man durst beare for feare of imprisonement: but he him selfe and his seruaūtes, which were well punished therfore. The poore people perceaued that he punished the ryche, then they complayned without number, and brought many an honest man to trouble and vexacion. And when the Cardinall at the last had perceaued their vntrue surmises & fayned cōplaintes for the most parte, he then wexed wery of herynge their causes, & ordeyned by the kynges cōmissiō, diuerse vnder courtes to here cōplaintes by bill of poore people. The one was kept in the white hall, the other before the kynges Almoner doctor Stokesley, a mā ỹ had more learning, then discreciō to be a iudge. The third was kept in the lord treasourers chāber beside the starre chāber, & ỹ. iiii. at the rolles at after noone. These courtes were greatly haunted for a tyme, but at ỹ last ỹ people perceaued ỹ much delay was vsed in these courtes, & few matters ended, & when they were ended, they bound no mā by the law, then euery mā was wery of thē & resorted to the cōmō law.

In the moneth of October came into England Mathew bishop of Sedonō & Cardinal, called cōmonly the Cardinal of Swyshes, frō the Emperour Maximiliā. This Cardinal was a wise mā & of great bofdenes & was wel entreteyned in the court & of ỹ king. And at his cōtēplacion & for old loue, ỹ king lēt to ỹ Emperour Maximiliā a great sūme of money: wherof ỹ cōpany of Friscobalde, & Antony Caueler Geneuoy vndertoke thexchāge, but they payed not ỹ Emperour at his day, notwstāding thei had receaued ỹ money of ỹ king. This Friscobald & Anthony Caueler by meanes of rewardes, geuē to great lordes of the cōusaill borowed of ỹ king. xxx. M. l. & had lōg dayes for the paymēt: but Friscobald was shortely cōsumed, & Anthony Caueler could not be sene, & so ỹ kīg was not payd at his dayes, & many English merchaūtes were by these mē vndone, for they spent liberally of euery mans goodes.

This yere the king kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewiche, & on the. xii. night, according to the old custome, he & the quene came into the hall, & when they were set, & the quene of Scottes also, there entred into the hall a Gardeyn artificial, called the Gardeyn of *Esperāce*. This Gardeyn was towred at euery corner, & railed w̄ rayles gilt, al ỹ bākes were set w̄ floures artificial of silke & gold, ỹ leues cut of grene sattyn, so ỹ they

semed very floures. In ỹ middest of this Gardeyn was a piller of antique worke, al golde set w perle & stone, & on the toppe of the piller, which was. vi. square, was a louer or an arche embowed, crouned with golde: within which stoode a bushe of Roses red & white, all of sylke and golde, & a bushe of Pomegranates of lyke stuf. In this gardeyn walked. vi. knyghtes and. vi. ladyes richely appareyled, and then they discended and daunsed many goodly daunses, & so ascended ỹ gardeyn agayn, and were conueighed out of the hall, and then the kynge was serued of a great banket. After this Christmas, the kyng exercised him selfe muche in hawkynge.

In this ceason, the Genowayes, Frenchemen and other straungiers sayde and boasted them selfes to be in suche fauour with the kyng and hys counsayll, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie: and the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the poore Englishe artificers coulde skace get any lyuynge. And most of all the straungers were so proude, that they disdained, mocked and oppressed the Englishemen, whiche was the beginning of the grudge. For amonge all other thynges, there was a Carpenter in London called Willyamson, whiche bought two stockdoues in Chepe, and as he was about to paye for them, a Frencheman tooke them oute of hys hande, and said they were not meate for a carpenter: well sayde the Englishman I haue bought them and now payd for them, and therefore I will haue them, naye sayde the Frencheman I will haue them for my lorde the Ambassador, and so for better or worse, the Frencheman called the Englisheman knaue, and went awaye with the stockdoues. The straungiers came to the Frenche Ambassadour, & surmysed a cõplaynt agaynste the poore carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my lorde Mayre, and said so muche, that the carpenter was sent to prison: and yet not contented with this, so complayned to the kynges counsail, that the kynges commaundement was layde on hym. And when syr Ihon Baker knyght and other worshipfull persones sued to the Ambassadour for hym, he answered, by the body of God that the English knaue shoulde lose his lyfe, for he sayde no Englisheman shoulde deny that the Frenchemen required, and other aunswer had they none.

The pride of Frenchemen.

Also a Frenchman that had slayne a man, should abiure the realme & had a crosse in his hande, & then sodeinly came a great sorte of Frẽchmen about him, & one of them said to the Constable that led him, syr is this crosse the price to kyll an Englishman. The Cõstable was somwhat astonyed and aunswered not. Then said another Freucheman, on that pryce we would be banyshed all by the masse, this saiyng was noted to be spoken spitefully. Howebeit, the Frenchemen were not alonely oppressors of the Englishemen, for a Lombarde called Fraunces de bard, entised a mannes wyfe in Lombarde strete to come to his chãbre with her husbandes plate, whiche thynge she dyd. After when her husbande knewe it, he demaunded hys wyfe, but aunswer was made he shoulde not haue her, then he demaunded his plate, and in lyke maner aunswer was made that he shoulde neither haue plate nor wyfe. And whẽ he had sewed an accion against the straunger in the Guylde hall, the straunger so faced the Englisheman, that he fayuted in his sute. And then the Lombarde arrested the poore man for his wyfes boorde, while he kept her frõ her husbãd in his chãber. This mocke was much noted, and for these and many other oppressions done by them, there encreased suche a malice in the English mennes hartes, that at the laste it brast oute. For amongest other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called Ihon Lyncolo, whiche wrote a bill before Easter, desyring doctor Standyche at hys sermon at sainct Marye Spyttell the Mondaye in Easter weke, too moue the Mayre and Aldermen, to take parte with the comminaltie agaynst the straungiers: The doctor aunswered that it became not hym too moue anye suche thynge in a sermon. From hym he departed, and came to a Chanon in sayncte Mary spittell, a doctor in Deuinitie, called doctor Bele, and lamentably declared to hym, how miserably the common artificers lyued, and skase coulde get any woorke to fynde them, their wyfes and chyldren, for there were such a nũber of artificers straungers, that tooke awaye all the lyuynge in maner. And also howe the Englishe merchauntes coulde haue no vtteraunce, for the merchaunt straungers brynge

in all Sylkes, clothe of Golde, Wyne, Oyle, Iron and suche other merchaundise, that no man almoost byeth of an Englisheman. And also outwarde, they carye so muche Englishe Wolle, Tynne, and Leade, that Englishmen that auenture outwarde can haue no lyuyng: Whiche thynges sayd Lyncoln hathe bene shewed to the counsayll, & cannot be heard. And farther sayde he, the straungiers compasse the cytye rounde aboute, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, Sayncte Martynes, Sayncte Ihons strete, Algate, Towre hyll, and sayncte Katherynes, and forstall the market, so that no good thynge for them commeth to the market: whiche is the cause that Englishemen want and sterue, and they lyue haboundantly in great pleasure. Wherefore sayde Lyncolne master doctor, syth you were borne in Lõdon, & se the oppression of the straũgers, & the great misery of your awne natyne countray, exhorte all the cytiezens to ioyne in one against these straungers, raueners and destroyers of your countrey. Maṡter doctor hearynge this, sayde he muche lamented the case if it were as Lyncoln hadde declared, yes sayde Lyncolne, that it is and muche more, for the Dutchemẽ bryng ouer Iron, Tymber, lether and Weynskot ready wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskettes, Cupbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, gyrdels, with poyntes, sadelles & painted clothes so that if it were wrought here, Englishmen might haue some worke & lyuynge by it. And besyde this, they growe into such a multitude that it is to be looked vpon, for I sawe on a Sondaye this Lent. vi. C. straũgiers shotyng at ỹ Popyngaye with Crosbowes, and they kepe such assemblyes and fraternities together, & make such a gathering to their cõmon boxe, that euery botcher will holde plee with the cityе of Lõdõ: wel sayd the doctor, I will do for a reformacion of this matter asmuche as a priest may do, & so receaued Lincolnes byl & studyed for his purpose. Then Lyncoln very ioyous of hys enterprice went from man to man, saiyng that shortly they shoulde heare newes, and daily excited younge people and artificers to beare malice to the straungiers. When Ester came and doctor Bele shoulde preache the Twesdaye in Easter weke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared that to him was brought a pitifull bill, and red it in this wyse. To all you the worshipful lordes and masters of this citie, that will take cõpassion ouer the poore people your neighbours, and also of the great importable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof procedeth the extreme pouertie too all the kynges subiectes that inhabite within this citie and suburbes of thesame, for so it is that the alyens and straũgiers eate the bread from the poore fatheries chyldren, and take the liuynge from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchauntes, wherby pouertie is so muche encreased that euery man bewaileth the misery of other, for crafts mẽ be brought to beggery and merchaunтes to nedynes: wherefore the premisses considred, the redresse must be of the commons, knyt and vnyte to one parte, and as the hurt and dammage greueth all men, so muste all men set to their willyng power for remedy, and not to suffre thesayd alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region too come to confusion. Of this letter was more, but the doctor red no farther, and then he began *Cœlum cœli domino, terram autem dedit filijs hominum*, and vpon thys text he intreated, that this lande was geuen too Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte Englishemen to cheryshe and defende them selfes, and to hurt and greue aliens for the common weale. And vpon this text *pugna pro patria*, he brought in, howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fight for their coũtrey, and euer he subtellye moued the people to rebell against the straũgiers, and breake the kynges peace, nothynge regardynge the league betwene princes and the kynges honoure. Of this Sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake against straungiers. And as the deuell woulde, the Sondaye after at Greuewiche in ỹ kynges gallery was Fraunces de bard, whiche as you harde kept an Englishe mans wife and his goodes, and yet he could haue no remedy, & with him were Domyngo, Anthony Caueler, and many mo straũgiers, and ther they talkynge with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Iested and laughed howe that Fraunces kepte the Englishemans wyfe, saiynge ỹ if they had the Mayres wife of London, they would kepe her: syr Thomas sayd, Sirs you haue to muche fauour in England. There were diuerse Englishe merchauntes by, and harde them laugh, and

were not content, in somuche as one William bolt a Mercer sayd, wel you whoreson Lombardes, you reioyse and laugh, by the masse we will one daye haue a daye at you, come when it will, and that sayynge the other merchauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the younge and euell disposed people sayde, they woulde be reuenged on the merchaunt straungiers, aswell as on the artificers straungiers. On Monday the morow after, the kyng remoued to hys maner of Rychemonde.

¶ THE. IX. YERE.

VPon this rumour the. xxviii. daye of Aprill, diuerse yoūge men of the citie assauted the Alyens as they passed by the stretes, and some were strikē, & some buffeted, & some throwen in the canel. Wherfore the Mayre sent diuerse persōs to ward, as Stephyn Studley skynner, and Bettes and Stephenson & diuerse other, some to one coūter, & some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodenly was a cōmen secret rumour, & no mā could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the citie would rebell & slaye all Aliens, in somuche as diuerse straungers fled oute of the citie. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kynges counsayll, insomuch as the Cardinall beyng lord Chaūcelour, sent for Ihon Rest Mayre of the citie, and other of the counsaill of the citie, & demaūded of the Mayre in what case the citie stode, to whome he aunswered that it was wel & in good quyet: Nay sayd the Cardinal, it is informed vs that your yoūg and ryotous people will ryse & distresse the straungiers, heare ye of no such thing? No surely sayd the Mayre, & I trust so to gouerne thē that the kynges peace shalbe obserued, & that I dare vndertake if I & my brethren the Aldermen may be suffered. Wel sayd ỹ Cardinal, go home & wisely forsee this matter, for & if any suche thiag be, you may shortly preuent it. The Mayre came from the Cardinals at. iiii. of the clocke at *after none on* May euen, & demaūded of the officers what they harde, diuerse of thē aunswered that the voyce of the people was so, & had ben so. ii. or. iii. dayes before. This heryng the Mayre sent for al his brethrē to the Guylde hall in great hast, & almost vii. of the clocke or the assemble was set. Then was declared to thē by Master brooke ỹ recorder how that the kynges coūsail had reported to thē ỹ the cōminaltie that night would ryse, & distresse all the Alies & straungers ỹ inhabited in the citie of Lōdon: the Aldermē aūswered they harde say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayde that it was well done to forsee it. Then sayd the recorder it were best that a substacial watche were set of honest persons, housholders, which might withstand the euell doers. An Alderman sayde, that it was euell to rayse men in harneys, for if suche a thinge were entended, they coulde not tell who woulde take their parte. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the younge men asonder, and euery man to shut in hys dores, and kepe hys seruauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to ỹ Cardinal before. viii. of the clocke, and then he with suche as were of the kynges counsaill at hys place, commaūded that in no wyse watche should be kept, but that euery man shoulde repayre to his awne house, and there to kepe hym and hys seruauntes tyl. vii. of the clocke of the mornynge: with whiche commaundement, the sayde Rycharde brooke sergeaunt at the law and recorder, and syr Thomas Moore, late vndershrife of Lōdon, & then of the kynges coūsaill, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre and before. ix. of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundemēt of the kynges counsayl. Then in all hast, euery Alderman sent to his warde that no man should styrre after. ix. of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doores shut, and hys seruauntes within tyll. vii. of the clocke in the mornynge. After this commaundement, syr Ihon Monday Alderman came from hys warde, and founde two young men in chepe playynge at Buckelers, and a great company of young men lokynge on thē for the commaundement was then skace knowen, for then it was but. ix. of the clocke. Master Mondy seyng that, bade them leaue, and the one younge man asked hym why? and then he sayd thou shalt know, & toke hym by the arme to haue had him

Euell ney day.

him to the counter. Then all the yong mē resisted the Alderman & toke him from master Mondy, and cryed prentyses and clubbes. Then out at euery doore came clubbes and weapōs and the Alderman fled, and was in great daungier. Then more people arose out of euery quarter, and oute came seruynge men, and water men and Courtiers, and by a. xi. of the clocke there were in Chepe. vi. or. vii. hundreth. And oute of Paules churcheyarde came. iii. hundreth, which wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake vp the counters, and tooke out the prisoners, that the Mayre had thether committed for hurtynge of the straungers, and came to Newgate and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Mayre and Shrifes were there present, and made Proclamaciō in the kynges name, but nothynge was obeyed. Thus they ranne a plump thorow sainct Nycholas Shābles, & at saynct Martyns gate, there met with them syr Thomas Moore and other, desyrynge theym to go to their lodgynges: And as they were intreatyng, and had almost brought them to a staye: The people of saynct Martynes threwe oute stones and battes, and harte dyuerse honest persones, that were persuadynge the ryotous people to ceasse, and they bade them holde their handes, but still they threwe oute bryckes and hoate water. Then a sergeaunt of Armes called Nycholas dounes, whiche was there with master Moore, entreatynge them, beynge sore hurte, in a furye cryed doune with them. Then all the misruled persones ranne to the dores and wyndowes of saynct Martyn, and spoyled all that they founde, and caste it into the strete, and lefte fewe houses vnspoyled. And after that they ranne hedlynge into Cornehill by Leaden hal to the house of one Mutuas a Frencheman or Pycarde borne, whiche was a greate bearer of Frenchemen, where they pyckpursses, or howe euell disposicion soeuer they were of, and within hys gate, called Grenegate, dwelled dyuerse Frenchmen that kalendred Worsted, contrary to the kynges lawes: & all they were so borne out by thesame Mutuas, ỹ no mā durst medle w them, wherfore he was sore hated, & if the people had found him in their fury, they would haue striken of his head: but whē they foūd hym not, the water men, & certayne young priestes that were there fell to rifynge: some ranne to Blāchechapelton, & brake the straungers houses, & threwe shooes and bootes into the strete: This from x, or. xi. of the clocke, continued these ryotous people durynge whiche tyme a knight called syr Thomas parr, in great hast went to the Cardinall & told him of thys ryot, which incōtinent strengthened his house with men & ordinaunce. And after, this knight roade to the king. to Richemōd, & made ỹ report much more then it was: Wherfore the king hastely sent to Lōdō, & was truly aduertised of the matter, & how that the ryot was ceassed, & many of the doers apprehēded. But while this ruffling cōtinued, syr Richard Cholmeley knight, Lieutenaūt of the Towre, no great frende to the citie, in a frantyke furye losed certayn peces of ordinaunce, & shot into ỹ citie, whiche did litle harme, howbeit his good wil apered. About. iii. of the clocke, these ryotous persons severed and went to their places of resorte, & by the waye they were taken by the Mayre and the beddes of the citie, and some sent to the Towre, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of. iii. C. some fled, and specially the watermen and priestes, & seruyng men, but the poore prentises were taken. About fyue of the clocke, the erles of Shrewesbury and Surrey, whiche had harde of this ryot, came to London with suche strength as they had, so dyd the Iames of court, and diuerse noble men: but or they came all the ryot was ceased, and many taken as you haue heard.

Then were the prisoners examined, & the sermon of docter Bele called to remembraunce, and he taken and sent to the Towre, & so was Thon Lyncoln: but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then ỹ. iiii. day of May was an Oyer & determiner at Londō before ỹ Mayre, the duke of Norffolke, the erle of Surrey and other. The citie thought that the duke bare them grudge for a lewde priest of his, which the yere before was slayn in Chepe, in so much the duke then in his fury sayd, I pray God I may once haue the citizēs in my daungier: & the duke also thought that they bare him no good wil, wherfore he came into the citie with. xiii. C. men in harneys to kepe the Oyer & determiner.

miner. And vpō examinaciō it could neuer be proued of any metyng, gathering, talking or conuenticle at any daye or tyme before ỹ day, but that the chaūce so happened wout any matter prepensed of any creature sauing Lyncoln & neuer an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamacions were made that no womē shoulde come together to bable & talke, but all men should kepe their wynes in their houses. All the stretes ỹ were notable stode full of harnessed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the citezens, which greued them sore: & if they woulde haue bene reuenged, the other had had the worsse, for the citizēs were. ii. C. to one: but lyke true subiectes they suffred paciently.

When the lordes wer set, the prisoners were brought in thorough ỹ stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some chyldren of. xiii. yere. There was a great mourning of fathers & frendes for their chyldren & kynsfolke. Emong the prisoners many were not of the citie, some were priestes, and some husbandmen & laborers, the whole some of the prisoners were. ii. C. lxxviii. persons. The cause of the treason was, because the kyng had amitie with all Christen princes, that they had brokē the truce & league cōtrary to the statute of kyng Hēry the. v. Of this treasō diuerse were endited, & so for ỹ tyme, the lordes departed. And the next day the duke came agayn, & the erle of Surrey with. ii. M. armed men, which kept the stretes. Whē the Mayre, the duke, & ỹ erle of Shrewesbury & Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and. xiii. founde giltye of high treason, & adiudged to be hanged, drawen & quartered, & for execucion wherof, were set vp xi. payre of galowes in diuerse places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blāchechapeltō, Gracious strete, Leadē hal, & before euery coūter one, & at Newgate, at s. Martens, at Aldrisgate, at Bishopsgate. This sight sore greued the people to se galowes set in the kynges chāber. Then were ỹ prysoners ỹ were iudged, brought to the places of execuciō, & executed in most rygorous maner, for the lord Edmōd Haward sonne to the duke of Northfolke, & knight Mershal shewed no mercy, but extreme cruelty to the poore yōgelinges in their execuciō, & likewise the dukes seruaūtes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hāge, some bad drawe, some bad set the citie on fyer, but all was suffred.

On Thursday the. vii. day of May was Lyncoln, Shyrwyn, & two brethrē called Bets, and diuerse other adiudged to dye. Then Lyncoln said, my lordes, I meant wel, for & you knew the mischief that is ensued in this realme by straūgers, you would remedy it, & many tymes I haue cōplayned, & then I was called a busy felow: now our lord haue mercy on me. Then all thesayd persons were layd on the hardels, & drawen to the standarde in Chepe, & first was Ihon Lyncoln executed, & as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaūdemēt frō the kyng to respite execucion. Then the people cryed, God saue ỹ king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tyll another daye, and the prisoners sent agayne to warde, and the harnessed men departed oute of London, and all thynges quyet.

The. xi. daye of Maye the kynge came to his maner of Grenewiche, where the recorder of London & diuerse Aldermen came to speke with his grace, and al ware gounes of black coloure. And when they perceaued the king comming out of his priuīe chambre into his chābre of presence, they kneled doune, & ỹ recorder sayd: Our most natural, beninge and souereigne lorde, we knowe well that your grace is displeased with vs of your citie of Lōdon for the great ryot late done: we assertein your grace that none of vs, nor no honest person were condisendynge to that enormitie, and yet we, oure wyfes and chyldrē euery houre lament that your fauour shoulde be taken from vs, and forasmuche as light & ydle persones were the doers of thesame, we moost hūbly besche your grace to haue mercy of vs for our negligence, & compassion of the offendours for their offence and trespasse.

Truly sayd the kyng, you haue highly displeased and offended vs, & ye oughte to wayle and be sory for thesame, and where ye saye that you the substanciall persons were not concentyng to thesame, it appereth to the contrary, for you neuer moued to let theim nor sturred

once

once to fight with theim, whiche you saye were so small a numbre of light persones, wherefore we must thynke, and you cannot deny, but you dyd wyncke at the matter, but at this tyme we will graunt to you neither our fauour nor good will, nor to thoffenders mercy, but resort to the Cardinall our lord Chaūcelour, & he shall make you an answer, & declare our pleasure, and with this answer ỹ lōdoners departed & made relaciō to ỹ Maior.

The. xviii. day of this moneth the quene of Scottes, which had bene at the Courte and at Baynardes Castell, a whole yere at the kynges charge, and was richely apoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of Iewells, plate, tapissry, Arras, Coyne, Horsses, and all other thinges of the kynges gift & liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great ryches, albeit she came into Englande with muche pouertie, and she entred into Scotland the. xiii. daye of Iuyn, whome her husband receaued at Berwick: but the Englishmen small\y him regarded. All her charges within the realme, comminge to the courte, & returnynge, were of the kynges pursse.

Thursdaye the. xxii. day of May the kynge came into Westmynster hall, for whome at the vpper ende was set a clothe of estate, & the place hanged with Arras, with him was the Cardinal, the dukes of Northfolke & Suffolke, ỹ erles of Shrewsbury, of Essex & Wiltshyre, of Surrey, with many lordes & other of the kinges cōusail. The Mayre & Aldermē, & al the chief of the citie were there in their best liuery (according as the Cardinal had thē apoynted) by. ix. of the clock. Then the kynge cōmaunded ỹ all the prisoners should be brought foorth. Then came in the poore yonglinges & olde false knaues hoūde in ropes all along, one after another in their shertes, & euery one a halter about his neck, to the nūber of. iii. C. mē &. xi. wōmē. And whē all were come before ỹ kinges presence, the Cardinal sore laied to the Mayre & cōmualtie their negligēce, & to the prisoners he declared ỹ they had deserued death for their offence: Then al the prisoners together cryed mercy gracious lord, mercy. Then the lordes altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the kyng pardoned thē al. And then the Cardinal gaue vnto thē a good exhortacion to the great gladnes of the herers. And whē the generall pardō was pronoūced, all ỹ prisoners shouted atonce, & altogether cast vp their halters into ỹ hall roffe, so ỹ the kyng might perceaue they were none of the discretest sorte. Here is to be noted ỹ diuerse offenders which were not take, hering ỹ the king was inclined to mercy, came wel appareled to Westmynster, & sodeynly stryped thē into their shertes ẅ halters, & came in emōg the prisoners willingly, to be partakers of the kynges pardon, by the whiche doyng, it was well knowen that one Ihō Gelson yoman of the Croune, was the first that began to spoyle, and exhorted other to dooe thesame, and because he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This compaignie was after called the blacke Wagon. Then were all the galowes within the citee taken doune and many a good praier saied for the kyng, and the citezens toke more hede to their seruauntes.

In Iune the kyng had with hym diuerse Ambassadors, for solace of whom he prepared a costly Iustes, he hymself and. xii. against the duke of Suffolk and other. xii. his base and bard was the one halfe clothe of siluer, and the other halfe blacke Tinsell. On the siluer was a curious lose worke of white veluet embraudered with Golde cut on the Siluer and euery cut engrailed with golde, so that that side was golde, Siluer and veluet. On the blacke tynsell side was blacke veluet embraudered with golde and cut, and euery cut was engrayled with flat gold of Damaske. The base and barde were broudered with greate letters of massy golde Bullion, full of pearles and stones, mercuelous riche: al his compaignie wer in like suite, sauyng that they had no iuelles. The kyng had on his hed a ladies sleue full of Diamondes. On the kyng attended gētlemen, Armourers, and other officers to the nomber of. Cxxv. persones all in white Veluet and white Sattyn, horse and harneis for horsemen, Cappes and Hosen for foote men, all white at the kinges cost. This royally the kyng & his compaignie with his waiters came to the tiltes ende.

Then entered the Duke of Suffolke with the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Essex and Surrey, and. viii. other of his bande in bardes and bases of white Veluet & crimosin sattin

losenged, set full of letters of. *C. M.* of gold, for Charles & Mary, and thei toke the other ende of the tilt. Then the Trompettes blewe, and the Kyng and the Duke ranne fiercely together, and brake many speres, and so did all the other, that it was harde to saie who did best: but when the courses were ronne, thei ranne volant one at another, so that bothe by the reporte of sir Edwarde Gylforde Master of the Armury, and also of the Iudges and Heraldes at these Iustes wer broken fiue hudred and sixe speres: and then the kyng the same night made to the Ambassadors a sumpteous banket with many ridelles and muche pastyme.

After this greate triumphe, the king appointed his gestes for his pastyme this Sommer, but sodeinly there came a plague of sickenes, called the Swetyng sickenes, that turned all his purpose. This malady was so cruell that it killed some within three houres, some within twoo houres, some mery at diner and dedde at supper. Many died in the kynges Courte, the Lorde Clinton, the Lorde Grey of Wilton, and many knightes, Gentlemen and officiers. For this plague Mighelmas terme was adiourned and because that this malady continued from Iuly to the middes of December, the kyng kept hymself euer with a small compaignie, and kept no solempne Christmas, willyng to haue no resort for feare of infeccion: but muche lamented the nomber of his people, for in some one toune halfe the people died, and in some other toune the thirde parte, the Sweate was so feruent and infeccious.

¶ THE. X. YERE.

The ix. yere.

IN the beginning of this yere, Trinite terme was begon at Oxenford, where it continued but one day, and was again adiourned to Westminster. This yere came to Calice frō Pope Leo, a legate de latere, called Laurence Campeius, commonly called the Cardinall Campeius, for to exhorte the kyng to make warre on the Turke. And likewise the saied Leo sent. iii. other legates furth at that tyme for the said purpose, one into Fraūce another into Spain, and the third into Germany.

When the Cardinall of Yorke knewe, that there was commyng a legate into Englande, whiche should haue a greater preheminence then a Cardinall, he whose ambicion was neuer satisfied, caused a Bisshoppe and certain Docters to passe the Sea to Calice to welcome hym, and to shewe hym that if he would haue the Popes purpose, to take any effecte in Englande, he should in any wise sende in poste to Rome, to haue the saied Cardinall of Yorke to be legate also, and to be ioyned in commission with hym, whiche thing was doen, (not without good rewardes) so that in thirtie and fiue daies, the bull was broughte to Calice. Duryng whiche tyme the Cardinall of Yorke sēt to the Legate to Calice, redde cloth to clothe his seruauntes, which at their commyng to Calice, were but meanely appareled. And when all thynges were ready he passed the sea and landed at Douer, and so kept furthe his iorney toward Londō. At euery toune as thei passed, he was receiued with Procession, and accompaignied with all the Lordes and gentlemen of Kent. And when he came to Blackheth, there met hym the Duke of Norffolke, with a great nomber of prelates, knightes and gentlemen, all richely appareled. And in the waie he was brought into a riche tente of clothe of golde, where he shifted himself into a robe of a Cardinall, edged with Ermyns, and so toke his moyle ridyng toward London.

The night before he came to London the cardinall of Yorke, to furnishe the carriages of the Cardinall Campeius, sent to him twelue mulettes with emptie Cofers couered with redde, whiche twelue Mulettes were led through London, emongest the Mulattes of Campeius, which were but eight and so these xx. Mulettes passed through the stretes, as though thei had been full of Treasures, apparell and other necessaries. And when they came into Chepe, one of the Mulettes brake from her keper, and ouerthrewe the Chestes, and ouerturned twoo or three other Mulettes cariages, whiche fell with suche a violence, that diuerse of theim vnlocked, and out of some fell olde Hosen, broken Shoen, and roasted

Flesh

Fleshe, peces of Breade, Egges and muche vile baggage: at whiche sighte the boyes cryed, see, see my Lorde Legates threasure, and so the Muleters wer ashamed, and tooke vp all their stuffe & passed furth. And about thre of the clock at after none on the. xxix. day of July the said legate entred the cite, & in Sothwarke met hym all the clergie of London with crosses sensers & copes & sensed him with great reuerence. The Maior and Aldermen, and all the occupacions of the citee in their best liueries stode in the stretes, & hym highly honored: to whō sir Thomas More made a brief oracio in the name of the citee. And whē he cam to Paules, ther he was receiued by bishops mitred, and vnder a canapy entred the churche: whiche canapy his seruaūes toke for their fees. And when he had offred, he gaue his benediccion to al the people, and toke again his mule, & so was with al his train aforsaid, conueighed to Bathe place, & there rested: where he was welcomed of the Cardinall of Yorke. And on sondaie next ensuyng these twoo Cardinalles as legates, toke their barges & came to Grenewiche, eche of them had beside their crosses two pillers of siluer, two litle axes gilte, and two cloke bagges embroudered, and the Cardinalles hattes borne before thē. And when they came to the kynges hall, the Cardinall of Yorke went on the right hande: and there the king Royally appareled and accompaignied, met them euen as though bothe had come from Rome. and so brought them bothe vp into his chamber of presence, and there was a solempne oracion made by an Italian, declaryng the cause of the legacy to be in twoo articles, one for aide against Gods enemies, and the second for reformacion of the Clergie. And when Masse was doen, they were bad to a chamber, and serued with lordes and knightes, with muche solempnitie: and after dinner they toke their leaue of the kyng and came to London and rode through the citee together, in greate pompe and glory, to their lodgynges.

When the Cardinall of Yorke was thus a legate, he set vp a court, & called it the court of the legate, and proued testamētes, and had causes to the great hinderaunce of all the bishops of the realme. He visited bisshopes and all the Clergie, exempt and not exempt, and vnder colour of reformacion he gat muche treasure, & nothyng was reformed but came to more mischief: for by exāple of his pride, priestes & all spirituall persones wexed so proude, that thei ware veluet & silke, bothe in gounes, iackettes, doblettes, & shoes, kept open lechery, and so highly bare thēselfes by reason of his auctho rities & faculties, that no mā durst once reproue any thing in thē, for feare to be called heretike, & then thei would make hym smoke or bare a faggot. And the Cardinall hymself was so elated that he thought hymself egall with the kyng: & when he had said Masse he made dukes & erles to serue him of wyne with a say taken, & to bolde the basō at the lauatories. Thus the pride & ambicion of the Cardinal & clergie was so high, ẏ in maner al good persons abhorred and disdeined it.

This yere the French kyng wrote to the kyng of England, ẏ if it wer his pleasure, he would send an ambassade into England to cōmon with the kyng & his counsaill for the redemyng of the citee of Turney & other thynges: whiche answered the messenger, ẏ the ambassade of the Frenche kynge shoulde be right hartely welcome to him. And so the French king sent into England the lorde Boneuet, hygh Admyral of Fraunce, & the bishop of Parys as chiefe Ambassadors, accompanyed with many noble men, & young freshe galātes of the courte of Fraunce, to the nūbre of. lxxx. & more, & with them came a great nūbre of rascal & pedlers, & Iuellers, and brought ouer hattes and cappes, and diuerse merchaūdise vncustomed, all vnder the colours of the trussery of the Ambassadours.

After that these noble men were landed at Douer, thei were receaued by the nobles and gentlemen of the countrey, and so conueighed from lodgyng to lodgynge ,tyll they came to Blackheth, & before them went their cariages and people in great numbre to the summe of. xii. C. one & other, whiche was thought to be to many for an ambassade. These gētlemen of Fraunce were very freshe.

Monday the. xxvii. day of September, the erle of Surrey hygh Admyrall of Englande in a coate of riche tyssue cut on cloth of siluer on a great courser richely trapped, & a great

whistell of gold, set with stones and perle hangyng at a great and massy chayne baudryck wise accompanyed with an. C. ix. gentlemen, rychely appareled, on goodly horsses came to blackheth, & there amiably receaued ỹ Ambassadors of Fraūce. The yoūg galantes of Fraūce had coates garded with one colour, cut in. x. or. xii. partes very richely to beholde: & so al the Englishmē accoupled thē selues with the Frenchmen, louingly together, & so roade to Lōdon. After the. ii. Admyrals folowed. xxiiii. of the Frēche kynges garde whome accompanyed. xxiiii. of the kynges garde. And after thē a great numbre of archers, to the nūbre of. iiii. C. and in this order they passed thorough the citie to Taylers hal, & there the chiefe Ambassadors were lodged, & the rēnaunt in marchaūtes houses about. When these lordes were in their lodgynges, then the Frēch harder mē opened their wares, & made the Taylers hal lyke to the paunde of a marte. At this doynge many an Englishmā grudged, but it auailed not. The last day of Septēber, the Frēch Ambassadors toke their barge, & came to Grenewiche. The Admyrall was in a goune of cloth of siluer, raysed, furred with ryche Sables, & al his cōpany almost were in a new fassiō garmēt called a Shemew, which was in effect a goune, cut in the middle. The gētlemē of Fraūce were brought to the kynges presence, wher the bishop of Parys made a solēpne oraciō: which beyng ended, & answer made therto, ỹ kyng highly entreteyned the Admirall & his company, & so dyd all the English lordes and gentlemen. The Ambassadours beyng dayly in counsail at Grenewiche, the other gentlemen daunced & passed the tyme in the quenes chābre with ladies & gentlewomen. After long coūsailing & muche desyring of the French kyng and his counsayll, it was agreed that the citie of Tourney should be deliuered to the Frenche kynge, he payenge. vi. hundred thousande croūnes for the citie, and. iiii. hundred thousand croūnes for the Castell, the which ỹ kyng had buylded, but it was not fully performed: & also he should pay. xxiii. M. l. Tourneys, ỹ whiche summe the citezens of the citie of Turney ought to the kyng of England for their liberties and fraunchises.

Vpon these agremētes to be performed, it was cōcluded that ỹ citye of Tourney should be deliuered to the French kyng. The Frenchmen ỹ soner to come to their purpose, made a pretēce of mariage to be had betwene the Dolphyn, sonne & heyre to the Frēche kyng & the lady Mary the kynges daughter, which was agreed vpō this cōdicion, that if they both cōsented at lawfull age, then to be ferme & stable, or els not for thē they were both very young. And so all matters were concluded, and the erle of Worcester, & the bishop of Ely apoynted to go into Fraunce for the deliuery of the citie of Tourney, and performyng of the other agremēntes. And for the sure payment of the summes of money to be payde to the kyng of England vpō the sayd agremēntes, there were four gentlemen of the realme of Fraunce, left in Englande for hostages: whose names were Mounsire Memorancy, Moūsire Monpesart, Mounsire Moy, Mounsire Morret. Of the which. iiii. the. ii. fyrst named were of noble blood, but the. ii. last were but of meane houses. And because they were yoūg, there was auncient gentlemē, apoynted gouernours to thē.

When all thinges were cōcluded & sealed, the kyng and all the Ambassadours richely appareled & the. ii. legates, roade solēply to ỹ church of saynct Paul frō the bishop of Durhās place: & there was made frō the West doore to the quere doore of the churche egall with the highest step a hautepace of tymber of. xii. fote broade, that the kyng & the Ambassadors might be sene. And there the Cardinall of Yorke sange high masse, & had hys cloth of estate of Tyssue: hys Cupboord set with basōs all gilt couered: his place was. v. steppes high. At the first lauatory. iii. Erles serued him, & at the secōd. ii. dukes & a Marques, & with the saye taken, they gaue hym wyne, & after water. And when masse was done, ỹ Cardinall Campeius & he gaue to the people (as they sayd) cleane remission. And after that done doctor Pace the kynges secretory, a man very eloquent, made a goodly Oracion in prayse of peace: and that done, the kyng & all his nobles and Ambassadors went to the Bishops palace to dynner, where they were highly feasted. And after dynner the kynge roade agayne to the bishop of Durhams place.

That night the Cardinal of Yorke made to the Ambassadors a solempne bāket, & them accōpanyed

accõpanyed many lordes & ladyes of Englande. And when the banket was done, in came. vi. mynstrels, richely disguysed, & after them folowed. iii. gentelmen in wyde & lõg gounes of Crymosyn sattyn, euery one hauyng a cup of golde in their handes, the first cup was full of Angels & royals, the second had diuerse bales of dyce, & the. iii. had certayn payres of Cardes. These gẽtlemẽ offred to playe at mõchaunce, & whẽ they had played ẏ length of the first boorde, then the mynstrels blew vp, & then entred into the chãbre. xii. ladyes disguysed, the fyrst was the kyng him selfe & the French quenẽ, the secõd the duke of Suffolke, the lady Dawbeney, ẏ lord Admiral & the lady Guyldford syr Edward Neuel, and the lady Sentliger, syr Henry Guyldford, and mastres Walden, Capitayn Emery, and mastres Anne Carew, syr Giles Capell, & lady Elizabeth Carew, Nycholas Carew, & Anne broune, Fraunces Brian and Elizabeth blont, Henry Norrys & Anne wotton, Fraunces poyntz and Mary fyenes, Arthure poole & Margaret Bruges. On this cõpany attended. xii. knightes disguysed, bearing torches all these. xxxvi. persons disguysed were in one suyte of fyne Grene satyn all ouercouered with clothe of golde, vnder tyed together with laces of Gold, & maskyng whoodes on their heddes: the ladyes had tyers made of Braydes of damaske gold w̃ long heres of white gold. All these maskers daũced at one tyme, & after they had daunced, they put of their viziers, & then they were all knowẽ. The Admyral & lordes of Fraũce hartely thanked the kyng, that it pleased him to visit thẽ with such disport and then the kyng & his cõpany were banketed, & had high chere, & then they departed euery man to hys lodgynge.

The. viii. day of October at Grenewiche was song a solẽpne masse by the bishop of Durhã. & after masse doctor Tũstal master of the Rolles, which after was bishop of Londõ, made an eloquẽt preposiciõ in praise of ẏ matrimony to be had betwene the Dolphyn & the lady Mary: & all that day were ẏ straũgers feasted, & at night they were brought into the hall, where was a rock ful of al maner of stones, very artificially made, & on ẏ top stode. v. trees, A pageaunt. ẏ first an Oliue tree, on which hãged a shild of ẏ armes of the church of Rome: the. ii. a Pyneaple tree, w̃ the armes of the Emperour: the. iii. a Rosyer w̃ the armes of England: the. iiii. a braũche of Lylies, bearing ẏ armes of Fraũce: & the. v. a Pomegranet tree, bearyng ẏ armes of Spayn: in tokẽ ẏ all these. v. potẽtates were ioyned together in one league against ẏ enemies of Christes fayth. In & vpon ẏ middes of ẏ Rock sate a fayre lady, richely appareyled w̃ a Dolphin in her lap. In this Rock were ladies & gẽtlemẽ, appareled in Crimosyn sattyn, couered ouer w̃ floures of purple satyn embroudered on w̃ wrethes of gold, knyt together with goldẽ laces, & on euery floure a hart of gold mouing. The ladies tyer was after ẏ fassiõ of Inde, w̃ kerchiefes of pleasãce, hatched w̃ fyne gold, & set w̃ letters of Greke in golde of bulliõ: & the edges of their kerchiefes were garnished w̃ hãging perle. These gẽtlemẽ & ladyes sate on ẏ neyther parte of the Rocke, & out of a caue in the said Rock came. x. knightes, armed at all poyntes, & faughte together a fayre tournay. And whẽ they were seuered & departed ẏ disguysers dissended frõ ẏ rock, & daũced a great space: & sodeynly ẏ rocke moued & receaued ẏ disguysers, & ymmediately closed agayn. Thẽ entred a person called Reaport, appareled in Crymosyn satyn full of tõges, sitting on a flyẽg horse w̃ wynges & fete of gold called Pegasus. Thys person in Frẽche declared ẏ meaning of ẏ rocke & ẏ trees at ẏ Tournay.

After this pastyme ended, the kyng and the Ambassadours were serued at a bancket with A banquet. ii. C. & lx. dyshes: & after that a voydee of spyces w̃. lx. spice plates of siluer & gilt, as great as mẽ with ease might beare. This nyght the Cupboord in the hall was of. xii. stages all of plate of golde and no gilt plate. When that euery man had ben plenteously serued, the tables were taken vp, and the kynge and the quene and all the straungiers departed to their lodginges. After diuerse Iustes and feastes made the sayd Ambassadors by the kynge & lordes: Syr Thomas Exmew mayre of Londõ, made to them a costly dynner at the Goldsmythes hall, which dynner they highly praysed, it was so wel ordred.

And whẽ tyme came, they toke their leaue of the kyng, the quene and the kynges counsaill, & deliuered into the kynges possessiõ their. iiii. hostages as you haue harde before: at whiche

departing the kyng gaue to the Admyral of Fraūce a garnishe of gilt vessel, a payre of couered basons gilt, xii. great gilt bowles. iiii. payre of great gilt pottes, a stāding cup of gold, garnished w̄ great perle: & to some other also, he gaue plate to some Cheynes of gold, to some riche apparel, & to some greate horses with ryche bardes, so ȳ euery gentleman was well rewarded: which liberalitie the straūgiers much praised: & after ȳ al their trusses were ready they departed toward the sea, & toke ship & laded at Boleyn.

Sone after their departing the erle of Worcester, beyng the kynges chāberlayn. The bishop of Ely, the lord of s. Thōs, syr Nicholas vaux, syr Thon pechy, syr Thomas bulleyn as Ambassadours frō the king of Englande, accompanied with. lxx. knightes & Gētlemen & yomē, to the nūber of. iiii. C. & aboue, passed the sea with some stormes, & came to Calys, & passed thorough Picardy with great & kynde entreteynmēt in all places, till they came to Parys, where they were nobly receaued, euery mā matched w̄ a lyke pere: & after they were brought to ȳ Frenche kynges presence, where the bishop of Ely made a solempne oraciō, as cōcerning the mariage and the peace: he did it with suche a bolde spirite that the Frenchemen muche praysed his audacitie.

The cōclusiō of this peace was this, ȳ Hēry kyng of Englād, Fraūces kyng of Frenchemen, & Charles kynge of Castel had sworne a perpetual peace, duringe their lyues. And if it should happen any of the. iii. to violate the league in any point and to moue warre: then the other. ii. should ioyne together, & make warre agaynst the violater or breaker of the peace.

After all thinges cōcluded, the Frēch king made a banket house in ȳ bastill of Parys betwene. iiii. olde walles: this house was couered with coardes strayned by craft & euery coarde was wōūd aboute with boxe, & so laid crosse wise one ouer another in fret, & at the metynges a great knop gilt with gold foyle: Ouer their coardes was streyned wollen clothes of light blew: this roofe was. lxxx. fote high, & on euery side. iii. stages high: all the pillers of the stages were couered with antique workes, & the brestes of the stages curiously wrought with armes, fynettes & braūches: the roofe was set full of starres gilt furnished with glasses betwene the frētes: & in this house was. ii. C. xiī braūches gilt hāged, & on euery braunche a great number of lightes of white waxe: and diuers sortes of maskes were shewed that night: & also there was shewed at euery side of the palace a great Cupboord of massiue plate of muche greatnesse, and euer the French kyng welcōmed the lordes and Ambassadours with good countenaunce. After diuers feastes, iustes and banketes made to the Englishe Ambassadours, the bishop of Ely with sir Thomas Bulleyn and sir Richard Weston were sent by the Frenche kyng to Konyack to see the dolphyn, where they were well receiued, and to theim was shewed a fayre yoong childe: & when they had seen him, they departed. The fame went that the Frenche kyng at that tyme had no sonne, but that this was but a colour of the Frenche kyng, howbeit it was proued other wise after.

In this ceason the Earle of Worcettre, and with him sir Nicholas Vaux, sir Thō Pechy, sir Edward Belknap with many other knightes tooke their leaue of the Frenche kyng, & roade to Tourney, where they were well receiued. Then began the capitaines and the souldiours to mourne, knowyng that the toune should be yelded to the French kyng, and many a yoong gentleman, and many a tall yoman wished that they had not spent their tyme there. And the next day after, the sayd erle discharged sir Richard Iernyngham of his office of capitaine & cōmaunded euery man to be obedient to the kinges pleasure & to prepare to returne into England. The. viii. day of February ȳ lord Chatiteon came nere to the citie of Tournay with. xxi. hundredth menne in harneys. The erle of Worcettre sent sir Edward Belknap to knowe his commission, and there he shewed him his commission, whiche was to receiue the citie of Tourney. Then sir Edward Belknap desired him to sende his commission to the earle of Worcettre, whiche he refused to do, saiyng it was sufficient to shewe it: well sayd sir Edward Belknap you must vnderstand that we haue a commission from the kyng our Master to deliuer you the citie at a day appointed: wherfore we must shewe the kyng of England both your cōmission that you had auctoritie to receiue it frō the Frenche kyng, and also

also that you by your indenture sealed with your seale of armes shall confesse that you receiue the citie as a gift, and not rendred as a right to the kyng your Master, or els be you sure that the citie shall not be deliuered. Then the lorde Chastileon was wonderous wroth that he was no better beleued: And so daily were great messages sent to the citie from him to the erle of Worcestre, and answers wer sent of the Englisbe part. But when the daye approched he had full answere that he müst delyuer his commission and also seale the indenture, or els the Englishmen would not put hym in possession of the towne, for their commission was otherwyse. The French captaines perceauyng that yf they disagreed at the daye, that doubtes might folowe, wherfore they sent ther commission and sealed their indenture and sent it lykewyse in the mornyng, and came forward with their banners displayed: whereof hering the earle, he sent woord that the citee was neither yelded nor gotten, but delyuered for cofederacion of mariage, and therfore thei should not entre with banners displaied. Then wer the Frenchmen angry, but there was no remedy but to rolle vp their standerdes and banners. And when thei came to the gates, there their commission and Indenture were solemply red openly: and then the Frenchemen entred with drumslades and minstrelsy without any banner: and then to *Monsire Castileon* was deliuered the Castle, and there he ordeined watche and warde in euery part. Thus was the citee of Turnay deuered the eight daie of February in the. x. yere of the reigne of the kyng, and many a tall yoman that lacked liuyng fel to robbyng, which would not labor after their returne. The maner of the dely uery of Tournay.

Duryng this tyme remained in the Frenche courte Nicholas Carew Fraunces Brian, and diuerse other of the young gentlemen of England and they with the Frenche kyng roade daily disguysed through Paris, throwyng Egges, stones and other foolishe trifles at the people, whiche light demeanoure of a kyng was muche discommended and gested at. And when these young gentlemē came again into England, they were all Frenche, in eatyng, drynkyng and apparell, yea, and in Frenche vices and bragges, so that all the estates of Englande were by them laughed at: the ladies and gentlewomen wer dispraised, so that nothing by them was praised, but if it were after the Frenche turne, whiche after turned them to displeasure as you shall here.

After the kynges Ambassadors were returned, and Tournay deliuered to the Frenchemen vpon the condicions aforesaid, the hostages that were here lefte for the paiment of the great somes and performaunce of the condicions comprised in the league (of the which one was that if the mariage toke none effect, then the citee of Turnay should be redeliuered vpon repaiment of thesame some) thesaied hostages knewe not in what case they stode, but when they knewe it, they were very heuy and sorowful: howbeit, they dissimuled the matter in the best wise thei could. The kyng vsed familiarly these foure hostages, and on the. viii. daie of Marche prepared a disguysyng, and caused his greate chambre at Grenewiche to be staged, and great lightes to be set on pillers that wer gilt, with basons gilt, and the rofe was couered with blewe sattin set full of presses of fine gold and flowers: and vnder was written, *iammes*, the meanyng wherof was, that the flower of youth could not be oppressed. Into this chamber came the kyng and the quene with the hostages, and there was a goodly commedy of Plautus plaied, and that done, there entred into the chamber eight ladies in blacke veluet bordred about with gold, with hoopes frō the wast douneward, and sleues ruffed and plited at the elbowe and plain in the middes, full of cuttes, plucked out at euery cutte with fine Camericke, and tired like to the Egipcians very richely. And whē these ladies had passed aboute the place, in came eight noble personages in long gounes of taffeta set with flowers of gold bullion, and vnder that apparell cotes of blacke veluet embroudered with golde all to cut, and plucked out with cuttes of white sarcenet, and euery man had buskins of blacke veluet full of agglettes of gold. Then the eight men daunced with the eight ladies alt beyng visard, and sodeinly the men cast of their large gounes, and then their vnder apparell was seen. And whē al was done, euery lord and lady put of their visers, and then it was knowen that the kyng and the duke of Suffolk and the Frenche quene wer ther whiche wer present at the plate tyme.

The

A iuste.

The. viii. daie of Marche was a solempne Iustes, the kyng himself & eight young gentlemen based and barded in blacke veluet embraudered with gold against the duke of Suffolk and eight of his bande all in white satten with droppes of golde. And that daie they all ranne exceadyng well, whiche the straungiers highly commended.

In the ende of Marche the kyng sent for all the yomen of garde that wer come from Tourney, and after many good wordes geuen to thē, he granted to thē. iiii. d. the day without attendaunce, except thei wer specially cōmaunded: & yet for all this the cōmialtie said that the kyng was euil counsailed to geue away the citee of Tourney, because the maintening of a garrison there should haue norished & brought vp mē and yōger brethren in feates of war to the great strength & defence of ỹ realme.

This yere the. xii. daie of February died the Emperour Maximilian for whom the kyng caused a solempne Obsequy to be done at Paules churche, all the nobles of the realme and knightes of the Gartier beyng present, of whiche ordre thesaied Emperour was one.

¶ THE. XI. YERE.

The. xi. yere.

IN the beginnyng of this yere, the kyng with all the knightes of his ordre beyng in Englande, roade on double horsses, with the benxmen folowyng the king, from Colbroke to Winsore in gorgious apparell and there he kept with greate solempnitee the feast of. s. George, and dined in the hall. And the bishop of Wynchester prelate of the ordre sat at the boordes ende alone. The king was solempnly serued and the surnap cast like the feast of a coronacion. All thynges were plenteous to straungiers that resorted thether. At the Masse of Requiem was offered the banner and other hachementes of honor belonging to Maximilian the Emperor late deceased. After this feast ended, the kyng came to Richemond, and so to Grenewiche, and there laie all Maie.

In whiche moneth the kynges counsaill secretly communed together of the kynges gentlenes & liberalitee to all persones: by the whiche they perceiued that certain young men in his priuie chamber not regardyng his estate nor degree, were so familier and homely with hym, and plaied suche light touches with hym that they forgat themselfes: Whiche thynges although the kyng of his gētle nature suffred and not rebuked nor reproued it: yet the kynges counsail thought it not mete to be suffred for the kynges honor, & therfore thei altogether came to the king, besceching him al these enormities and lightnes to redresse. To whom the kyng answered, that he had chosen thē of his counsaill, both for the maintenaūce of his honor, & for the defence of all thyng that might blemishe thesame: wherfore if they sawe any about hym misuse theimselfes, he committed it to their reformacion. Then the kynges counsaill caused the lorde chamberlein to cal before them Carew (and another who yet liueth, & therfore shall not at this tyme be named) with diuerse other also of the priuy chāber, whiche had been in the Frenche courte, and banished them the court for diuerse consideracions, laiyng nothing particulerly to their charges. And they that had offices wer commaunded to go to their offices: which discharge out of the courte greued sore the hartes of these young menne whiche were called the kynges minions. Then was there foure sad and auncient knightes, put into the kynges priuie chāber, whose names wer sir Richard Wingfeld, sir Richard Iernynghā, sir Richard Westō and sir William Kyngston: and diuerse officers wer changed in all places.

Then sir Ihon Pechy was made deputie of Calis, and sir Richarde Wingfeld therof discharged, & Nicholas Carew made capitain of Ricebanke and commaunded to go thether, whiche was sore to hym displeasant. These young minions which was thus seuered from the kyng, had been in Fraunce, and so highly praised the Frenche kyng and his court, that in a maner they thought litle of the kyng and his court, in comparison of the other, they wer so high in loue with the Frenche courte, wherefore their fall was litle moned emong wise men.

This yere in the moneth of Iune was elected to be Emperour Charles kyng of Castell, & nephew

nephew to the quene, by the whole assēt of the electors of thempire: Although the Frenche kyng sent his great Master to cause hym to be elected to the high maiestie of the Empire: yet his Ambassador & great Master of his houshold called Gonffier lord of Boisy, & brother to Willyam Gonffier lorde Boneuet Admirall of Fraunce, whiche was ambassador in Englande the laste yere as you haue hard, did not so his message that it toke any effect. The kyng whiche had sēt doctor Pace his secretory for the auaunçement of his nephewe the kyng of Castell to the dignite imperiall, because he had the duchie of Ostrik & many other seigniories in Almain, was very ioyous of this eleccion, & caused a solēpne Masse to be song at Paules the. vii. daie of July: at whiche Masse was present the Cardinall Campeius, the Cardinall of Yorke, the Duke of Buckyngha, of Norffolk & Suffolk, with the Ambassadors of Spain, Fraunce, Venice and Scotlande. And after Masse was done, the quier sang *Te deum*, and then all the lordes departed to Baynardes Castle to dinner, & that night were solempne fiers made through London, & great plēty of wine geuē by Italiēs, duchmen & Spaniardes for these newes.

This sommer the quene desired the kyng to bryng to her mannour of Haueryng in the Bower in Essex, the gentlemen of Fraūce being hostages. And for their welcomyng she purueyed all thynges in the moste liberallest maner: and especially she made to the kyng suche a sumpteous banket that the kyng thanked her hartely, and the straungers gaue it great praise. The kyng liyng there did shote, hunte, and ronne daily with the hostages to their greate ioye.

This yere in September the kyng laie at his Manour of Newhal in Essex, otherwise called *Beaulieu*, where the kyng had newly buylded a costly mancion, and there to welcome the quene and the Lordes, and the Frenche gentlemen, he made to them a sumpteous banket, and all a lōg the chamber sat a Ladie and a Lorde, or a knight, which were plenteously serued. And after the banket ended, with noise of minstrelles entered into the chamber eight Maskers with white berdes, and long and large garmentes of Blewe satten paued with Sipres, poudered with spangles of Bullion Golde, and they daunsed with Ladies sadly, and cōmuned not with the ladies after the fassion of Maskers, but behaued theimselfes sadly. Wherefore the quene plucked of their visours, and then appered the duke of Suffolk, the erle of Essex, the Marques Dorset, the lorde Burgainy, sir Richard Wyngfeld, sir Robert Wyngfelde, sir Richard Weston, sir Willyam Kyngston: all these wer sōwhat aged, the youngest man was fiftie at the least. The Ladies had good sporte to se these auncient persones Maskers. When they wer departed, the kyng and the foure hostages of Fraunce, and the erle of Deuonshire with vi. other young gentlemen entered the chamber, of the whiche sixe wer al in yelowe sattin, hosen, shoen, and cappes, and sixe other wer in like maner in Grene: the yelowe sattin was freted with siluer of Damaske; and so was the grene very richely to behold: and then euery Masker toke a ladie and daunsed: and when they had daunsed & commoned a great while their visers were taken of, and then the ladies knewe thē, & there the king gaue many brooches & proper giftes to the ladies. And after this done, the quene made a banket to the kyng & his lordes and thother strāgers.

In the moneth of Nouember, the kyng came from Lambith to Westminster hall, and so to the starre chamber, and there were before him the Lorde Ogle, the Lorde Haward, sir Mathew Breune, sir Willyam Bulmer, and Ihon Skot of Camerwell, for diuerse riottes, misdemeanors and offēces, and especially the kyng rebuked sir William Bulmer knight, because he beyng the kynges seruaunt sworne, refused the kynges seruice, & became seruaunt to the duke of Buckingham, saiyng: that he would none of his seruauntes should hang on another mannes sleue, and that he was aswel able to maintein him as the duke of Buckyngha, and that what might be thought by his departyng, and what might bee supposed by ỹ dukes retaining, he would not then declare. The knight kneled still on his knees criyng the kyng mercie, and neuer a noble man there durst entreate for him, ỹ king was so highly displeased with him. Yet at the last when other matters were hard, the kyng moued with pitie forgaue thesaid sir Willyam his offence, saiyng

that we will that none of our seruauntes shalbe long to any other person but to vs, nor we wil not that our subiectes repine or grudge at suche as wee fauoure, for our pleasure we will haue in that cace as vs liketh, for one we wil fauor now and another at suche tyme as vs shall like: and therefore sir Willyam if you serue vs hartely, you shall not be forgotten, & for this tyme we pardon you. Likewise he pardoned the lorde Edmõd Haward, and sir Mathew Browne their offices, whiche were indicted of riottes, and mainteinaunce of bearynges of diuerse misdoers within the countie of Surrey: but the lorde Ogle humbly besecbed the kyng of his mercie to whom he answered. Sir your matter concerneth murder of our subiecte, whiche greate offence is not onely to vs but to God, and therfore we remit you to the common lawe. And then he rose and went to his barge, and by the waie he made Iames Yarfford Maior of the Citee of London knight, and so he with all his counsaill came to Lambeth.

The. iiii. gentlemen hostages of Fraunce, daily resorted to the courte and had greate chere, and were well enterteined, and euery tyme they moued, stirred and required the kyng to passe the sea, and to mete with the Frenche kyng their Master, whom they preised highly, affirmyng that if the king & he might once familierly common together, that there should suche a constant loue rise and encreace betwene theim, whiche afterward should neuer faile. This request was often tymes hard and litle regarded, but yet by the meanes of the Cardinall at the last, in the ende of February it was agreed that the kyng in person, should passe the sea to his castle and lordship of Guisnes, & there in Maie next commyng betwene Guisnes and Arde, the kyng and the Frenche kyng should mete. When this was fully concluded, the kyng wrote letters to all suche lordes, ladies, gentlemen and Gentlewomen as should geue their attendaunce on hym and the quene: whiche in continent put theimselfes in a redines after the moste costliest fashion, for the furniture of thesame metyng.

Then were sent to Guysnes vnder the rule of sir Edward Belknap three. M. artificers, which buylded out of the yearth on the plain before the castle of Guysnes, ỹ most goodlyest palaice of timber that euer was wrought in thesame place, and so curiously garnished without & within. Beside this, prouisions wer made within the realme of England and in Flaunders for vitaill, wine and all other thynges necessary for thesame. And yet beside all this Orleaunce kyng of armes of Fraunce came into the court of England and made proclamacion, that the kyng of Englande and the French kyng, in a campe betwene Arde and Guysnes with. xviii. aides in Iune next ensuyng, should abide al commers beyng gentlemen, at the tilt, and torney, and at barriers, and like proclamacion was made by Clarenseaux kyng of Armes of Englande, in the Courte of Fraunce, and in the courte of Burgoyn, and in diuerse other courtes and places in Almain, and Italy. For furnishyng of Iustes, there was deuised a tilte and all thynges necessary for that enterprice, in a goodly plain betwene Guysnes and Arde.

Dorynge the tyme of these preparacions, newes were brought to the king that Charles his nephew elected Emperor of Almain would shortely depart out of Spain by sea, and cõme by Englande to go into Germany to receiue his firste Croune at Acon. Wherefore the kyng caused great prouisions to be made at euery hauē, for the receiuyng of his welbeloued nephew and frend, and daily prouisions were made on all sides, for these noble metynges of so high princes: and especially the quene of Englande, and the Lady dowager of Fraunce, made greate cost on the apparell of their ladies and gentlewomen.

The first daie of February being Candelmas euen, as the kyng and quene were come from Euensong at their manour of Grenewiche, before the quenes chamber there blewe a trompet sodainly, and then entred into the Quenes Chamber foure gentlemen appareled in long and large garmentes of blewe damaske bordred with gold, and brought with thē a tricke waggon, in the which sat a ladie richely appareled with a canapy ouer her hed, & on the. iiii. corners of the waggon, wer. iiii. hed peces called Armites, euery pece beyng of a sundery deuice: thesaied lady put vp a bill to the kyng, the effecte wherof was that the. iiii. gentlemen present would for the loue of their ladies answer al commers at the tilt at a day by the kyng to be appoynted:

appoynted: whiche daie was appoynted at shrofetide next ensuing. At whiche daie ỹ forsaid gentlemen valiantly accõplished their entreprice, with greate laudes of the kyng, the quene and ladies.

In this yere the kyng beyng infourmed, that his realme of Irelande was out of ordre, discharged the erle of Kildare of his office of deputie, and therunto (by the meanes of the Cardinall as men thought) was appoynted therle of Surrey lorde Admirall, to whõ the Cardinal did not owe the best fauor. Wherfore the saied erle of Surrey in the beginning of Aprill, tooke leaue of the kyng, and the duke of Norffolke his father, and passed into Irelande, and had with him diuerse gentlemen, that had been in the garrison of Tourney, and one hundred yomen of the kynges garde, and other to the nomber of a thousande meane. Where he by his manhod and wisedom, brought the erle of Desmonde and diuerse other rebelles, to good conformitie and ordre: and there he continued in great hardnes two yere and more, in whiche space he had many battailes and skirmishes with the wild Irishe.

When it was concluded that the kynges of Englande and Fraunce should mete, as you haue hard, then bothe the kynges committed the ordre and maner of their metyng, and how many daies they should mete, and what preheminence eche should geue to other, to the Cardinall of Yorke, whiche to set all thynges in a certeintie, made an instrument, the very true tenor whereof ensueth.

Thomas Archebishop of Yorke and Cardinal. &c. Albeit that by the treatie and metyng of the right high and right puyssaunt princes, Henry by the grace of God, kyng of Englande, and of Fraũce, lorde of Irelande my souereigne Lorde: And Fraunces by thesame grace kyng of Fraunce right Christened, made and concluded at London the eight daie of October the yere of our Lorde a thousand fiue hundred &. xviii. be emongest other thynges concluded and accorded, that thesame metyng shalbe in place indifferent, and not subiect to any of thesaied princes. Neuertheles, wee considerỹg the honour, profite, and vtilitie, that shall redound by the enteruieu of thesaid two princes, & not onely to the saied twoo princes, their realmes and subiectes, but also to all christendom: after declaracion thereupon had with thesaied princes. Also considerỹg that thesaied illustre kyng of Englande my souereigne lorde, in passyng the sea with his retinue, shall sustein great costes and expences, and dispose hymself to great labors and daungers, leuyng his realme and puyssaunce for certain tyme, wee haue thought and estemed that he should not be wholy satisfied to thonor and dignitie of thesame, right illustre kyng of England my souereigne lorde, and should not haue in regard condigne of his labors & dangiers, if thesaied enteruew or metyng after the first treatie, should be in place indifferent, wherfore it is that we desirỹg to weye egally thonor and dignitie of thesaid twoo kynges by vertue and power of the commissions to vs geuẽ, of whom the tenors shalbe hereafter declared: we haue made, declared, and ordeined certain articles accepted & approued, by ỹsame princes respectiuely, which thei will obserue, & by this presentes we make, declare & ordein as foloweth.

And first we declare and ordein, that before thende of the monethe of Maie next comming, thesaid illustre kyng of Englande shal come personally to the castle of Guysnes, with his bedfelowe the quene, and his sister the dowares of Fraunce: and semblably the right Christened kyng of Fraunce, shall come in persone to his Castle of Arde, with the Quene and his mother: and some daie, houre, and tyme, within iiii. daies at the moste, after thende of Maie, that shalbe assigned by the commissioners of the one and the other partie. Thesaid kyng of Englande shall issue out of his castle of Guysnes hafe a mile long, without that he shall issue out of the limites of his demain of Guisnes, & shall come towardes thesaid castle of Arde: and there within the territorie of thesaied castle of Guisnes, he shall rest in some place not fortified nor walled, and nere the limites of Fraunce, that thesaied commissioners shall assigne (as aboue said) and thesaid right christened kyng, partyng from his castle of Arde shall come towardes thesaid kyng of England thesame daie, place, time and houre, that shall tary bym within the demain of Guisnes as is said. In the whiche shall not be set nor dressed any pauilions or tentes, and there thesaid two kynges beyng on

horsebacke, with their retinue shall se the one the other, and salute eche other, and speake together familiarly, and common in that sort and maner, and so long as shall seme to theim good. And after thesaied salutacion and comunicacion finished for that time, thesaied illustre kyng of Englande shall returne to his castle of Guisnes, and thesaid right christened kyng to his castle of Arde.

Item, for asmuche that wee thynke to bee satisfied touchyng the labores dangiers and honoure of thesaied kyng of England my souereigne Lorde of so muche, that thesaied right Christened kyng at the firste speakyng, he shall come forwarde vnto and within his territorie of Guysnes, we will kepe the honor of thesaied kynges, and therfore declare and ordeine, that on the morowe after the firste enteruew, thesame kynges shall mete together in some place indifferent betwene Arde and Guysnes, that shalbe assigned by thesaied Commissioners and after the salutacion made on the one and the other partie, thesaied right illustre kyng of Englande shall go to the Castle of Arde, to se, salute, and visite the quene of Fraunce, and also the sister of thesaid christened kyng, with whom he shall dine priuely. And likewise thesaid right christened kyng shall go to the Castle of Guysnes, to visite and salute the quene of Englande, and the dowares of Fraunce, with whom he shall dine. In the whiche places thesaied princes shalbe receiued familiarly and amiably, vnto mutuall loue, and also to the honor of thesaied princes.

Item, as thesaied serene princes of Englande and Fraunce, be like in force corporall, beautie, and gifte of nature, right experte and hauyng knowlege in the arte militant, right cheualrous in armes, and in the flower and vigor of youth, whereby semed to vs a right assembly, that for to decore and illustre thesame assembly, and to shewe their forces in armes, they shall take counsaill & dispose themselfes to do some faire feate of armes, aswell on fote as on horsebacke, against all commers. We declare and ordein, that the place where shalbee thesaied fight and feate of armes, shalbee chosen betwene Guysnes and Arde, and assigned by the commissioners, of the one and the other partie. And for a suertie of the persones of thesaied kynges and their compaignie, thesaid place shalbe apparreled, diched, fortified and kepte of the one and the other partie, by equall nōber of men of armes, respectiuely committed and deputed that to do. And duryng the tyme of thesaied Iustes and feates of warre, thesame kynges and quenes with their retinue, shall se eche other familiarly, and conuerse and speake together: And euery daie towardes the euenyng, after the Iustes, triumphes, bankettes, and familiar communicacions dooen, thesaied kynges with their retinue shall returne into their Castles, that is to saie, the kyng of England into his castle of Guysnes, thesaied right christened kyng into his Castle of Arde, and thus they shal do daily, duryng thesaied fight and feate of armes.

Item, wee declare and ordein, that when thesame kyng of Englande and the Quene his bedfelowe, and the Dowares of Fraunce his sister, with their retinue, shall go to the territorie and entrie of thesaied right christened kyng, the superioritie and preheminence shalbe geuen to thesaied kyng of Englande, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to their retinue respectiuely, duryng the tyme that they shall tary and be there: and semblably when thesaied right Christened kyng, and the quene his bedfelow and his right illustre Ladie, and mother, with their retinue shal come to the territorie and entrie of thesaid illustre kyng of Englande, the superioritie and preheminence shalbee geuen to thesaid right Christened kyng, to the quene his bedfelowe, and to his mother, and to their retinue duryng the tyme that they shall continue and abide there.

Item, for so muche as the Castles and places where thesaied entervewe shalbe, be so litle & narowe that if entree & licence to come thether be geuen to all them that would go thether, diuerse anoyances, troubles and impechementes should folowe, wherefore it is so that we Cardinall aboueſaied, by these presentes declare & ordein, that none of the retinue of thesaied Kynges, Quenes, or other lordes and nobles, of what estate qualitie or condicion that he or they be, shal not come to thesaid assemble with more greater nomber of persones

or

or horse, then shalbee written by letters, subscribed by thesaied kynges, the whiche shall conteigne the estates and condicions of the persones, aswell men as women, and nombre of seruauntes and horse, except by the common consent and license of thesaied kynges.

Item, forasmuche as peraduenture it shall come that thesaid Princes lordes, gentlemen, and houshold seruauntes, shall se and conuerse together familiarly, to the ende that it may engender betwene them an amitie more firme and stable, for that cause and that more suerly and agreably they may bee together, aswell by daie as by night, without any danger or feare, whiche we desire to prouide: we declare and ordein that two gentlemen with sufficient compaignie of equall and like nombre, be committed and depute, respectiuely by thesaied kynges for the kepyng and saretie of the waies and watches, that shalbee made continually duryng the assembly of thesaied kynges.

The whiche gentlemen with their compaignies shall ordein & depute explorators and spies in the valeis, forestes, woodes, tounes, borowes villages, castles, passages and waies, and other places dangerous and suspect: from tyme to tyme, and houre, to houre, aswell towardes Flaunders, as Picardie, Artoys and Englande, to exployte and watche there. And if any be founde suspect, theim to repulse and take away, to thende that not only thesaied princes, their gentlemen and houshold seruauntes, maie surely and without feare visite the one the other as said is, but also those that shall bryng vitailes necessarie to thesaied assembly, maie without daunger, trouble, impechement or noysaunce go and come: the whiche explorators shalbe bounden euery daie in the mornyng and euenyng, to make reporte to thesaied princes or to their saied counsailors respectiuely, of that which they haue found, and in what estate the waies be. We declare further and ordein, that all men of armes and of warre, of the one and the other partie, shall not approche nerer then twoo iorneyes, to the place where thesaid enterueuwe shalbe, except the retinewe & men of warre that bee committed and deputed to kepe Bullein and Caleis, and that thesame men of warre nor none other duryng the assembly of thesaid princes, shall not presume to come nerer, onlesse by the cõsent, accorde, and license of thesaied princes.

Item, we Cardinall aboue saied, by expresse aucthoritie and power to vs geuen, by these presentes, bynde thesaied princes to do, fulfill, and accomplishe, all and euery the thynges aboue saied here in conteined.

Item, we declare and ordein that eche of thesaied kynges on his partie, shall ratifie, confirme, and approue all and euery the Chapiters and Articles aboue saied, by their Letters Patentes Sealed with their handes. And by thesame lettres of ratificacion they shalbee boundē to accomplish with good faith and in worde of a kyng, all and euery the thynges aboue saied: the whiche letters made, subscribed and sealed, as is said, they shall geue the one the other, and shall chaunge in the citee of London, within one moneth next after the daie of these presentes. Made the twelfe of Marche, the yere of our lorde a M.CCCCC.xix.

¶ THE. XII. YERE.

THE moste noble and puisant kyng, kyng Hēry the. viii. king of England and of Fraunce, the yere of our Lorde a. M. fiue hundred and. xx. and of his bodily age. xxix. yere, and the. xxii. daie of April began the. xii. yere of his reigne ouer the realme of Englande, & halowed the daie of sainct George at the maner royall of Grenewiche with the noble knightes of the Garter in robes of the order. The. xii. yere.

The kyng intending and perseueryng in purpose to mete with Frances the Frenche kyng, greate and riche prouisions were made, wherfore the noble Kyng and the Quene with all the noble courte, remoued the twentie and one daie of May beyng on Mundaie, from their maner of Grenewyche, towardes the Sea side, and so on the Fridaie beeyng the twentie and

fiue daie of May, arriued at the citee of Cantorbury, intendyng there to kepe his Pentecoste.

Sone after whiche commyng to Cantorbury, tidynges wer brought that Charles Emperor electe, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England, wherfore officers of the kyng were sent with great diligence to the Castle and toune of Douer to be there in a redines against the arriuall of the Emperor.

The reuerent father in God my lorde Cardinall, came to the toune of Douer in hast with a noble repaire, abidyng the commyng of the Emperour, whiche Emperour, the Saterdaie beyng the. xxvi. daie of Maii arriued with all his nauie of shippes royall on the coast of Kent, directe to the toune or porte of Hieth thesaied daie by noone, where he was hailed by the noble knight sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, vice admirall of Englande, with sixe of the kynges shippes well furnished, whiche laye for the safegarde of passage betwene Douer and Caleis, at the costes and charges of the kyng of Englande. Calmenes of the wether and lacke of wynde, caused that the Emperoure might not so sone take lande at the porte of Douer, as he would haue doone. Notwithstandyng towardes the euen he departed from his shippes, and entered into his boate commyng towardes the lande, where in his commyng to the land: on the sea the reuerent father lorde Wolsay Cardinall and Legate, mette and receiued hym with suche reuerence, as to so noble a Prince apperteigned. Thus landed the Emperoure Charles, vnder the clothe of his estate of the blacke Egle all splaied on riche clothe of golde. In his retinue with hym, were many noble menne, and many faire Ladies of his bloud as princes and princesses, & one ladie as chief to be noted, was the princes Anuinon with many other nobles whiche landed with hym in high and sumptuous maner and great riches in their apparell: greate ioye made the people of England to see the Emperour, and more to see the benygn maner and mekenes of so high a prince.

Then when the Emperour thus had taken lande, the reuerente father lord Cardynall was as conducte to thesame noble Emperour from the shore of Douer vnto the castell there: then were all persons chered, the best that there in the towne might be.

After the departyng of Themperour to the lande from his nauy, the apparell of euery ship then shewed, as flagges, banners, stremers, & targetes, then the mighty ordinaunce of euery of them brake oute by force of fyer as though the see had brente, maruelous was the noyse of the gonnes.

The Emperour beyng thus in the castell of Douer, with hast tidynges came to the kyng where as he was at Cantorbury, who hasted hym towards the noble Emperour. And so came riding early in the morning to the castell of Douer, within which castell the kyng alighted: the Emperour heryng the king to be come, came out of his chamber to mete w the kyng and so met with him on the stayres or he could come vp, wher eche embraced other right louingly: then ȝ kyng brought the Emperour to his chamber, where as there communyng was of gladnes.

Sone after these two noble princes on the Whitsonday early in the morenynge tooke their horse and rode to the Cytee of Cantorbury, the more to solempne the feast of Pentecost, but specially to see the quene of England his aunte was the intent of the Emperour.

The noble personages of the realme of England and the quene with her beautiful trayne of ladies receiued and welcommed the same Charles elect Emperour, whose person was by the kyng cõueighed to a faire and pleasant chamber where thesayde Emperour apparelled hym right richely. Then the noble retynue of thesayde Emperour aswell of lordes as ladyes were lodged, aswell as there myght be, with ioye and muche gladnes, and there in Cantorbury soiorned the Emperour and all hys trayne with the kyng, vntill the Thursdaye in thesame weke.

The last daie of May beyng Thursday, the Emperour toke leaue of the kyng & of all the ladyes, and gaue great thankes, and so rode to Sadewiche, and there toke his shippes, the wynd to hym was likyng, wherby he sayled into Flaunders.

Then thesame daye, the kyng of Englande made saile from the porte of Douer and with noble

noble apparaile londed at Calys at the hower of. xi. of the clock, and with hym the quene and ladyes and many nobles of ȳ realme. And so was the kyng receiued into the Checker and there rested: great repayre of noble men came to the towne of Caleys from ȳ French court, to se the kyng and to salute him, which were of his grace, princely entretayned.

Mondaye the. iiii. daye of Iune the kynges grace with all the nobles aswell the quene with her trayne of ladyes as other, with all the whole nōber of nobles remoued from Calis to his lordship royall of Guisnes into the most noble and royall lodgyng before sene, for it was a palays, the palays was quadrant, and euery quadrant of thesame palays was iii.C.xxviii. foote longe of a syse, which was in compasse. xiii.C. and xii. foote aboute. This palayce was sette on stopes by great connynge and sumpteous woorke. At the enterying into the palays before the gate, on the playne grene was buylded a fountayne of enbowed woorke, gylte with fyne golde, and bice, ingrayled with anticke woorkes, the olde God of wyne called Bacchus birlyng the wyne, whiche by the conduyctes in therth ranne to all people plenteously with red, white, and claret wyne, ouer whose hedde was written in letters of Romayn in gold, *faicte bonne chere quy vouldra.*

On the other hande or syde of the gate, was set a pyller which was of auncient Romayne woorke borne with. iiii. Lyons of golde, the pyllers wrapped in a wrethe of golde curiously wrought and intrayled, and on the sommet of thesayde pyller stode an image of the blynde God Cupide with his bowe and arrowes of loue redy by his semyng, to Stryke the younge people to loue.

The forgate of thesame palays or place with great and mighty masonry by sight was arched, with a tower on euery syde of thesame porte rered by great crafte, and inbattayled was the gate and tower, and in ȳ fenestres and wyndowes were images resemblynge men of warre redy to caste greate stones: Also thesame gate or tower was set with compassed images of auncient Prynces, as Hercules, Alexander and other by entrayled woorke, rychely lymned with golde and Albyn colours, and well and warly was made ouer the gate loups, and enforced with battaylemēnes and in thesame gate a lodge for the porter: whyche there apered and other, sumpteously apparayled lyke vnto kynges officers.

By thesame gate, all people passed into a large courte fayre & beautiful, for in this court appered much of the outward beutie of this place for from the firste water table to the rayssyng or resaū pieces, was bay wyndowes on euery syde myxed with clere Stories, curiously glased, ȳ postes or monyelles of euery wyndowe was gylte. Thus the outward parte of the place lumyned the eyes of the beholders, by reason of ȳ sumptuous woorke. Also the tower of the gate as semed, was buylded by greate masonry, and by great engyne of mans wit, for the sundry countenaūces of euery image that their appered, some shotyng, sum castyng, sume ready to strike, and fryng of gonnes whiche shewed very honorably. Also all thesayd quadrantes, bayes and edefices, were roially intrayled, as farre as vnto thesame courte appartayned. And dyrecte against the gate was deuised a halpas, and at thentry of the staier was images of sore and terrible coūtenaunces, all armed in curious woorke of argentyne. The bay of thesame halpas pendant by crafte of trimmer and vnder ȳ trimmer, antycke images of gold enuyroned w verdour of Oliffes cast in compas, mounstcryng their countenaunces towardes the enterying of the palaice. The staier of thesaied halpas was caste of passage by the wentes of brode steppes, so that from the first foote or lowest steppe, a persone might without pain goo vnto the highest place of the same halpas.

On euery hande was there chamber doores and enterynges into the chambers of thesame palais, whiche were long and large and well proporcioned, to receiue light and aire at pleasure: the roofes of them from place to place, and chamber to chamber wer siled and couered with cloth of Silke, of the most faire and quicke inuencion that before that tyme was seen, for the grounde was white ingrailed, Inbowed and batoned with riche clothes of silkes knitte, and fret with cuttes and braides and sundery newe castes, that thesame clothes of silke shewed like bullions of fine burned gold, and the roses in lossenges: that in the

same rofe, were in kyndly course furnished so to maunes sight that no liuyng creature might but ioye in the beholdyng thereof for from the iawe pece of thesaied selyng: whiche pece was guylte with fine Golde, were woorkes in paan paled, all the walles to the crest encounterying the clere stories, the same creste which was of large depenes, the worke was antique knottes with bosses cast and wrought with more cunnyng then I can write, all which workes and ouerages were gilte: and to set it the more to the glory, the florishyng Bise was comparable to the riche Ammel.

Also at the foote of thesame palaice was another crest all of fine sette gold, whereon hanged riche and marueilous clothes of Arras wrought of golde and silke, compassed of many auncient stories, with whiche clothes of Arras, euery wall and chamber were hanged and all wyndowes so richely couered, that it passed all other sightes before seen. In euery chamber in place conuenient were clothes of estate, greate and large of clothe of golde, of Tissue, and riche embroudery, with Chaiers couered with like clothe, with pomelles of fine gold: and great Cushyns of riche woorke of the Turkey makyng, nothyng lacked of honourable furnishement.

Also to thesame palais was rered a Chapell with twoo closettes, the quire of thesaied Chapell siled with clothe of golde, and thereon frete ingrailed bent clothes of Silke, all was then silke and golde. The aultars of this Chapell were hanged with riche reuesture of clothe of gold of Tissue embroudered with pearles. Ouer the high aultare was hanged a riche Canaby of merueilous greatnes, the altare was appareled with fiue paire of Candelstickes of golde, and on the aultare an halpas and thereon stode a Corpus domini, all fine golde, and on thesame halpas stoode twelfe Images of the bignes of a child of foure yeres of age all gold: and all the Coopes and Vestementes so riche as might be prepared or bought in the citie of Florens, for all the copes and Vestementes wer but of one pece, so wouen for the purpose, cloth of Tissue and poudered with redde Roses purled with fine gold: the Orfrys sette with pearles and precious stones. And all the walles and deskes of this Chapell was hanged with right Clothe of golde, and three riche greate Crosses were there ready to be borne at festiuall times, and basyns and Sensers, Gospellers, Paxes, Crewetes, holy Water vessels, and other ornamentes all of gold.

Also in the firste Closet was a trauerse for the kynges person of cloth of golde: And within that the kynges place and Chaire, with Cusshins of clothe of golde: before the trauerse was an altare of presence, whiche Aultare was adourned with clothe of brouderic, and riche Pearles and precious stones, set in goldesmithes woorke of fine golde. On the aultare was a deske or halpace, whereon stode a patible of the Crucifix of fine golde, with an Image of the Trinitee, an Image of our Lady, and twelue other Images all fine golde and precious stones, twoo paire of Candelstickes of fine golde, with Basens, Crewettes, Paxes, and other Ornamentes, thesaied Closet was hanged with Tappettes embraudered with riche worke fret with pearles and stones, the rooffe of thesame Closet was siled with woorke of Inmouled, gylte with fine Golde and Senapar and Bice.

The seconde Closette was for the Quenes persone, in whiche was a trauerse of riche clothe of golde, the aultare so richely appareled, that there lacked neither Pearles nor Stones of riches: on the aultare were twelue greate Images of golde, the Closet hanged with clothe of golde all other iewelles Missall, I suppose neuer suche like were seen, and the rooffe of thesame closet was siled with like worke that the kynges closet was, as is before rehersed.

And from this palaice or place into the mightie and strong fortresse and Castell royall of Guisnes, was a galery for the secrete passage of the kynges persone into a secrete lodgyng within thesame Castle the more for the kynges ease.

Also to this palaice was all houses of offices, that to suche an honourable Courte should apperteigne, that is to wete, the lord Chamberlaine, lorde Steward, lorde Thresourer of the houshold, for the Comptroller and office of grene Clothe, Wardroppes, Iuell house, and office of houshold seruice, as Ewery, Pantrie, Seller, Buttery, Spicery, pitcher house, Larder

Larder and Poultrie, and all other offices so large and faire that the officers might and did marueiles, as in the craft of viandes, by Ouens, harthes, reredorses, Chimnays, Ranges, and such instrumentes that there was ordained. In this palaice as ye haue heard, was the kinges grace lodged and all the nobles after their degrees. And for that the toune of Guysnes was litle, and that all the noble menne might not there be lodged, thei sette vp tentes in the felde, to the nomber of twentie and eight hundred sundery lodgynges, whiche was a goodly sighte. Thus was the kyng in his Palais royall at Guysnes.

FRAUNCES the Frenche kyng was with all his nobles of the realme of Fraunce, come to the toune of Arde, whiche was prepared for his cōmyng many tentes, hales and pauilions, were set and pight in the felde. On the French partie also, there was at thesame toune of Arde buylded the Frenche kynges lodgyng full well, but not finished, muche was the prouisions in Picardy on euery part through all. The French kyng cōmaunded his lodgyng to be made, a litle out of the toune of Arde in the territorie of an old castle, whiche by the war of old time had been beate. On thesame place was edified a house of solas and sporte, of large and mightie compas, whiche was chiefly sustained by a great mightie maste, wherby the great ropes and takell strained, thesame maste was staied. All the roffe of the same house hong on thesame Maste, and with takell was strained and borne, by the supporters of thesame Maste or tree, the colours of thesame was all blewe, set with starres of golde foyle, and the Orbes of the heauens by the crafte of colours in the roffe, were curiosly wrought in maner like the sky, or firmamēt, and a creasant strained sumdell towardes the toune of Arde, this cresant was couered with frettes and knottes made of Iue busshes, and boxe braunches, and other thynges that longest would be grene for pleasure.

In this tyme the reuerent father lorde Thomas Wolsay, Cardinall and legate a Latere as the kynges high ambassador rode with noble repaire of lordes, gentlemen & prelates to the toune of Arde, to the French courte where of the Frenche kyng, thesame lorde Cardinall was highly enterteined. Of the noblenes of this Cardinall, the Frenchemen made bokes, shewyng the triumphant dooynges of the Cardinalles royaltie. The nomber of the gentlemen, knightes and lordes all in crimosyn veluet, with the marueilous nomber of chaines of golde, the great Horse, Mules, Coursers, and cariages, that there were, whiche went before the Cardinalles cōmyng into Arde with sumters and cofers: Of his great Crosses and pillers borne, the pillowe bere or cace broudered, the twoo mantelles, with other the Ceremoniall Offices, with great and honourable nomber of bishoppes geuyng their attendaunce, the mightie and great nomber of seruauntes, as yomen, gromes, all clothed in Scarlet who so redeth of the Frenche boke, shall finde wonderfully set furthe.

The kyng of England beeyng at the Castle of Guysnes in the newe palais many noble men of the Frenche court resorted to his grace, to se the kyng of England and the quene, and to salute thē: who of the kyng of Englande were well entertained.

When the lord Cardinall had soiourned at Arde in the French court by the space of twoo daies, and the high and vrgent princely causes in counsaill declared, the lord Cardinal toke his leaue of the French kyng and of all the Frenche courte, and repaired vnto the Castle of Guysnes, where he founde the kyng of England his souereigne Lorde. And thesame kyng by his letters patentes, had geuen full power and auctboritie to thesame lord Cardinall, concernyng all matters to bee debated, touchyng the kyng and the realme, and also gaue vnto thesame Cardinall, full strength, power, and auctboritie, to affirme and confirme, bynd and vnbynde, whatsouer should be in question, betwene hym and the French kyng, as though the kyng in proper person had been there presently.

When the lordes of the Frenche counsaill, sawe the high and greate auctborite that the Cardinall had, thei shewed it vnto the Frēch kyng, who incontinent commaunded his commission to be made, of like power and auctboritie, that the kyng of Englā had geuen vnto thesaid lorde Cardinall: thesame power and auctboritie had thesame reuerent father,

geuen to him by Fraunces the French kyng, and affirmed by the counsaill royall of Fraunce: Then hastely was sent to the kyng of Englande the Frenche kynges patent, for the lorde Cardinall saied humbly to the Frenche kyng, that he would no suche power receiue, without the consent of the kyng of Englande his souereigne Lord: but when the kyng of Englande and his counsaill, had seen and vewed the French kynges Patent, and it well considered, then he sent thesame Patent of power to the lorde Cardinall with full assent: then the lord Cardinall the power receiued with much gladnes. It was highly estemed & taken for great loue that the Frenche Kyng had geuen so greate power to the Kyng of Englandes subiect.

Thursday the seuenth day of Iune, in the vale of Andren, within the lordeship royall of Guysnes, before daie was set and pight a royall rich tent, all of clothe of gold, and riche embroudery of the kyng of Englandes, and diuerse other hales and pauilions: thesame riche tente of gold, was within hanged of the richest Arras, newly cõtriued and made, that euer before was seen, and a presence of the kynges estate, with two chayers and riche cusshyns therein: the ground was spred with Carpettes, of newe Turkey makyng, all full of beautie.

But here is to be noted, that in this meane season in all the feldes about, bothe nigh and far, wer many of the French gard, ridyng and beholdyng the maner of the Englishe parte, some of the kynges gard, and some of the duke of Burbons gard, and some of the Admyrall of Fraũces Gard, whiche slily marked the conueighaunce of the people of Englande. At the houre of metyng appoynted, the Lordes of England set their people and seruauntes in good arraie of battaill, in a plain felde directly before the castle of Guysnes. The kyng of England commaũded that his Garde shoulde bee set in the breste of the battaill, or bend of footemen, and so it was doen. This battaill of footemen conducted thẽselfes so in ordre, that from the firste to the laste, neuer a persone of the footemen brake his place or arraie, but kepte theimselfes so well, that neuer seruyng men theimselfes better demeaned. The seruyng men thus set in ordre in the felde, on the left hande of the kyng of Englande, somewhat towarde the Marres, long while thus abidyng, in whiche tyme the Castle of Guysnes shot a warnyng pece to the toune of Arde, and in likewyse the Toune of Arde gaue warnyng to the Castle of Guysnes.

Now was gathered the Frenche Kynges repaire, and by the Lorde Marshall and Constable of Fraunce, the Lordes and gentlemen were set in ordre: thus bothe these two high and mightie princes, intendyng to mete and assemble many woordes and tales, and suspect demeanynges arose in the Englishe partie, for the great loue that we the English men had to our Prince, caused the ignoraũt people that were not worthy to know the pretence of princes, to suspecte the Frenche partie, and the more because that Monsire Chatelon a Lord of Fraunce, in rigorous and cruel maner, threwe doune foure pennons of white and grene which were set by Richard Gibson, by commaundement from the kyng for the suer marke or metyng place of the twoo kynges, in what ground they should encounter, wordes rose betwene Monsire Chatelion and Richarde Gibson, as farre as became for that deede, but at the commaundement of the erle Marshall for that tyme, which was the noble erle of Essex, the kyng of Englandes cosyn, that wrong by vs Englishemenne was paciently suffered, thus from tyme to tyme, and watche to watche, and vewe to vewe, the houre drewe nere, that was by bothe the Princes appoynted, of metyng, or encountre.

Wherefore the kyng of Englande our souereigne Lorde, with all the Court of nobles of England mounted on horsebacke, and marched towardes the valey of Andern in honourable ordre, all Gentlemenne, Squiers, Knightes, and Barons, roade before the kyng and bishoppes also, the dukes, Marques and Erles, gaue attendaunce next the kyng. He were muche wise that could haue tolde or shewed of the riches of apparell that was emongest the Lordes and Gentlemenne of Englande, Clothe of Golde, Clothe of Siluer, Veluettes, Tinsins, Sattins embroudered, and Crymosyn Sattens: The marueilous threasor of golde that was worne in Chaynes and Bauderickes, so greate, so weightie, some so manifolde,

some

some in Colers of. S. greate, that the Golde was innumerable to my demyng to bee summed, of all noble menne, Gentlemenne, Squiers, Knightes, and euery honest Officer of the Kyng was richely appareled, and had Chaynes of Golde, greate and meruelous waighte: what should bee saied? surely emong the Englishemenne lacked no riches, nor beautifull apparell or aray, and alwaies as the kyng of Englande and his horsmen marched, so pace for pace marched the moste goodly battaill or bend of foote men (out of defensable apparell) that euer I trowe before was seen.

The Frenche kyng on his partie marched towardes the encountre with all the ruffelers and gallantes of the Frenche Courte. In which tyme came to the Frenche Kyng some reporte, that caused him to tarry, and a light from his Horse, then the Frenche men were very doubtfull, and in a staye so still rested, vntill a Lorde Fraunce called Monsire Morret, the saied Morret came to the Frenche Kyng, and shewed him the very fidelitie of the Kyng of England, whereby the Frenche kyng mounted on horsebacke, and the better couraged, marched towarde the place appoynted of encountre.

Thus in marchyng thone kyng to the other, to the kyng of England came lord George Neuell lorde Aburgheny, and openly saied, sir ye be my kyng and souereigne, wherefore aboue all I am bounden to shewe you truthe, and not to let for none, I haue been in the Frenche partie, and they be mo in nomber, double so many, as ye bee: with that was the Erle of Shrewesbury Lorde Stewarde ready and saied, sir, whatsoeuer my lorde of Burgheny saieth, I my selfe haue been there, and the Frenchemenne bee more in feare of you and youre subiectes, then youre subiectes bee of them, wherefore saied the Erle, if I wer worthie to geue counsaill, your grace should marche forwarde, so we intende my Lorde saied the kyng: then the Officers of Armes cried ou afore, then in shorte while was the kyng on the bank of Andern: then euery gentleman as thei roade toke his place and stoode still side by side, their regard or face towardes the vale of Andern.

Then the kyng of Englande shewed hymself somedele forwarde in beautie and personage, the moste goodliest Prince that euer reigned ouer the Realme of Englande: his grace was appareled in a garment of Clothe of Siluer, of Damaske, ribbed with Clothe of Golde, so thicke as might bee, the garment was large, and plited verie thicke, and canteled of verie good intaile, of suche shape and makyng, that it was marueilous to beholde. The Courser whiche his grace roade on, was Trapped in a marueilous vesture of a newe deuised fashion, the Trapper was of fine Golde in Bullion, curiously wrought, pounced and sette with anticke woorke of Romayne Figures. Attendyng on the kynges grace of Englande, was the Master of his horse, by name Sir Henry Guylford, leadyng the kynges spare horse, the which horse was Trapped in a Mantellet brout and backe place, all of fine gold in Scifers, of deuice with Tasselles on Cordelles pendaunt, the Sadell was of the same sute and woorke so was the hedde stall and raynes. After folowed nine heuxe menne, ridyng on Coursers of Naples, the same young Gentlemen were appareled in riche Clothe of Tissue, the Coursers in Harneis of marueilous fashion, scaled in fine golde in Bullion, and workes subtile more then my sighte could contriue, and all the same horse Harneis were sette full of tremblyng spanges that were large and faire. The lorde Marques Dorset bare the kynges sweard of estate before the kynges grace, the reuerent father Lorde Cardinall did his attendaunce.

Thus in litle tyme, abidyng the commyng of the Frenche kyng and his, the which in shorte tyme came with greate nomber of horsemenne, freshely appareled, the Frenche Kyng and his retayne, put themselfes in place appoynted, direct against the Englishe partie, beholdyng euery other of bothe nacions, the Frenche menne mused muche of the battaill of the foote menne, and euery of the Frenche men to other spake of the multitude of the Englishe men whiche semed greate, yet were not they so many as the Frenche partie.

When the Frenche kyng had a litle beholden the Englishe men, he put hymself somewhat before his people, that were there on him attendaunt, the Duke of Burbon bearyng a naked Sweard vpright, the Lorde Admirall of Fraunce, and the Countie Cosman Galias,

Master of the Frenche kynges horse, and no mo persones gaue their attendance in passyng with the Frenche kyng: when it was perceiued that the Frēch kynges swearde was borne naked, then the kyng of England commaūded the lorde Marques Dorset to drawe out the swearde of estate, and beare it vp naked in presence, whiche was so doen.

Then vp blewe the Trumpettes, Sagbuttes, Clarions, and all other Minstrelles on bothe sides, and the kynges descended doune towarde the bottome of the valey of Andern, in sight of bothe the nacions and on horsebacke met and embrased the twoo kynges eache other: then the two kinges alighted, and after embrased with benyng and curteous maner eche to other, with swete and goodly wordes of gretyng: and after fewe woordes, these two noble kynges went together into the riche tente of clothe of golde, that there was set on the grounde for such purpose, thus arme in arme went the Frenche kyng Fraunces the firste of Fraunce, and Henry the eight kyng of Englande and of Fraunce, together passyng with communicacion.

When the two princes were in the tente, before rehersed, the French Kyng saied, my dere brother and Cosyn, thus farre to my paine haue I trauailed to se you personally, I thynke verely that you esteme me as I am. And that I maie to you be your aide, the realmes and seignories shewe the might of my persone: Sir said the kyng of Englande, neither your realmes nor other the places of your power, is the matter of my regarde, but the stedfastnes and loyall kepyng of promesse, comprised in Charters betwene you and me: that obserued and kepte, I neuer sawe Prince with my ỹen, that might of my harte bee more loued. And for your loue I haue passed the seas, into the fardest frontier of my realme to se you presently, the whiche doyng now gladdeth me. And then were the two Kynges serued with a banket, and after mirthe had communicacion in the Banket tyme, and there shewed the one the other their pleasure.

The Englishe officers went and ranne with great pottes of Wyne and Bolles to the Frenche menne, and them chered the best that might bee, all this season stoode still the noble men of the Englishe partie, and all other, and from their places moued nothyng that thei were appointed vnto. And the seruyng men in likewise, not once moued from their ground or standyng, but the Frenchemen sodainly brake, and many of them came into the Englishe partie, speaking faire, but for all that, the court of Englande and the lordes, kept still their arraie.

After the two kynges had ended the banket, and spice and wyne geuen to the Frenchemen. Ipocras was chief drinke of plentie, to all that would drinke. In open sight then came the two kynges, that is to wete: the Frenche kyng, and the kyng of England, out of their tent, by whiche I then well perceiued thabiliment royall of the Frenche kyng, his garment was a chemew, of clothe of siluer, culpond with clothe of golde, of damaske cantell wise, and garded on the bordours with the Burgon bendes, and ouer that a cloke of broched satten, with gold of purple coloure, wrapped aboute his body trauerse, beded from the shulder to the waste, fastened in the lope of the first fold: this said cloke was richely set with pearles and precious stones: this Frenche kyng had on his hed a koyfe of damaske gold set with diamondes, and his courser that he rode on was couered with a trapper of Tissue, broudered with deuise, cut in fashion mātell wise, the skirtes were embowed & fret with frised worke, & knit with Cordelles, & buttons tassceled of Turkey making, Raines and hedstall, answeryng of like woorke: and verely of his persone the same Fraunces the Frenche kyng, a goodly Prince, stately of countenaunce, mery of chere, broune coloured, great iyes, high nosed, bigge lipped, faire brested and shoulders, small legges, and long fete.

All the nobles of the Frenche courte, were in garmentes of many colours, so that thei were not knowen from the braggery: thus as the two kynges were in communicacion, diuerse noble men of England were called to presence. And then the two kynges departed with their compaignie, the kyng of Englande to Guysnes, the Frenche kyng to Arde.

Saterdaie the. ix. daie of Iune in a place within the Englishe pale, were set and pight in a felde, called the campe, two trees of much honor the one called the *Aubespine*, and the other called

called the *Framboister*, whiche is in English the Hathorne, whiche was Henry, and the Raspis berry for Fraunces, after the significacion of the Frenche: these twoo trees were mixed one with the other together on a high mountaigne, couered with grene Damaske, the same Trees were artificially wrought resemblyng the nature of the same as nigh as could be, the leaues were grene Damaske, the braunches, bowes, and withered leaues of clothe of gold, and all the bodies and armes of the same clothe of golde, laied on tymber, thei were in heigth frō the foote to the toppe. xxxiiii. foote of assise, in compasse about an hundred twentie and nyne foote, and from bough to bough, fourtie and three foote: on these trees were flowers and fruites, wrought in kyndly wise with siluer and Venice gold, their beautie shewed farre: on the mountaigne was a place harber wise, where the Heraulde were, the mountaigne was rayled about, and the railes couered with grene Damaske.

The same day the two noble kynges came to the same trees of honor with greate triumph, accompaignied with diuerse nobles and yong valiauntes, before whom were their shildes caried, and after borne aboute the listes, and set on the highest place shewyng into the feldes, the kyng of Englandes armes within a Gartier, and the French kynges within a Coller of his ordre of sainct Michael, with a close Croune, with a flower delice in the toppe. The Campe was in length nyne hundred foote, and in bredth three hundred and twentie foote, ditched rounde aboute, sauyng at the entrees with broade and depe diches, diuerse skaffoldes were rered aboute this Campe, for the ease of the nobles: on the right side of the felde stood the quene of Englande, and the quene of Fraunce with many ladies. The same Campe was railed and bard on euery ende strongly, there was twoo lodgynges in the entery of the same felde, for the twoo kynges richely adourned, which were vnto them very necessarie, for therein thei armed theim selfes and tooke their ease: also in the same compasse was twoo greate Sellers couched full of wyne, whiche was to all men as *largesse* as the fountain.

The cause of the settyng vp of the twoo greate shieldes with armes Royall, was for ioye of the honourable metyng, there to passe the tyme from idlenes, with the exercise of noble feactes of Armes in honoure, articles of Iustes, Turnayes, battailes on foote at the Barres, and suche victorious feactes were farre in Realmes Proclaimed, whiche caused muche people of noble courage thether to resorte: the twoo kynges as brethren in armes, vndertoke to deliuer all personages of the same feactes, and to the same twoo kynges by the ordre of armes were sociate, the Duke of Vendosme, the Duke of Suffolke, the countie sainct Paule the Marques Dorset, Monsire de Roche, sir William Kyngston, Mōsire Brian, sir Richard Garnyngham, Monsire Cauaan, sir Giles Capell, Monsire Bukkall, Master Nicholas Carewe, Monsire Mountafilion, and Master Anthony Kneuet, the shieldes of all these nobles wer hanged on the trees, with thre tables of the Chalenges, to the which all noble menne that would answere, brought in their shieldes to the same trees, and theim presented to the kynges of Armes, and to the Articles wrote with their handes.

Mondaie the. xi. daie of Iune, the twoo Quenes of Englande and of Fraunce came to the campe, where either saluted other right honorably, and went into a stage for them prepared, right curiously hanged, & specially there was for the quene of England a Tapet all of pearle called Huges Dike, which was much loked at for the costlynes of the same.

At the houre assigned, the two kynges armed at all peces mounted on horsebacke, on them attendyng the noble persones, parteners of the chalenge: the French kyng sette hymself on a Courser barded, couered with Purple sattin, broched with golde, and embraudered with Corbyns fethers round and buckeled, the fether was blacke and hached with gold. Corbyn is a Rauen, and the firste silable of Corbyn is *Cor*, whiche is a harte, a peune in English, is a fether in Frenche, and signifieth pain, & so it stode this fether round was endles, the buckels wherwith the fothers wer fastened, betokeneth sothfastnes, thus was the deuise, *harte fastened in pain endles, or pain in harte fastened endles:* on his hed pece he bare a sleue, all the partenars of the Frenche kynges chalenge were in like apparell, euery

thyng correspondent in clothe of sike embroudered, on his persone were attendant on horse-backe noble persones, and on foote foure persones all appareled in purple sattin.

The kyng of Englande mounted on a freshe courser, the trapper of clothe of golde of Tissue, the Arson mantell wise: and the brunt of the trapper bard fashion, cutte in waues of water woorke, and euery waue rawe wrought and frised with Damaske golde, this woorke was laied lose on russet veluet, and knitte together with poyntes of golde, which waues signified the Lordeshippe of the narowe sea. All the parteners of the kynges chalenge wer in the same sute, their horses aswell as their persones attendyng on the kyng on horsebacke wer sir Henry Guilford Master of the kinges horse, sir Ihon Pechie deputie of Caleis, sir Edward Guilford Master of the kinges army, and Mounsire Moret of the Frēche courte appareled al foure in the kynges, liuery, which was white on the right side, and the left side gold and russet bothe hose and garmēt. And on him were attēdant on foote sixe honorable knightes. xx. esquiers and officers to the nombre of an. C. and. xii. persons, of the whiche nomber all the knightes and gentlemen had coates, the one halfe siluer, and thother clothe of gold and russet veluet, and the other officers coates wer of right Sattin of the same coloure, and all their hosen were of the same suite very costly. Thus with honour and noble courage these twoo noble kynges with their compaignies entered into the feld, and theim presented vnto the quenes, and after reuerence dooen to theim, thei roade rounde aboute the tilte, and so toke their places appoynted, abidyng the answerers, which was for the first the duke Dallencon and tenne men of armes on his bēd, on coursers barded, the bardes couered with white and blacke Veluet, fastened the one within the other, garded with Burgon bendes of Tynsell sattin, aswell their garmentes as their bardes. Then entered on coursers barded twelfe gentlemen of the bende of the lord Admirall of Fraunce, their garmentes and bardes were russet sattin, broched with gold and white and purple Sattin, after the deuise of their pleasure with great plumes. When these bendes were entered the feld, thei shewed themselfes about the tilte, and did reuerence to the quenes, the bend of the Duke Dallencon tooke firste place, they made theim prest on bothe sides, the Frenche kyng was the firste that ranne, he did valiauntly and brake speres mightely.

Then ranne the kyng of England to *Monsire Graundeuile* with great vigor, so that the speres brake in the kynges hande to the vantplate all to shēuers. And at the second course he gaue the saied *Monsire Graundeuile* suche a stroke that the Charnell of his hedde pece, although the same was very strong, was broken in suchewise that he might runne no more whereby the kyng wanted three courses.

Then ranne the duke *de Vandon* and mette his counter parte right nobely, and brake speres right valiauntly.

The noble duke of Suffolke charged his course & met right valiatly his counter parte and furnished the. v. courses right nobly together like good men of armes.

And when all parties of the chalenge had right valiauntly furnished theyr courses then ranne agayne the. ii. noble kynges, who dyd so valiantly that the beholders had great ioy, after which courses the heraulde cried the *disarmy* and the trompettes sounded to lodgyng.

Tewsday the. xii. daie of Iune at hower conenient the. ii. quenes toke their stages and the bende of chalenge in the feld prest to answere & delyuer all commers, to whome came. x. gentlemen armed on barded horses of the bend of *Mounsire de Sweyes* ther bardes and apparel cloth of veluet ful of friers knottes sylver, after that they had. presēted theim vnto ỹ quenes, then they toke thende of the tilte, & then course after course they ronne to the chalengers right egerly, and the chalengers of the partie of the twoo kynges deliuered to the ende of their articles of Iustes.

Then entred a. xi. men of armes of the bende of Mounsire de Tremoyell, on horses barded with yelowe veluet losenged with Friers knottes of blacke veluet, & after they had saluted ỹ quenes, they likewise toke thende of the tilt, and course after course ranne till they wer deliuered of their chalenges of Iustes: valiauntly this daie was finished.

Wednesdaie the. xiii. daie of Iune, the twoo hardie kynges armed at all peces, entered into the feld right nobly appareled, the French kyng and all his parteners of chalenge were arraied in purple sattin, broched with golde and purple veluet embrodered with litle rolles of white satin, wherein was written, *quando*, all bardes and garmentes were set full of the same, and all the residue where was no rolles, were poudered and sette with the letter ell as thus L. whiche in Frenche is she, whiche was interpreted to be *quando elle*, whē she, and ensuyng the deuise of thē first daie it signifieth together, harte fastened in pain endles, when she.

The kyng of England with all the bende parteners of his chalenge wer likewise on horsebacke, appareled in trappers of losēges russet veluet and clothe of siluer of damaske, enbroudered and set in euery losēge a braunche of Eglantine of gold, the apparell of the persones wer of the same correspondent to the trapper, this Eglantine tree is swete, plesant and grene, and if it be kyndely and frendly handeled, and if it be rudely delt with, it will pricke, and he that will pull vp the whole tree by the top his handes will bee hurte: The twoo kynges with their compaignies thus appareled, presented themselfes to the quenes, and so toke the ende of the tilte then entered into the feld *Monsire Leskew* called lorde Liskyn, with hym came a. xi. men of armes, hymself the. xii. on horses barded and richely appareled, and so rode aboute the tilte and saluted the quenes, and toke the ende of the tilte.

Monsire de Leskew and his. xi. compaignions had their bases & bardes, all blacke clothe of gold of damaske all to cut on blacke sattin, their garmentes had mantell sleues on the left arme, to the wast behynde iust to the shulder, whiche was praised for the strangenes.

The Frenche kyng rāne to Moūsire Bewsy Damboyes, one of the bend of Mounsire Liskew, & the kyng of England charged his course and rāne to Mounsire Liskew, & so furnished their coursers (as they laie) right nobly and valiauntly in breakyng speres that were strong, thus course after course eche with other, his counter partie did right valiantly, but the two Kinges surmounted all the rest in prowesse and valiantnes. This bend thus furnished entred the Marques *de Salons* and his bend. xii. persones all ridyng on coursers barded and appareled in white Sattin and blacke, broched with gold and siluer, with cuttes and culpynes muche after tawny and blacke Sattin billottes: and after reuerence done to the Quenes, toke thende of the tilte. To the Marques *de Salons* ranne the kyng of England, and the kyng of Fraūce to another of the same bend, stil course after course ranne all the noble men til the Marques *de Salons* and his bend were deliuered, who bare theim right valiantly: then blew the trumpettes the retraicte and the two kinges them vnarmed & after departed, the French kyng to Arde, and the kyng of Englaud to his castle of Guysnes.

Thursday the. xiii. day of Iune by the noonetyde the twoo Quenes mette in the campe and toke their places, the people wer come to behold the honor, & to see the two kynges, who all ready armed entred the feld to receiue and deliuer all men of answere of Iustes. Then entred thē erle of Deuonshyre nere cosyn to the kyng of England, on his bend the lorde Mountague also cosyn to the kyng, lord Harbert, lord Leonard Gray, Master Arthur Poole, Master Fraunces Brian, Master Henry Norres, and. iiii. other all richely apparelled, the one side blew Veluet enbrodred with a mans hartburnyng in a ladies hand holding a garden pot stillyng with water on the hart, the other side was white Sattin enbrodered with letters of golde, this compaignie rode about the tilte and did reuerence to the Quenes & so abode at thende of thesame. The erle of Deuonshyre charged his spere, and the French king likewise charged his course to mote thesame erle and rāne so hard together that both their speres brake, and so mainteined their courses nobly.

Then ranne the kyng of England to *Mounsire Memorācie* and him encountered and bothe bare together & gaue great strokes, the kynges most noble grace neuer disuised nor breathed tyll he ranne the fiue courses and deliuered his counter partie.

Dukes, Marqueses, Knightes, Esquiers and other ranne as fast as euer they might, there was

was none abode when the courses came, tyll the earle of Deuonshyre and his bend were deliuered of demaundes.

Then entered the lorde Hawarde sonne to the Duke of Northfolke and. xi. compaignions apparelled and barded in crimosyn Sattin full of flames of golde, the borders ribbed with crimosyn Veluet, and with much honor after due reuerence done to the quenes were brought with Heraldes of armes aboute the tiltes, and so toke the place to theim appointed, right riche was their apparell. Then ranne the French kyng and encountered the same lord Edmond, they brake both their staues valiantly course after course, the encounter ceassed not til they had furnished theyr fiue courses, so was the lorde Edmond deliuered by the French kyng.

Then ranne the kyng of Englande to a strong gentle man named Raffe Broke and brake his spere, and ranne course after course till he had finished his courses right nobly & like a prince of moste valiance. The residue ceased not til they had ech deliuered other of their chalēge.

Friday the. xv. day of Iune the king of England mouted on a courser roial, his person armed at all pieces, his apparel and trapper was the one side riche cloth of gold, of tissue, the other side of cloth of Tissue of siluer & cloth of gold of Tissue entered ounde the one with ỹ other, the ounde is warke wauyng vp and doune, and all the borders as well trapper as other was garded with letters of fine gold, and on the other side that was ounde was set with signes called cifers of finegold, the which were set with great & oriental perles, the cifers signified letters knit together in a knot, which was to wete, God my frende, my realme & I may. This was the deuise and reason thereof, all the kynges bend were apparelled in like apparel.

The French king likewise armed at all pointes mounted on a courser royal, all his apparel aswel bardes as garmentes were purple veluet entred the one with the other, enbrodred ful of litle bookes of white Satten, and in thebokes were written *a me*, about the borders of the bardes and the borders of the garmentes, a chaine of blewe, like Iron resembling the chayne of a well or prison chaine, whiche was enterpreted to be *Liber*, a booke, within this booke was written as is sayd, *a me*, put these two together and it maketh *libera me*, the chayne betokeneth prison or bondes, and so maketh together in Englishe deliuer me of bōdes, put to ỹ reason, the fyrst day, second day, and. iii. day, of chaūge for he chaunged but the second day, and it is, *hart fastened in paine endles, when she deliuereth me not of bondes*, thus was thinterpretacion made, but whether it were so in all thinges or not I may not say. Now is ready the two kynges and princes and all their retaine abidyng the answeres, and after salutacions made to the Quenes being by their stages, they toke theude of the tilte.

Ready was Mounsire Florengis and with him, xii. men of armes ỹ coursers barded: the bardes and apparel was *Crimosyn veluet, tawny veluet, and Plunket veluet* embrodered border wise with shepeherdes hokes of cloth of siluer. When they with honor had passed about the tilte, the reuerence to the Quenes and ladies done, the two kynges had their speres redy, then began the rushyng of speres: the kyng of England this day rāne so freshly and so many courses that one of his best coursers was dead that night, this band was deliuered man after man of their pretence of Iustes.

Then entered bendes of *Mounsire de Rambeurs & Mounsire de Pyns* eche hauyng. xi. persones in nomber, the one band all white Satten enbrodered with blacke, & the other all blacke, dropped ỹ siluer droppes and after reuerence done to the quenes, at the end of the tilte toke their places. Then began a new encoūter hard and sore, many of them bare great strokes of the kynges, to their honor: when these bendes were deliuered, the Heraldes cryed *a lostel* and the princes them disarmed and went to lodgyng.

Saterday, the. xvii. daye of Iune the French kyng with a small nōbre came to ỹ castle of Guisnes about the hour of. viii. in the mornyng: the king being in his priuy chambre, had therof knowledge, who with glad hast went to receiue thesame French king, and him met

and

and welcomed in frendly and honorable maner, & after cõunicacion betwene them had, the king of Englãd departed, leauyng ỹ French king there in ỹ sumptuous place before named. Then was busy the lord Chãberlain, the lord Stewarde and all other officers to make ready feast and chere. It were to long to reherse all for suche a feast and banquet was then made that of long tyme before the like had not been seen.

The king of England thus departed, he toke his horse and with cõpaignie of noblemen rode to Arde, where the French quene and other noblemen him receaued with muche honor. After whiche receiuyng, he was by the sayd quene and lordes brought into a chamber hãged with blewe veluet enbrowdered with flowers delice of cloth of gold, wherein was a great bed of like worke, from whence he was conueighed into another chamber, in the which was a kynges state: this chamber was hanged and siled with clothe of gold, enbrodered with great cordelles or friers knottes of cloth of siluer. In thesame chambre were two cupbordes on either side one, furnished with great and goodly plate gilte. Noble feasting & chere was there made. After dyner the ladies dressed them to daunce, the king the more to glad the quene & the sayd ladies, departed secretly and put himself with xxix. persones more in Maskers apparell, fyrst x. yong honorable lordes apparelled after the maner of Ry and Reuel in Ruseland or farre Estland. Fyrst theyr hosen of riche goldsatten called Aureate satten, ouerrouled to ỹ kne with Skarlet, & on theyr fete, shoen with litle pykes of white nayles after the Estland guise, theyr doublettes of ryche crimosyn veluet and cloth of gold with wide sleues lined with cloth of gold, ouer this they had clokes of crimosyn veluet short, lined with cloth of gold, on euery side of the clokes ringes of siluer w laces of Venice gold, & on their heades they had hattes made in ỹ toune of Danske and Porses of Seales skynnes, and girdles of thesame: all these yong lorde had visers on their faces and their hattes were drawen like hatbondes full of Damaske gold.

Other. x. lordes were apparelled in long gounes of blew Satten of the auncient fashion enbrodred with reasons of golde that sayd, *adieu Iunesse*, farewell youth: they had typpettes of blacke veluet and hattes hangyng therby, and on theyr heades, high violette standyng cappes and girdelles of silke, and Purses of clothe of golde after the auncient maner, with visers, their faces of like auncientie.

Then was there another compaignie of. x. lordes in whiche maskery the king was himselfe, apparelled all in long garmentes of estate all pale riche clothe of golde, all these had riche gounes which were lined with grene Taffata, and knit with pointes of Venice siluer wherewith the riche clothe together was fastened on their faces visers, and all the berdes were fine wyer of Ducket gold, the Drunslad plaiers and other minstrels arayed in white, yelowe, and russet Damaske, these minstrels blew and played and so passed through the strete of Arde, all these noble reuelers came into the Frenche court & put them in presẽce of the Frẽche Quene and ladies: and when the Quene had them beholden, these reuelers toke ladies and daunced, in passyng the tyme right honorably. Then at thinstance of the French quene and her ladies these maskers and reuelers them disuisered, shewyng them what persons they were. Then spices, fruites, ielies, and banket *viandes* wer brought, that done and ended, ỹ king toke leaue of the French quene & ladies, & in secrete places euery one visered himselfe, so that they were vnknowen, and so passed through the French court, to whom were brought xxx. horses trapped in Damaske, white and yelowe, and so in maskeler passed the toune of Arde, into the felde or campe.

But now to tell of the feast and riches royal that was in the presẽce of the French kyng in the newe palaice royal. This daie the quene of England receiued the French king w all honor that was accordyng. In presẽce lacked neither clothes of estate nor other riches, for to shew the multitude of siluer and golde in plate and vessell there that daie, it were impossible: for all noble men were serued in gilte vessel, and all other in siluer vessell. When the Frenche kyng had washed and in his estate was set, he was right honorably serued in all thinges nedefull, for Forestes, Parkes, felde, salte seas, Riuers, Moates, and Pondes, wer serched and sought through countreys for the delicacie of viãdes: well was that man rewarded that could

could bring any thyng of likyng or pleasure: Right honorably was the French kyng entertained, and all other after their degre and state. When the French kyng had washed, then the ladies came and profered themselues to daunce, & so did in the French kynges presence, whiche done the French kyng toke leaue of the Quene and ladies of the court. The reuerend father lord Cardinal accompanied with the duke of Buckyngham and other great Lordes conducted forward the French kyng, and in their waie they encountred and met the king of England & his company right in the valy of Anderne apparelled in their Maskyng apparell, whiche gladded the French king. After reuerence done, the sayd two kynges departed for that night.

Monday the. xviii. day of Iune, there blew such stormes of wind & wether that mervail was to hear, for which hideous tẽpest some said it was a very pronosticacion of trouble & hatred to come betwene princes.

Tewsday the. xix. day of Iune, the. ii. valiant chalengers kynges at houre conuenient entred into the felde armed at all pieces abidyng the comers. Then entred Mounsire Bonyual and his bend. xiiii. persones in nōber wel armed riding on barded horses, their apparel was black veluet and cloth of golde bylet wise and fayre plumes on their heades, and after reuerence done to the quenes all ready beyng on their stages, they toke their places at the ende of the tilte.

Ready were the speares, the French king charged and ranne course after course and did nobly. Also the king of England ranne surely and lost no course till Mounsire Bonyual and his bend was delyuered, the kynges and their retaine did not cease.

Then entered. xvii. persones royally armed, the bend of the duke of Burbon ridyng on barded coursers, their apparell was white veluet, tawny and blacke veluet, entred together & all bordered with clothe of gold garnished with plumes of thesame colours on their heades, they saluted the quenes and ladies and toke thende of the tilte as they that came to furnishe thende of the chalenge of Iustes.

The kyng of England was ready & strake his horse with the spurres & so fiersly rāne to the countre partie that his graund graue gard was lose with the great stroke that the king gaue him: course after course ỹ king lost none, but euermore he brake his spere and so nobly ended his Iustes royal, for this daie ended the kinges great chalenge, and of the king our souereigne lordes doynges, all men there that him beheld reported his doynges, (so valiant were his factes) euermore in honor to be renoumed. The French king on his part ran valiantly breaking speares egrely and so well ended his chalenge of Iustes, that he ought euer to be spoken of. When the bend of the Duke of Burbon was of their pretence of chalenge deliuered, they toke leaue and departed.

Wednisday the. xx. day of Iune, the two kynges began to hold Turneyes with all the parteners of their chalenge, armed at all pieces, The French kyng & his bend wer apparelled, their bard couered with purple sattin, broched with gold and purple veluet, ouer all brodered with garlondes of friers knottes of white satten, and in euery garlond. iiii. paunse flowers, whiche signified, thinke on Fraunces, to whō he spake was not knowen, goodly and riche was their apparel.

The king of England mounted on a courser of Naples barded, and after him all the faire bend of his retaine on coursers barded, the bardes & apparell was the one side riche clothe of Tyssue enbrodered, and lined w̄ rich cloth of siluer, all ỹ outward part was cutte, the otherside was russett veluet poudered w̄ gold or purpled with gold, enbrodered with a great rocke or moūtaine, and a picture of an armed knight on a courser barded, vauncyng himself vpon that hill: then was on thesame in riche embrodery a picture of a ladie cōmyng out of a cloud strikyng the knight into the body with an arow a deadly wound, and beneth on the borders were written in letters enbrodered that sayd, *In loue whoso mounteth, passeth in perill*, this was the deuise, so was the kyng of England apparelled and all his parteners of chalenge.

The quene of Fraunce and the quene of England were in the places appoiated for their honors.

honors. The Iudges were on stages to marke with ỹ kyng of Heraldes that was for Fraūce named Roy Mon Ioy, and for England kyng of armes Garter, to marke and write the dedes of noblemen: euery person toke a naked sword in his hande, the trumpettes blewe all waityng to ride and runne, the Frenche kyng and the king of England together entred, and their bendes, and reuerenced the quenes, and rode about the place, and then toke the ende of the felde in their abode.

Now againe souned the trūpettes, ỹ Heraldes brought in the bēdes of diuers noble and wel armed men on horses barded, that is to wete, First the duke of Alanson and. x. men of armes on his hende, the lorde Admyrals bend. xii. menne of armes, and Mounsire Gywer and. ix. in nomber of men of armes all gentlemen, Mounsire Trenoyll with. xi. men of armes, mounsire Liskew and with him. xi. men of armes on his bende, the Marques de Salous and. xii. men of armes on his bend, al on horses barded, and naked swordes in their handes.

Then the two kynges put doune their vysers & rode to the encoūtre valiantly, and for trouth strake and receiued great strokes, but verely the two kynges bet their countre parties to disarming, and then were they departed and that battail ceased: then went other. enermore two for two till it came to the kynges againe, at whiche it neded not to put them in remēbraunce: for coragiously the two kynges newely fought with great randon and force, they shewed their vigors and strengthes and so did nobly that their coūter parties had none aduauntage. When they had thus eche of them fought. iiii battailes, then came Mounsire Liskew with whom the king of England had fought one battail, and presented the kyng with his horse, whiche the kyng gently receiued and for loue incontinent mounted on him and there fought the v. battail right valiantly. Thus was the turney deliuered honorably for that day.

Thursday the. xx. day of Iune, the quene of England & the Frenche quene were come to the campe in royaltie like vnto their estates, the. ii. kynges were in the felde armed and apparelled, the Frenche kyng and his bend on coursers barded, their bardes couered with purple broched satten and purple veluet right roially, without any more enbroderyng. The kyng of England was mounted on a horse of force and courage, royally and nobly apparelled he and his retaine in sute like. The apparell was of clothe of siluer of damaske bordered with letters of cloth of golde of damaske all the borders, on the bardes and apparell were litle mountaines & springyng braunches of Basile, wrought all of fyne gold, and euery braunche, lefe, and stalke, was lose and waueryng, all thicke and full of leaues and braunches, that vneth was the clothe of siluer sene, ỹ reasons written on the borders was thus, *Breake not these swete herbes of the riche mounte, doute for dāmage.* This apparel was meruailous freshe and fayre: thus the two kynges & their retaine toke the felde. Then entred therle of Deuonshyre cosyn to the kyng of England and. xvi. honorable persones in his bende all armed.

Then came mounsire Florenges and. xii. persones on his bend, then came mounsire de Rambeurs Mounsire de Pyns and. ix. men of armes on his bend, then came the bend of Mounsire de Bonyual himself and. xiii. men of armes on his bend, then came the bend of Mounsire de Burbon and. xvii. men of armes, al wel and warlike horsed and armed and euery of these bendes after their deuises apparelled right richely.

The. ii. noble kynges were ready and either of them encountred one man of armes, the Frenche kyng to the erle of Deuonshire, the king of England to Mounsire Florenges. The kyng of England bare backe Mounsire Florenges and brake. his Poldron & him disarmed, when ỹ strokes were striken, this battail was departed, it was much praised. Then on went swordes & doune went visers, there was litle abidyng. Sir Ihon Neuell, Master Fraunces Bryan, sir Rouland, and master Robart Garnyngham were this day as aydes for ỹ hurt persones that before were of the entertaine, and fought feruently battail after battail and none ceased till they all that would entre were deliuered of their pretence in chalenge royall pretenced. This day was the chalenge of Turnays after the articles ended, and all noble men deliuered and so departed the felde: then the kinges rode about the felde as

honor of armes required, and the Heraulde cried *la fine des Turnayes*, by the sayd two noble princes the. xxi. daie of Iune.

Fryday the. xxii. day of Iune in the campe was set a barrier for to fight on foote, also an Hale of the kynges of England was sette in the same place, enbrodered with cloudes of blewe, and out of the cloudes the Sunne risyng, the valence of the same was written in letters of blewe enbrodered, *dieu et mon droit*, in whiche Hale the Lordes and other of the entertaine of the chalenge armed theim selfes.

Nowe was the noble Kynges ready to do battail on foote at the Barriers, the Quenes on their stages: then entered bend after bend on foote and preased to the Barriers, euery one in his hande a Punchion spere, wherewith without any abode foyned and lashed alwayes one at another, two for two as the lotte fell. When the speres were spent, then swordes to them were geuen. Then preased to the Barriers the two valiant kynges, and other, then was no tariyng but fought with suche force that the fyer sprang out of their armure. Thus bend after bend they were all deliuered by the two noble kynges and their aydes of retaine.

Then in came a bend with two hande swordes and castyng dartes to answere to that chalenge, xii. menne well armed which presed to the barriers & mightely threwe their speares the one to the other, ready or not ready, none fauored other more than two enemies or at vtterance, and euer still two for two, till all were deliuered concernyng the chalenge, so this same two kinges safe in body and lymmes ended the battail for that day at the barriers with great honor.

All men of armes passed and departed for that time, much preparacion was made there, as settyng vp tentes, hales, and other places for furnishyng of houses of offices and chābers of estates for the kynges and quenes, & also thesame night was in the campe rered a large frame of tymber worke for a chapell place, whiche was syled w riche clothes enbrodered, wherin was made a stage of two degrees, with the chayre and cloth of state for the lorde Cardynall, the alter apparelled with all Iuelles myssal of great riches, thesame chapel thus finished the. xxiii. day of Iune beyng satterday, at houre conuenient, the said lord Cardinal sang an high and solempne masse by note before the two kynges and quenes, the same done, Indulgence was geuen to all bearers, the two kynges together associate tooke their chamber. Of this masse in Flaunders arose muche communicacion, in so muche that the common voyce went, how the. ii. kynges wer sworne together on the sacrament, which was contrary, for the masse was for none other entent then to geue Indulgence to the kynges.

When tyme was, the two kynges washed and satte to meat vnder their clothes of estate where they were richely serued, the royaltie of the fare and the riches of vessell, plate and Iuelles surmounteth the witte of man to expresse: the quenes in another Chamber wer serued with no lesse honor, the dyner ended, the sayd straugers royally apparelled, presented themselues in places of estate.

To tell you the apparel of the ladies, their riche attyres, their sumptuous Iuelles, their diuersities of beauties, and the goodly behauior from day to day sithe the first metyng, I assure you ten mennes wittes can scace declare it.

The two noble kynges put themselfes in armes with their bend and entered the felde on foote, before the barriers, then entered the bendes of men of armes in armur right richely, then all was ready and the. ii. kynges at the barriers ready to fight right nobly. This day was deliuered at barriers by battail a C. & vi. persones, the ii. last battailes did the kynges. The kyng of England with few strokes disarmed his counter partie, the French kyng likewise bare himself right valiantly. Thus the sayd saterday was fully ended, and all men deliuered of articles of Iustes and all Turneys and battailes on foote by the sayd two noble kynges.

After this chalenge honorably performed, the kynges prepared diuers maskers and especially the king of England had. iiii. companies, and in euery companie. x. persones apparelled as you shall heare.

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The fyrst persone of the fyrst. x. was apparelled like Hercules in a shirt of siluer of damaske written in letters of purple about ỹ border, *en femes et infauntes cy petit assurance*, whiche in Englishe is as muche to say: In women and children is litle assuraunce: he had on his head a whode with a garlond of grene damaske cut into leaues like Vyne leaues and Hawthorne leaues, in his hand a club couered with grene damaske full of prickes: the Lyons skyn about his backe was of cloth gold of damaske, wrought and frysed with flatte golde of damaske for the beeres, and buskins of gold on his legges. Other thre were apparelled for Hector, Alexandre and *Iulius Cæsar*, in Turkay lubbes of grene cloth of gold wrought like Chalet very richly, & on their heades bonettes of Turkay fashion, of cloth of golde of Tyssue, and clothe of siluer rolled in Cypres, kercheffes after the Panyns fashion, and girdles of cloth of gold with pendantes of thesame cut in great flames, & euery one buskins of grene damaske, & thre other like princes of Iury for Dauid, Iosue, and Iudas Machabeus: these thre wer in long gounes of russet Tinsel satten with great wide sleues lined with cloth of gold pendant and great tippettes of the same cloth of gold bandericke wise and whodes of thesame, buskyns of grene damaske, their visers had berdes of fyne gold: the other thre were for Christen princes, as Charlemaine, Arthur, & Godfry de Bulloigne. These thre were apparelled in long vestures of calendred cloth of gold and purple clothe of gold broched together with whoddes and cappes of thesame, visers & buskyns of grene damaske.

Other. x. were apparelled in cotes of crimosyn Satten al ouer couered with *quaterfoyles* of clothe of gold, of tissue, and clothe of siluer raised, the gold was fringed with siluer, and the siluer with gold and layd lose on the Crimosyn Satten, and euery quaterfoyle was knit to other with laces of gold. Ouer that ỹ said. x. persones had euery one a large mantle or Robe of crimosyn satten enbrodered full of figures of gold, and on their heades bonettes of stoole worke of golde of damaske, and euery one had on his viser a berde of golde wyer with whoddes and buskyns of crimosyn Satten.

Ten of the ladies were apparelled after the Genowayes fashion, the ground of their gounes was white satten, ouer diapred with right crimosyn satten & gold of damaske, and on their heades square bonettes of damaske golde, rolled with lose golde that did hang doune at their backes, with kerchiefes or cleres of fine Cypres.

The other. x. ladies were attired after the fashion of Myllayne, in riche Tyssue and cloth of siluer raised, parted, trauers, & ruffed sleues with foresleues pendant, knit w̃ pointes of gold & caules or coyfes of gold piped, & Myllaine bonettes of crimosyn satten drawen through with clothe of golde. Thus the kyng of England and. xix. noblemen with him and his sister Quene Marye dowager of Fraunce and. xix. ladies with her like maskers apparelled as you haue heard, all mouted on horses trapped in veluet white and yelow, and euermore a lord and a lady ridyng together, with mynstrelsye departed out of Guysnes on sonday the. xxiiii. day of Iune and toke their way toward Arde, and in the way on the banke of Anderne these Maskers met with the Frenche kyng, beyng in a chariot with. xxxviii. persones richely apparelled in Maskyng apparell, and eche compaigny passed by other without any countenaunce makyng or disuiserying.

The Frenche kyng and his compaignie went to Guysnes, the king of England to Arde, where his maiestie was receiued into the French court, and brought into the chamber of riche apparell, where at the instance of the French Quene the kyng and all his, them disuised and shewed theyr faces, and al the ladies of England likewyse, then began feast & chere to arise, the king of England was set, and after all ỹ ladies and Maskers of England and were nobly serued of many straunge meates: After dyner began the daunces in passing the tyme ioyously.

The French Maskers apparell was not all of one suite, but of seueral fashions, of diuers sikes, some cut, some broched, some had plumes that were very fayre, but very beautifull was the sight.

The Frenche kyng and his company was then at guisnes where the quene of Englād

met and welcomed them. Then the French king and his Maskers shewed themselfes bare faced, and when the Quene them saw she did then the more reuerence. Great was the chere that then was there. After dyner and daunces done, the French kyng drew himselfe into a secrete chamber & put from him his apparel of maskery and toke to him his apparel of vsaunce, in the whiche were many fayre Emeraudes, this done he toke his leaue of the quene, and on the court he loked with a high countenaunce, and so departed, the lord Cardinal and the duke of Buckingham him conductyng, the king of England, this tyme duryng, was at Arde, where he passed the time with much solas: At tyme conuenient he toke leaue of the Frenchmen & all other of the Frēch court, and after they had visered themselfes they rode nobly thus apparelled through ỹ toune of Arde, & so passed till they came to the campe whereas all the chalenges were finished, and there the French kyng perceiuyng the cōmyng of the English maskers, stode still beholding them. Then the kyng of England put of his viser and preased vnto the French king: then the two kynges embrased and amiably together communed, after which communicacion either of other by kyngly salutyng tooke leaue, and for remembraunce either to other gaue giftes. The kyng of England gaue to the Frenche kyng a collor of Iewels of precious stones called Balastes the Sanker furnished with great Diamantes and Perles. The Frenche kyng gaue to the kyng of England a Bracelet of precious stones, riche Iewels and fayre, and so departed the sayd two noble kynges, the sayd. xxiiii. day of Iune, whiche was sonday and Midsomerday.

Duryng this triumph so much people of Picardie and west Flaūders drew to Guysnes to se ỹ kyng of England & his honor, to whō vitailes of the court were in plentie, the conduicte of the gate ranne wyne alwaies, there were vacaboundes, plowmen, laborers & of the bragery, wagoners & beggers that for drunkennes lay in routes and heapes, so great resort thether came, that both knightes & ladies that wer come to see the noblenes, were faine to lye in haye and strawe, & holde theim therof highly pleased. From the court of the Emperor, nor of the Lady Margaretes court, nor of Flaūders, Brabāt nor Burgoyn came neuer a persone to answere to the chalenge: By that it semed that there was small loue betwene the Emperor and the Frenche kyng: Moreouer, Mounsire Fayot capitaine of Boleyn with Mounsire Chattelon did their deuoier to haue taken the toune of saiuct Omer, of whiche doyng was thought no goodnes to the Emperor.

Monday the. xxv. day of Iune, the kyng of England & the Quene & all the court remoued frō Guysnes to the toune of Caleys & there made the king his abode, where was concluded the metyng of the Emperor with the kyng, wherfore was made newe and great prouisions.

In the tyme of the triumph there was a mutteryng that the toune of Caleys should be rēdred into the French kinges hādes, & for truth the Frenchmen so spake & sayd, wherwith many Englishmen wer greued.

While the king lay thus in Caleys he considered the charge of his nobles, and thought that lesse nombre of seruauntes would now serue them for the tyme of his abode, and so caused the Cardynal to call all ỹ gentlemen before him, whiche in the kynges name gaue to theim thankes with muche commendacions, and for eschewyng of cost, because the kyng taried but the Emperors commyng, he licēsed them to send home the halfe nombre of their seruauntes & bad them after their long charges to liue warely, this terme warely was amongest the moste part taken for barely, at which saying the gentlemen sore disdained.

Thus in Caleys rested the king & the quene vntil the. x. day of Iuly. Then ỹ kinges grace with goodly repaire rode to the toune of Grauelyng in Flaunders there that night to rest & se the Emperor, on ỹ kyng were waityng the lord Cardinal, Dukes, Marquises, Erles, bishops, Barons, knightes, and gentlemen. The noble Emperor passed the water of Grauelyng, and at a place called Wael, there he met & receiued the kyng of England, the Emperor made such semblant of loue to all the court of England that he wan ỹ loue of Thenglishmen, & so passed the Emperor and the king of England to Grauelyng where the

the kyng lodged the best that might be, all lordes, gentlemen, yomen & all sortes of Englishmen frō the highest to the lowest were so chered and feasted, with so louyng maner that muche they praised Themperors court. In Graueluyng was the Emperors Aunte-Margarete, she welcomed the kyng and other noble men of the realme.

When the French king and his lordes had knowlege of ȳ metyng of the Emperor and the kyng of Englād in the towne of Graueluyng, they were therewith greatly greued, as by many thinges appeared, for after the Englishmen were in Fraunce disdained, & in their suites there greatly deferred and had litle right and muche lesse fauor, so from day to day still more and more began hartbrennyng, and in cōclusion open warre did arise betwene the two realmes.

Wednisday the. xi. day of Iuly, the Emperor & the lady Margarete came with the king of England to the toune of Caleys, the Emperor & the lady Margaret were lodged in Staple hall, and al gentlemen and other lodged in other places right well prepared of all necessaries for their cōmyng: & for solas was builded a banqueting house, 80. foote round, after a goodly deuise, builded vpō Mastes of shippes in suche maner as I thinke was neuer sene, for in it was the whole spere portrated, whiche by reason of the great winde that blewe, could not be acheued, thesame day at night, the kyng &. xv. persones were apparelled all in blacke Veluet couered with cloth of gold, cut on the veluet, fastened w knottes of gold, on the whiche knottes honge spangels of gold like tuftes, and bonettes of thesame and clokes of crimosyn Satten & cloth of gold wrapped trauers, and their buskyns of thesame clothe of gold. All these lustie maskers went to the Emperors lodging and wer receiued and in the chambre of presens daūced and reuelled, the which at the Emperors request, the kyng and other theimselues disuisered, whereby the king was knowen: then the kyng toke his leaue and departed for that night.

Tewsday the. xii. day of Iulye, because the banquet house could not be finished, the Emperor and the lady Margaret supped with the king & the quene at the Checker, where the same night after supper reuelled lxxxxvi. Maskers: after the reuelles was a banquet: After whiche banquet the kyng brought the Emperor and the ladie Margaret to the Staple, and after withdrew him.

This night was. viii. compaignies of maskers, and in euery compaignie. xii. persones all in gold, siluer and veluet richely apparelled, but because the rome was small, the shew was the lesse.

In these reuelles were put in maskers apparel diuers gentlemen of the French court vnwetyng to ȳ kyng or any other that bare rule, for diuers yong gentlemen of the French court fauored more the Frenche partie, then the Emperors partie, through which meanes they saw and much more heard then they should haue done.

Friday, the. xiii. day of Iuly, the Emperor did intend to haue departed from Caleys, but the counsail was suche that he departed not that night. The charters before tyme cōcluded, there were redde, and to the Emperor declared all the whole articles of high peace and league tripertite, to which the French kyng had assented and fully contented, & for the more exemplificacion of thesame, he sent thelorde *de Roche* with letters of credēce to signifie to the Emperors Maiestie that to the same articles he the Frenche kyng promised in the worde of a king as prince faythfull, to observe & kepe for him and his realme & subiectes. Thus by the lord de Roche in the Emperors presēce & before the king of England in the name of his master there shewed the Frenche kynges will in the toune of Caleys with many high and vrgent causes concernyng the princes, whereby the Emperor went not out of Calays that night, by whiche abode the Emperors seruauntes were muche in doubt of the Emperors persone.

Saterday the. xiiii. day of Iuly, about none the emperor toke leaue of the quene of England his aunte and of her train of ladies, the kyng with all his nobles conducted the Emperor on his way to a village towardes Flaūders called Wael, where the Emperor embraséd

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the kyng, and him betoke to almightie God, and the kyng gaue to him a courser of Naples richely appareled.

The kyng toke leaue of the Duches of Sauoye great aunte to the Emperor and of all nobles of the Emperors court, & so departed, smal tyme in Calayce the kyng made abode, but in goodly hast shipped and with the quene and all other nobles in safetie tooke lande. And after passed the tyme of Sommer with huntyng and other sportes honorably and made no great iestes this yere.

This yere the kyng kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewiche with muche noblenes & open court. And the. x. day of February in his owne person Iusted to all comers, and the. xii. day his grace and therle of Deuonshyre with. iiii. aydes answered at the Turnay all comers: whiche were. xvi. persones, noble and riche was their apparel, but in feates of armes the kyng excelled the rest.

The duke of Buckyngham accused.

In this tyme was Edwarde Duke of Buckyngham accused to the kyng of high treason, wherfore the kynges grace by the aduise of his counsail, sent & directed his letters to thesayd duke, beyng at his maner of Thornbury in the countie of Glocester, that incontinent he should come to his presence all excuses layde aside. Also the kyng gaue commaundement to sir Willyam Cumpton, sir Richard Weston, and sir Willyam Kyngston knightes for the kynges body, to take with them secret power and also seriauntes at armes, and that thei should wisely take hede that when the duke had receiued the kynges letters, he shuld not conuey himselfe, whiche they wisely accomplished.

The sayd Duke vpon the sight of the kynges letters remoued, & so iornied tyll he came to Wyndsore, and there offered at S. George, and alwayes not farre from him awaityng his demeanor, were thesame knightes liyng. The duke lodged in Wyndsore for that night, and as it was well proued, he meruailously feared, insomuche that he called vnto him a seruaunt of the kynges named Thomas Ward, thesame Thomas Ward was gentleman Herbenger for the kyng, and demaũded of him what he made there, who answered, saiyng that ther lay his office, there the duke perceiued that he could not escape. And so muche was he in spirit troubled that as he was at breakefast his meat would not doune, yet he made good countenaunce, and shortly toke his horse, and so rode till he came to Tothill besides Westminster where he toke his barge: before this tyme was the dukes chauncellour taken and as a prisoner kept in the tower, whiche had confessed matter of high treason concernyng the kynges persone.

When the Duke was in his barge, he commaunded to lande at my lorde Cardinals bridge where he landed with foure or fiue of his seruauntes, desiryng to see thesame lorde Cardinall, but to him was answered how the same lorde was diseased, well sayd the duke yet will I, drynke of my lordes wyne or I passe, then a gentleman of my lordes brought the Duke with muche reuerence into the Seller, where the duke dranke.

When he sawe and perceiued no chere to him was made, he chaunged colour and so departed to his barge, saiyng to his seruauntes, I meruail where my chauncellor is, that he cõmeth not to me, not knowyng that he was in prison.

The duke thus in his barge cõmyng towardes London, sir Henry Marne capitaine of the Kynges Garde, on him attendyng. C. yomen of the Kynges garde in a barge on the riuer of Thames met thesame duke, and without abode borded the dukes barge & him in the Kynges name attached. And then from him were put his seruauntes, and the duke was brought to the haie wharfe and there landed, the dukes seruauntes were commaunded to go to the Maner of the rose in sainct Larence Pountnay, and there to abide tyll the Kynges pleasure were further knowen.

Sir Henry Marnay brought the duke through the Thames strete to the Tower of London, the people muche mused that the cause might be, and for trouth till it was knowen, among theim was muche speakyng. There was also attached a Monke of a Charter house besides Bristow called Henton, also Master Ihon Delakar the Dukes Confessor, and the dukes Chauncellor before mencioned, al were in the Tower prisoners. The. xvi. day of April was

the same Duke brought to the Tower. Alas the while that euer ambicion should be the losse of so noble a man, and so muche in the kynges fauor, by him all lordes and other may beware how they geue credence to false prophesies or false hypocrites. For a Monke of the Charter house shewed the duke that he should be kyng of England, whiche to the kynges persone could be no higher treason. Alas that euer he gaue credence to suche a false traitor.

THE. XIII. YERE.

IN this tyme inquiries were made in diuerse shyres of Edward duke of Buckyngham beyng prisoner in the tower of London, where; by the knightes and gentlemen, there he was endited of high treason for certaine wordes spoken by thesame duke in Blechyngly to the lorde Aburgeye, thesame Lorde was attached for consailement, and the Lorde Mountague the kynges Cosyn and both ledde to the Tower. And sir Edward Neuell knight, brother to the sayd lorde Aburgeney forbidden the kynges presence.

The Duke of Northfolke was made by the kinges letters patentes high Stewerd of Englande, to accomplishe the high cause of appele of the Piere or Pieres of the realme, and to decerne & iudge the causes of the piers. &c.

Wherfore shortly after was made in Westmynster hall a scaffolde for the lordes and a presence for a Iudge railed and counter railed about, and barred with degrees. The Duke of Northfolke was chiefe Iudge, and many Pieres of the realme, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorcet, the Erles of Worcester, Deuonshyre, Essex, Shrewisbury, Kent, Oxford, and Darby, the lorde of S. Ihons, lorde Delaware, lorde Fitz Warren, lorde Willoughby, lorde Broke, lorde Cobham, lorde Harbert, and the lord Morley, satte as Peres & iudges vpon thesame duke of Buckyngham.

When the lordes had taken their places, sir Thomas Louel and sir Richard Chomley knightes brought the duke to the barre with thaxe of the Tower before him, who humbly bareheaded reuerenced the duke of Northfolke, and after all the lordes and the kinges lerned counsail. Then the Clarke of ỹ counsail sayd, sir Edward Duke of Buckyngha hold vp thy hande, thou art endited of high treason, for that thou traitorously hast conspired and ymagined as farre as in thee lay to shorten the life of our soueraigne lorde the kyng: of this treason how wilt thou acquite thee, the duke answered by my Peres.

And when thenditement was openly redde, the Duke sayd it is false and vntrue, and conspired and forged to bryng me to my death, & that will I proue, allegyng many reasons to falsefy the inditement, and against his reasons the kynges Atturnay alledged the examinacions, cõfessions and proues of witnesses.

The Duke desired the witnesses to be brought furth, then was brought before him sir Gylbert Perke priest his Chauncellor, fyrst accusor of thesame Duke, Master Ihon Delacourt priest, the Dukes Confessor and his owne hand writyng layde before him to the accusement of the duke. Charles Kneuet Esquyer Cosyn to the Duke, and a Monke, Prior of the Charterhouse besides Bathe, whiche like a false ypocrite had enduced the Duke to the treason, and had diuerse tymes sayd to the duke that he should be kyng of England, but the duke sayd that in himselfe he neuer consented to it. Diuers presumpcions and accusementes wer layde to him by Charles Kneuet, whiche he would fain haue couered. The deposicions were redde, and the deponentes were deliuered as prisoners to the officers of the Tower.

Then spake the Duke of Northfolke, and sayd my lorde, the kyng our soueraigne Lorde hath commaunded, that you shall haue his lawes ministred with fauor and right to you. Wherfore if you haue any other thing to say for your selfe you shalbe hard. Then he was commaunded to withdrawe him, & so was led into Paradise a house so named. The lordes went to counsail a great while and after tooke their places. Then sayd the Duke of Northfolke to the Duke of Suffolke, what say you of sir Edward Duke of Buckyngham touch-

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ing the high treasons: the Duke of Suffolke answered, he is giltie, and so sayd the Marques and all the other Erles & lordes: Thus was this prince duke of Buckyngham founde giltie of high treason by a Duke, a Marques, vii. Erles, and. xii. Barons.

The Duke was brought to the barre sore chafyng and swette meruailously, after he had made his reuerēce, he paused a while. The duke of Northfolke as a Iudge sayd, sir Edward, you haue heard how you be endited of high treason, you pleaded thereto not giltie, puttyng your selfe to the Peres of the realme, the whiche haue found you giltie: then the Duke of Northfolke wept and sayd, you shalbe he ledde to the kynges prison and there layde on a Herdill and so drawen to the place of execucion, and there to be hanged, cutte doune a liue, your meinbres to be cutte of and cast into the fyer, your bowels brent before you, your head smytten of, and your body quartered and deuyded at the kynges will, and God haue mercy on your soule. *Amen.*

The duke of Buckyngham sayd, my lorde of Northfolke, you haue sayd as a traytor should be sayd vnto, but I was neuer none, but my lordes I nothyng maligne for that you haue done to me, but the eternal God forgeue you my death and I do: I shall neuer sue to the kyng for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him then I desire. I desire you my lordes and all my felowes to pray for me.

The duke of Buckyngham's iudgement.

Then was the edge of the axe turned towardes him, and so led into a barge, sir Thomas Louell desired him to sytte on the cusshyns and carpet ordained for him, he sayd nay, for when I went to Westminster, I was duke of Buckyngham, nowe I am but Edwarde Bowhen the mooste caitiffe of the worlde. Thus they landed at the Temple, where receiued him sir Nicholas Vawse & Sir Willyam Sandes Baronetes and led him through the citie, who desired euer the people to pray for him, of whom some wept and lamented, and sayd, this is thende of euill life. God forgeue him, he was a proude prince, It is pitie that he behaued him so against his kyng and liege lorde, whō God preserue. Thus aboute. iiii. of the clocke he was brought as a cast man to the Tower.

Frydaie the. xvii. day of Maie, about. xi. of the clocke. This duke w a great power was deliuered to Ihon Kyeme and Ihon Skeuyngton shyriffes, who led him to the skaffolde on on Tower hill, where he sayd he had offended the kynges grace through negligence and lacke of grace, and desired all noblemen to beware by him, and al men to pray for him, and that he trusted to dye the kynges true man. Thus mekely with an axe he toke his death on whose soule Iesu haue mercy. Then the Augustine friers toke the body & head and buried them. Alas that euer the grace of truth was wdrawen frō so noble a man, that he was not to his kyng in alegeaunce as he ought to haue been, suche is thende of ambicion, thende of false prophesies, thende of euil life and euil counsail.

About this tyme, Fraunces the Frenche kyng made open warre against the Emperor Charles both by lande and sea. The Prouinces of Aragon, Castle, and all Spayne, Germany, Brabant, Flaunders & the steades mainteined the partie of the Emperor. The kynges highnes cōsideryng ỹ murder & effusion of Christen bloud, and the trouble that might ensue to al the princes of Christendome, by inuasion of the great Turke, sent the Cardinal of Yorke his Chaūcellor by name lord Thomas Wolsey to his toune of Calayce to intreate an amitie and peace betwene those two mightie princes. For this voiage great preparacion was made, not onely for him but also for the Erle of Worcestre hen lorde Chamberlayn, the lord of sainct Ihons, the lord Ferryes, the lord Harbert, the bishop of Duresme, the bishop of Ely, the Primate of Armicane, sir Thomas Boleyn, sir Ihon Peche, sir Ihon Hussey, sir Richard Wyngfelde, sir Henry Gildforde, and many other knightes, Esquiers, gentlemen, Doctors and learned menne. And thus honorably accompanied he rode through London the. xxv. day of Iuly, & at Thomas Beckettes house the Maier, and Aldermen toke leaue of him, praiyng God to send him good spede, Thus passed he to Cātorbury where tharchebishop, and the bishop of Cātorbury and other places receiued him in pontificalibus and brought him to his lodgyng vnder Canape to the Bishoppes palayce: the. viii. day of Iulye he came to Douer: the xx. day he and thother lordes with

their

their retinues toke passage, & arriued at Calayce in safetie, where the lord Deputie & counsaill receiued them with muche honor, and lodged the Cardinall in the Staple hall.

Shortly after whose arriuall, came thether ỹ Chauncelor of Fraūce, and the Countie de Palays with. iiii. C. horse, as ambassadors frō the Frenche kyng and likewise from the Emperor came great Ambassadors, and when thei satte in counsail, the Emperors Ambassade shewed their Commission & power. And euen so did the Frenche kynges Ambassade, which was more larger then the Emperors Commission. Thus when the grudges were declared on bothe sides, when the Emperors Ambassadors cōsented to peace, the French kynges would not. And when the Frenche Ambassadors cōsented to peace, the Emperors would not. The Cardinal then would haue knitted the Emperor, the kyng our soueraigne lorde, the Frenche kyng, and the bishop of Rome in a league and amitie together: the other Ambassadors had no suche Commission, especially the bishop of Romes, wherevpon letters were sent to Rome in all hast and the Frenchmen taried in Calayce till he returned, & beheld the toune, with whiche the counsaill of Calaice wer not contented. Herevpon the Cardinal rode to the Emperor accompanied with his Ambassadors (and left the Frenche ambassadors in Calaice to abide his returne) and passed by Grauelyng, Dūkirke, Newport, Owdenborow, & sundry tymes in the waie he was encoūtred and receiued with noble men. And without Bruges he was receiued with many noble men, and many lordes and other of the Emperors court, and a myle without Bruges the Emperor his owne persone met him, and shewed to him and to the other lordes & gentlemen of Englād gracious countenaūce, & so accompanied ỹ Cardinal into the toune, where great multitude of people beheld them, & so rode to the Emperors palayce where he lighted, and fyrst embrased the Cardinal and after all the lordes, knightes, and gentlemen of Englande. It is to suppose the Emperor knewe of the Commission geuen to the sayd Cardinal, whiche had the kynges power as if his grace had been present, and also had the great seal w̄ him, whiche had not been seen before, or els the Emperor would not haue done him so high honor and reuerence.

The Englishe lordes, knightes, esquiers, yomen of the kynges gard & other beyng to the nomber of. iiii. C. lx. horse, were well lodged euery man after his degree and euery lodgyng furnished with fewell, bread, bere, wyne, Beues, Muttons, Veles, Lambes, Venison, and all maner deintie viand aswell in fishe as fleshe, with no lacke of spices and banket tyng dishes.

The next day after the great chere made to ỹ lord Cardinal & to all his lordes, knightes, gentlemen, and all other lordes and knightes of England (in whose presence) the Cardinal made his proposicion cōcernyng peace to be had betwene the sayd Emperor and the French kyng declaryng the calamities, misery and wretchednes that came by warre: and the cōmodities, benefite, and welth that came by peace, concorde & trāquilitie, whiche proposicion continued a great while: and when the Cardinal had made an ende, the Emperor himselfe answered and said: The lawe God byndeth euery man to claime and aske his right, & that thesame lawe byndeth no man to holde, kepe, and withstande another mans right. Our cosyn of Fraunce doeth witholde our rightes & patrimonies whiche we haue princely desired, & eftsones wil, and if he will rendre to vs our said rightes & patrimonies, we are contented to haue peace with him and his subiectes, if not we trust in God and our right that the troubles by your fatherhed rehersed, shal come vpon him and his adherentes. And for the titles of our regalitie, to putte that to the bishop of Rome, we do consider that kyng Edwarde of Englande the third of that name of noble memory, warred by iust title to recouer the realme of Fraunce from Philip de Valois, whiche title by intercession was put to the bishop of Rome & his court, to discusse & expended there by ỹ space of. xxiii. yeres vndetermined, notwithstāding great pursuite & labor was made to haue it ended: Suche like tyme shoulde be to vs tedious, wherfore we entende by the ayde of God to folowe our title.

The Cardinal replied and declared the league that was betwene the thre mightyest princes of the worlde, that is to say, the Emperor, the kyng our souereigne lorde Henry the. viii.

and the Frenche kyng, and how that to the prince that fyrst moued warre, the other two should be enemies vnto him, and sayd, beholde the mightie power and puissaunt realme, riches, shippes, vitailes, and ordinaūce, lordes, chiualry, horsemen, archers and comminaltie, this is in the high and mightie kyng of England my soueraigne lord, and he that fyrst warre beginneth, by the sayd league my sayd soueraigne lorde to his honor may lefully spred his baner and make warre in defence of his frende. For this and other thynges my soueraigne lorde desires of your highnes and Maiestie the consent of peace.

My lorde Cardinal sayd the Emperor, I esteme moste the honor of my dere vncle the kyng of Englande and trust in his assurance, that neither his royall person, his realme, his power, Nauye, nor ordinaūce shalbe but to our ayde in assistyng our tried title, nor will cōsent to any thyng in dishonorying vs or our Empire: God defende but we should humble our selfe to his request, our high honor reserued. Lorde God who may esteme more higher iniuries and wronges then we in our person, our predecessours, and our louyng subiectes haue endured by the house of Fraunce. My lorde Cardinall sayd the Emperor, their pride with our honor we may & must apprehende and ouerthrow by the help of God: With these wordes the counsail brake vp.

All the lordes and menne of honor of England that day dyned in the Emperors court.

When they were set and serued, it came so to passe that an honorable man of the Emperors as he sat at dyner sayd thus. It is thought that the kynges Maiestie of Englande entendeth to make a peace. Alas that euer he should ymagyn a thyng so muche to the dishonor of the Emperor. The kyng is his vncle, is it not come to his hearyng that all the worlde heareth? It was so that by assent of the bishoppe of Rome and other princes to make peace with vs, the Frenche partie after the battail of Gyngate obtained by Maximilian then archeduke of Osteriche, where euerye noble manne of vs fought with the Frenchmen quarter naked, and slewe of theim a meruailous nomber. They desired the doughter of Maximilian named Margarete to wife, whiche lady is Duches of Sauoy and yet liuyng, & she beyng like an Emperors childe was deliuered into their handes as quene of the realme, with diuers tounes in Picardie rēdred with her and partie of high Burgonie, and treasure meruailous. Nowe sithen thesame Maximilian had spoused Iane doughter and heire of Fraunces duke of Britaigne, whiche lande the Frenchemen ouer rane and spoiled, and she constrained to sue vnto Charles kyng of Fraunce for a safe conduict to passe through his realme to Maximilian her spouse, and vpon the same safe conduict graunted, the sayd ladie Iane passyng through Fraunce with a small company, was by § same Charles taken at Ambois & there maried her against her will, whervpon he forsoke the lady Margarete and sent her againe to her father themperor without redyliuer or rendryng againe the tounes that were deliuered with her. And where as the duke of Geldre is subiect to the Emperor, is he not yet at this day by the procurement of the Frenche kyng, rebell? And where also by iust title the realme of Naples ought to be vnited to the croune of Castle, did not the Frenche kyng faine a iorney into the holy lande pretendyng title by Ieniamy brother to the great Turke beyng then captiue in Rome, and by a craftie treatie obtained the sayd Ieniamy, & so passed into Naples without perill, and seazed all the lande into his handes, & then prisoned he the same Ieniamy? Thus to the great dammage of Castle, he made claime to Naples by Margaret quene of England late wife to Henry the vi.

The kyng of Nauerne is euermore vassal to the house of Aragon & Castell, yet the Frenche kyng caused him to rebell, hopyng therby to subdue the sayd countreys.

Of late daies the Frenche kyng by false treason caused sir Robert de la Marche to submitte himselfe to the Emperors maiestie, who receiued him vpō his othe & fidelitie, pardonyng all offences past. Is not this false traitor returned, and is of the Frenche partie? How may that court, that counsail, that kyng, that realme that consenteth to treason & periury by maintenaunce of traitors be called honorable? Hath not the French kyng sworne, and is bounden neuer to retaine the Switchers in wages to make warre against the Emperor? & yet doth at this day. And albeit that his Maiestie speaketh not of these thinges, yet he

well

well considereth them. I trust verely sayd this noble man that God sayeth, *vive Burgoigne*, euery man that heard this rehersall, knew that it was true, howbeit he was not answered, but some Englishe knightes sayd, syr you haue sayd well, and as God will all must be. Thus was this narracion ended.

In this season the Emperor gatte the toune of Mewzon: Also of the Empeors partie a great army arriued in the Duchy of Mylan & also the Emperors power besieged the noble citie of Messiers, but the capitaine called *Franciscus* was suspected of treason, for he remoued with the hoste from the seage without knowlege of the Emperor.

The Emperor made a seage volant aboute the citie of Turnay, for the reskue whcrof and also of Messiers the French kyng made a great army and him selfe in person.

Duryng this seage the Frenchemen toke a Spaniardes ship laden with Englishemens goodes at Margate within the kinges streames, not without great slaughter on both parties, yet the Frenchmen were Clx. men, and of Spaniardes and Englishemen, only. xxv.

The kyng of Denmarke Cristianus came to se themperor his brother in law beyng a stately prince, yet meanes was made that the lorde Cardinal and he spake together without great signe of amitie.

The lorde Cardinal after he had soiorned in Bruges by the space of. xiii. daies & concluded diuers matters with the Emperor & accomplished his cõmission: he tooke leaue of his Maiestie, and likewise did all the noblemen of England, & after conenient iornies arriued with al his company at Calyce, where thembassadors of Fraunce taried him, & immediatly after his ariuyng he treated w̄ thē of peace, yet not so earnestly as he did before & that perceiued well the sayd Ambassadors & wrote therof to the Frēche kyng, yet the welth & prosperitie of both ȳ realmes and their subiectes were highly reasoned betwene the Cardinal and the sayd Ambassadours, especially for fishyng, wherevpon was concluded that the subiectes of both the princes might freely fishe on the sea, and repaire to any porte of thone or thother prince without robbyng, spoylyng, or takyng vnto the second day of February next.

The French kyng with a mightie army & himself in person repaired to the coūtrey of Cambray, mindyng to passe the streites, but they wer wstanded by the Emperors power, yet he cõtinued there frō October vnto Nouembre w̄ out any thing doyng, to the great displeasure of the French kyng. The duke Daleson hearyng that, made preparacions w̄ the Almaynes to passe the marrys by the point Dassans & there the Almaynes had made bridges of Pypes and vessels, and brought thither their great ordinaunce. The Emperor beyng in the toune of Valēcian and therof aduertised, caused strong watche to be made, and as they would haue passed, the bastarde Emery, & the capitaine of Gaunt with xii.C. men mette with them, where was a great conflicte and many men slaine, and at the last the Almaines wer put to flight and their bridges and other prouisions broken: Of the Frenche partie wer slaine in this conflicte. xiiii.C. men, and of the Burgomians were slaine the bastarde Emery, the capitaine of Gaunte and iiii.C. men.

The lord Cardinal after he had long treated with the Ambassadors of Fraunce and could not bryng theim to no conformitie of peace, he sent to the Emperor the lord of sainct Ihons and sir Thomas Boleyn knyght to aduertise his Maiestie therof.

Likewise the sayd lord Cardinal sent to the Frenche kyng the Erle of Worcester and the bishop of Ely to exhorte his grace to peace, he hard theim, but he gaue theim but fewe woordes to answere, and after they had been. xix. or xx. daies in his boost, they tooke leaue and returned to Calyce.

Duryng the continuaunce of the Cardinall in Calayce all writtes and patentes wer there by him sealed and no shyriffes chosen for lacke of his presence.

The kyng of Hungary sent an Ambassador to the kynges highnes for ayde against the Turke, whom the Cardinall honorably entertayned duryng his abode in Calayce. His commyng was for ayde as men sayd against the Frenche kyng.

The lorde Cardinal after the returne of the Englishe Ambassadors from the Emperour and from the Frenche kyng, tooke shippyng and landed at the porte of Douer, the. xxvii. day

of Nouember, and there toke his iorney to Blechyngly, where the kinges grace welcomed him, geuyng him also thankes for his great paines and trauail.

This tyme the Frenche kyng layde seage to the toune and Castle of Hedyng, the Burgonions perceiuyng they were not furnished for the defence thereof, forsoke the sayd toune and castle and fledde into Flaunders to no lite reioysyng of the sayd Frenchemen.

The Admyrall of Fraunce named Mounsire Bonyfet with a puissaunt armye made signe as though he would passe into Nauerne, howbeit sodainly he reculed with his hoost and beseaged the toune of Fontraby in Biskay, and brake the fyrst, second, and third walle therof with his ordinaunce meruailously: And after gaue a freshe assault to the same. The Spaniardes (notwithstandyng that the ordinaunce was caryed into Nauerne for defence thereof) defended theimselfes manfully and slewe of the Frenchemen. vi. hundreth and moo, and of the Spaniardes. lx. slaine. Then the capitaine of Fontraby made serche what vitailes was in the toune, and founde that there was but for two nicles, he called the inhabitauntes and menne of warre together declaryng their great necessitie, and sayd the battery of the walles discorages vs not, but the great necessitie of victalles, wherfore we must do like the Wolfe that runneth from the wood for hunger to his death, and considerying the great scarcitie of vitailes in Byskay, by meanes wherof we cannot be vitailed we must nedes rendre the toune. Neuerthelesse they kept the toune seuen daies after that they had neither bread, fleshe fruite nor oyles in the same, but onely herbes and water, yet at last herbes failed also, by meanes wherof they rendred the toune by composicion, and or the Frenchemen entred, they deliuered the Englishemen all their goodes out of the toune.

The Frenche kyng lyyng embattailed in the countrey of Cambray sodainly brake his campe, not muche to his honor. Great warres was this tyme in Italye in so muche that the Emperours hoost wanne the citie and countrey of Mylan to the high displeasure of the Frenche kyng, for he lost there many of his nobles and other capitaines & men of warre.

Thus the Frenche kyng returned into his countrey without reskuyng the citie of Turnay, neuerthelesse he sent them a letter which was taken by the people of the Countye of Nasson, the tenour whereof foloweth.

Trustie and welbeloued we grete you well, lettyng you to wete that dayly before vs appeareth your true faythfull seruises, by that you abode within our citie of Turnay with great ieopardie, to the muche honor of vs and our realme, and to your praise and manly fame for euer, and vs to be your good lord for the demerites of your so high seruices. And where as, we considerying the weale of our persone and realme, haue removed vs from that purpose. Wherefore we may no more say vnto you but God and Mounsire sainct Denys be your succours.

When the Countie of Nasson knewe that no reskew should come, he then sent for more people and ordinaunce and planted siege on all parties of the citie. Then the capitaine of the Castell and Prouost of the citie after thei knewe of the Frenche kynges retreite, and after long consultacion amongest theim had, rendred the Citie and Castle by appointment, that is to say, that the Burgeises should haue. xv. daies to depart with bagge and baggage, leuyng behynd them all the ordinaunces aswel of the Castle as of the Citie. Thus was the Castle and Citie of Turnay rendred into the Emperors handes the last day of Nouember, the yere of oure lorde God M.D.xxi.

This yere many goodly and gorgious Momeries were made in the court to the great reioysing of the Quene and ladies and other nobles beyng there.

The last day of December the Cardinal occompaignied the Emperors Ambassadors to the court where they were honorably receiued and highly feasted durying their abode there, and many sumptuous and gorgious disguisynges, enterludes and bankettes made in the same season.

Pope Leo dyed and Adryan chosen.

This yere was a great pestilence and death in London & other places of the realme, and

and many noble capitaines died, as the lorde Broke, sir Weston Browne, sir Ihon Heron, sir Edward, sir Ihon Peche and muche other people.

The bishop of London Doctor Fitz Iames likewise deceased this yere, and Doctor Tunstall was preferred to thesame benefice.

The lorde Thomas Hawarde erle of Surrey, came out of Ireland to the court the. xxv. day of Ianuary, when he had been there the space of xx. monethes in great trauail & pain, and often tymes sore troubled by the wylde Irishe, howbeit by his noblenes and manhod he brought the lordes of Ireland to the kynges due obeysaunce, and had of them many victories to his perpetual laude and praise.

The Frenchemen this tyme spoiled & shamefully robbed the kynges subiectes on euery coast of the sea, so that wheresoeuer the kyng foade his poore subiectes came with lamentacions and cryes shewyng his grace of the crueltie of the Frenchemen & of their inhumane dealyng with them, but euer the Frenche Ambassadours promised restitucion of euery thyng, but none was restored.

In this moneth of Ianuary, the kyng commaunded all his shippes of warre to be made in a readynes, which was done with all diligẽce.

About this tyme the duke of Albany arriued in Scotland, notwithstandyng that the Frenche kyng sware vnto the Cardinall that he should neuer come into Scotlande without the kyng our soueraigne lordes consent, but for all that he had cõmission frõ the Frenche kyng although the Frenche kyng wrote to ỹ kyng that he was entred Scotlande without his assent.

The second day of February, the kyng beyng at Grenewiche, came thether the Cardinal with a Legacion from Leo bishop of Rome, and also his ambassadour, on whõ waited many a nobleman, the kyng met them at his chamber doore welcõmyng them as though they had both come from Rome. Then sayd the Cardinal, high and victorious kyng it hath pleased our lorde God to indue your grace with a great multitude of manifolde graces as a kyng electe in fauor of the high heauen, and so appeareth presently by your noble persone, so formed & figured in shape and stature with force and pulchritude, whiche signifieth the present pleasure of our lorde God wrought in your noble grace. And further he praised his wisedome, prudence and learnyng, with many other goodly wordes in the praise of his most noble grace. And finally the Cardinal declared how the sayd bishop of Rome had sent his highnes an Acte in Bull vnder leade, declaryng therin his grace to be the defendor of the Christian fayth, and his successors for euermore. Defender of the fayth.

And when his grace had receiued the sayd Bull and caused it to be redde & published, he went to his chapell to heare Masse accompanied with many nobles of his realme and also with Ambassadors of sundry princes, the Cardinall beyng reuested to syng masse, the Erle of Essex brought the Bason with water, the duke of Suffolke gaue thassay, the duke of Northfolke helde the towell, and so proceded to Masse. And that done gaue vnto all them that heard the masse cleane remission & blessed the kyng and the Quene and all the people: then was the Bull efsones declared, and trumpettes blew, the shalmes and saggebuttes plaied in honour of the kynges newe style. Thus his highnes went to dinner in the middes whereof the kyng of Heraldes and his compaignie began the *larges*, eriyng *Henricus dei gratia rex Anglie, & Francie, defensor fidei, & dominus Hibernie* thus ended the dinner, with muche habundance of vitaill and wyne, to all maner of people.

The. x. daie of February, the Lord Hodie chief Baron of the kynges Eschequer gaue ouer his office, and for hym was admitted by the Cardinall, master Ihon Fitz Iames, a right honorable man & well learned.

In this tyme was much busines betwene themperor & the French kyng, wherefore the kyng sent to the sea sixe good shippes, well manned and vitailed for the warre: the Admiral was called Christopher Coo, a man expert on the sea, for saffegarde of the Merchauntes, and other the kynges subiectes, that were greuously spoyled and robbed on the sea, by Frenchmen, Scottes, and other rouers.

This

This tyme the. viii. daie of February, the lorde Dacres Wardein of the Marches of Scotlande entered into Scotlande with. v. C. men, by the Kynges commaundement, and there Proclaimed that the Scottes should come into the kynges peace, by the first daie of Marche folowyng, or els to stande at their perilles, the Duke of Albany beeyng then within fiue miles, with a mightie power of Scottes.

The. xi. daie of February, sir George Neuell lorde a Burgayny, beeyng then prisoner in the Tower was brought to Westminster, and ther in the kynges Beche confessed his enditement of misprision, in the cause of Edwarde late Duke of Buckyngham to bee true, and after the open confession thereof, led again to the Tower.

The lorde Montacute the kynges cosyn, was about this tyme reconciled to his graces fauor, whiche had been prisoner in the Tower, with sir Edward Neuell knight, this sir Edward Neuell was forbidden the kynges presence, for bearyng fauor to the Duke of Buckyngham.

This yere the second of Marche, certain noble men of the Empire arriued in England to passe into Spain, who were honorably receiued, and in honor of them greate Iustes and triumphes wer made, and that finished and doen, thei toke their leaue and departed on their iorney.

Also this tyme commission was geuen throughout the realme, for generall musters to be had, to knowe what power might be made within thesame, & also men sworne of what substaunce and landes thei wer of. And the Cardinal aduertised of thesame: not without grudging of the people, & marueilyng why thei should be sworne for their awne goodes.

The citee of London was this moneth aduertised of the commyng of the Emperor, wherefore was made greate preparacion: and the citezens sent the kynges grace one hundred tall men well harnissed, to furnishe his nauie, appoynted to kepe the narowe seas.

The French kyng certified the kynges highnes, by his letters dated in Marche, how the Grauude capitain of Fraunce, the Countie de Palais, Monsire de Lescue, and other noble men of Fraunce, had won the toune of Milain, whiche was not true, for within fiue or sixe daies after, it was euidently knowen that the Frenchmen were beaten backe, and had wonne nothing, to their great shame and reproche.

Moreouer thesame season the Frenche kyng wrote his letters to the Seignory and commonaltie of Gean, to send him three Carectes, and sixe Galeis furnished for the warres, vnto his porte of Breste, to maintein his warres against the foresaied Emperor, who made him by their letters suche a reasonable excuse, that he was contented to spare them for that tyme.

The kynges highnes kept this yere his Easter at his manour of Richemont, and caused his amner to make enquire, eight miles round about thesaid manour, what poore people was in euery parish. And for the eschuyng of murther, that moste commonly fortuned euery goodfridaie, by reason of the great resort of poore people, his grace caused them to be refreshed with his almose at home at their houses.

About this tyme a roufer or theif of Scotlande, called Duncan Camell, was after long fight taken on the sea, by a Squier of Cornewall called master Ihon Arondell, and presented to the kynges highnes, who committed hym to the Tower of London, where he remained prisoner a long season after.

In the moneth of Marche, as you haue hard before, came certain noble men from the Emperor to the king, which the more to solace theim enterprised a Iustes, he himself was chief on the one side, his courser was barded in cloth of siluer, of Denmarke embrodered with. L. L. L. of Golde, and vnder the letters a harte of a manne wounded, and greate rolles of golde with blacke letters, in whiche was written, *mon nauera*, put together it is, *ell mon cœur a nauera, she hath wounded my harte*, and thesame suite was his base.

Then folowed sir Nicolas Carewe, his base and barde was white Damaske, on whiche was embraudered with Clothe of gold: a prison and a man lokyng out at a grate, and ouer the prison came from the prisoner a rolle, in whiche was written in Frenche. in prison I am

at libertie, and at libertie I am in prison, and all his apparell was garded with shakelles of siluer.

Then folowed therle of Deuonshire, the lord Roos in one suite, their apparell was white veluet, embraudered with cloth of golde, wrought in deuice an harte, trauersed crosse wise with a chayne, the which deuided the bard in foure quarters, in twoo quarters was a hand of golde holding a spere of the worlde, on the other twoo quarters was twoo handes holding two plumes of fethers, and on the borders were written my harte is betwene ioye and pein.

Then folowed Anthony Kyngston, and Anthony Kneuet, their apparell was a hart bounde in a blewe lace, embroudered on Crimosyn sattin: and written about with letters of gold, my harte is bounde.

Nicholas Darrel had a bard and base of black sattin, embraudered full of hartes, turned or broken of gold, and written in letters of siluer, my harte is broken.

Last of that bend was Anthony Bronne, whiche had a bard of siluer full of speeres of the world broken, set on hartes broken al of gold written aboute in letters of blacke *sance remedy*, without remedy.

Then entered the Duke of Suffolke and his bend, all in bardes and bases of russet veluet and cloth of siluer, embraudered with braunches of paunces of golde, at these lustes were many speres broken, whiche the straungiers highly commended.

The third day of Marche, the Cardinall made to the kyng and the Ambassadors, a great and a costly banket, and after that, a plaie and a Maske, their garmentes were russet sattin and yelowe, all the one side was yelowe, face and legge, and all the other side was russet.

On shrouetewesdaie at night, thesaid Cardinall to the kyng and ambassadors made another supper, and after supper thei came into a great chamber hanged with Arras, and there was a clothe of estate, and many braunches, and on euery braunche. xxxii. torchettes of waxe, and in the nether ende of thesame chamber was a castle, in which was a principall Tower, in which was a Cresset burning: and two other lesse Towers stode on euery side, warded and embattailed. and on euery Tower was a banner, one banner was of iii. rent hartes, the other was a ladies hand gripyng a mans harte, the third banner was a ladies hand turnyng a mannes hart: this castle was kept with ladies of straunge names, the first *Beautie*, the second *Honor*, the third *Perseueraunce*, the fourth *Kyndnes*, the fifth *Constance*, the sixte *Bountie*, the seuenthe *Mercie*, and the eight *Pitie*: these eight ladies had Millian gounes of white sattin, euery Lady had her name embraudered with golde, on their heddes calles, and Millein bonettes of gold, with Iwelles. Vnder nethe the basse fortresse of the castle were other eight ladies, whose names were, *Dangier*, *Disdain*, *Gelousie*, *Vnkyndenes*, *Scorne*, *Malebouche*, *Straungenes*, these ladies were tired like to women of Inde. Then entered eight Lordes in clothe of golde cappes and all, and great mantell clokes of blewe sattin, these lordes were named *Amorus*, *Noblenes*, *Youth*, *Attendaunce*, *Loyaltie*, *Pleasure*, *Gentlenes*, and *Libertie*, the kyng was chief of this compaignie, this compaigne was led by one all in crimosin sattin with burnyng flames of gold, called *Ardent Desire*, whiche so moued the Ladies to geue ouer the Castle, but *Scorne* and *Disdain* saied they would holde the place, then *Desire* saied the ladies should be wonne and came and encoraged the knightes, then the lordes ranne to the castle, (at whiche tyme without was shot a greate peale of gunnes) and the ladies defended the castle with Rose water and Comfittes, and the lordes threwe in Dates and Orenges, and other fruites made for pleasure, but at the last the place was wonne. but Lady *Scorne* and her compaignie stubbernely defended them with boows and balles, till they were driuen out of the place and fled. Then the lordes toke the ladies of honor as prisoners by the handes, and brought them doune, and daunced together verie pleasaunly, which much pleased the straungers, and when thei had daunced their fill, then all these disuisered themselfes and wer knowen: and then was there a costly banket, and when all was done, the straungiers tooke their leaue of the kyng and

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the Cardinall, and so departed into Flaunders, geuyng to the kyng muche commendacion.

The kyng like a prince which forseeth all thynges, saw what warre was likely to ensue, caused the erle of Surrey his high Admirall, to put in readines his nauie, both for the conduictyng of the Emperoure into Englande, and also for the defence of his subiectes, which were daily robbed and spoyled on the sea, which lorde Admiral toke suche diligēce with the helpe of sir William Fitz William his Vice Admirall, that all the shippes by the beginnyng of Aprill, were rigged and trimmed, and in especial the Henry grace of due, the kynges great ship, was brought out of the riuer of Thamis into the Downes, redy to saile whether God and the kyng would.

In this yere at the Assise, kept at the castle of Cambridge in Lent, the Iustices, and all the gentlemen, Bailiffes and other, resorting thether, toke suche an infeccion, whether it wer of the sauor of the prisoners, or of the filthe of the house, that many gentlemen, as sir Ihon Cut, sir Giles Alington knightes, and many other honest yomen thereof died, and all most all whiche were there present, were sore sicke and narrowly escaped with their liues. And this yere also died Sir Edward Pownynges, knight of the Gartier, sir Ihon Pechy, and sir Edwarde Belknap, valiaunt capitaines, whiche were suspected to be poysoned, at a banket made at Arde, when the two kynges met last.

This yere also, was not without Pestilence nor Derthe of Corne, for Whete was sold this yere in the citee of Londō, for. xx. s. a quarter, and in other places, for. xxvi. s. viii. d. And in thesame yere in Decēber, died Leo bisshop of Rome, for whom was chosen, one Adriā born at Vtrike the Emperors schoole master. And in thesame moneth Gawan Douglas bisshop of Dunkell in Scotland, fled out of Scotland into England because the Duke of Albany was arriued into Scotland, and had taken vpon hym to be gouernour of the kyng and the realme to whom the kyng assigned an honest pencion to liue on. But when the king was aduertised, that the Duke of Albany was arriued into Scotland, and had taken the rule of the young king, his realme, and he much doubted the sequele of the matter, consideryng the Duke to be heire apparant to the Croune of Scotland: wherefore he sent Clarēceaux kyng of Armes into Scotland, and with commaundement, that he should declare to the Duke of Albany, that his pleasure was, that he should depart ȳ realm of Scotland for two causes, the one, because it was promised by the French kyng, at the last metyng, that he should not come into Scotland, the second was, that the kyng of England was vncle to the kyng of Scottes, and by the very bond of nature, ought to defende his nephew. Wherefore his nephew beyng young, and in the custodie of him, to whom, if he should dye, the realme of Scotlande should discende, he doubted lest he might be brought out of the way, as other dukes of Albany before had serued the heires of Scotlande: and if he would not auoyde Scotlande, then Clarenseaux was commaunded to defie hym, which accordyngly did defie hym, at holy Rode house in Edenbrough, to whom he answered, that neither ȳ Frēche kyng, nor the kyng of Englande, should let him to come into his naturall countrey, by their agrement: also as touchyng the young king, he saied, that he loued him as his souereigne lord, and hym would kepe and protect, against al other.

When Clarenseaux had reported his answere to the King, then he knewe well that all this was the French kynges dooyng, wherefore he prouided in all thynges accordyngly. The erle of Anguishe of Scotland that had maried lady Margaret, the king our souereigne lordes sister, late wife vnto kyng Iames of Scotlande, that was slain at Floddon felde, was by the Duke of Albany, sent by a coloured Ambassade into Fraunce, where shortly after his arriuyng, he was by the French king committed to prison, and his brother likewise, which escaped after as you shall heare.

Also the. vi. day of Marche, the French kyng commaunded all Englishemēnes goodes beyng in Burdeaux, to be attached and put vnder a reste: and likewise deteined the kynges tribute, whiche he should haue out of Fraunce, and also the French quenes dowry, and

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when the kyng sent to him for it, he euer gaue faire wordes, and made delaies, but none was paied, and euer the Ambassador promised faire.

¶ THE. XIIIJ. YERE.

THE king this yere kept the daie of. S. George with great solempnitie, at his manour of Richemond, where wer elect to the ordre of the Gartier, Done Ferdinando brother to the Emperor, and Archduke of Oystrike, and sir Richard Wyngfeld knight by the Emperors meanes, to the which the Emperor had geuen twoo hundred pound pencion, out of the house of Burgoyn, whiche sir Edward Pounynges before had of the Emperors gifte. During this war betwene the Emperour and the French kyng, and the kyng of Englande liyng still an entreator betwene them, the Englishemen were robbed on both sides, and when their wines were laden at Burdeaux, and ready to depart, it was attached, and the Merchauntes put in prison: the poore fishermen on the coast of Englande, sometyme met with the Frenchmen and them spoyled, but to no recompence of that they had taken. The Merchauntes of England, that had factors at Burdeaux, complained to the king of Englande, and shewed hym how the Frenche king, contrary to his league and his safeconduit vnder his seal, by his people, had taken their goodes and emprisoned their factors and frendes, and can haue no remedy. Likewise complained all the Merchauntes, how their shippes were restrained, in euery port of Fraunce, and their goodes rifeled, and could haue no redresse. The king and his counsaill, were sory to here the cõplaintes of the merchauntes, and so concluded to sende for the Frenche Ambassadours, to whom the Cardinall saied: sir how is this chaunce happened? you haue promised euer in the name of the kyng your Master, that all leagues, promises, and couenauntes should be kept, & that full restitucion should bee made of euery hurt and dammage, and that ferme peace and amitie should be kept, but contrary to your saiyng our Merchauntes be robbed and spoyled, yea, although he hath graunted his safeconduite, yet they bee robbed, and staied at Burdeaux, is this the peace that you and your Master hath promised to be kept? Is this the amitie that he was sworne to kepe? Is this the word of a kyng? Is this the strength of a prince, to breake his safeconduite? And where you adiused our merchantes to sue in Fraunce for restitucion, and did warrant them to be restored, you haue put them to coste and losse, for thei haue sued there long and spent their goodes, without any redresse, and now you haue emprisoned them, and kept bothe them and their goods, is this iustice? is this restitucion? And all this was your procurement, and now see what is come of your promise, surely this may not be suffered, and beside this the kyng is enformed, that the kyng your Master hath spoken by hym, foule and opprobrious wordes, yea in the hearyng of the Englishemen whiche were sore greued to hear such wordes, and were not able to be reuenged. The. xiiij. yere.

The Ambassadour of Fraunce saied, that it was not so as it was reported: well saied the Cardinall, if you note the counsaill of Englande so light as to tel fables, you may be misaduised. But I pray you how often times hath the kyng written to your master, for restitucion of such roberies as hath been done, and yet can haue no redresse? Wherefore he graũted letters of marke, which may stand with the league, but Monsire Chastilion hath taken Merchauntes of Englande prisoners, and hath sent certain hether for their raũsome, this is open warre & no peace. Master president Polliot or Pulteyne the French Ambassador, answered, that suerly the matters which wer alleged against his Master the Frenche king, were but forged matters and not true: but he saied that for a truthe, daily in the Court of Fraunce, were complaintes made against the Englishemen for greate robberies done by them, aswell on land as sea, affirmyng it to be done in the Emperors querell, and yet the French kyng for the loue he beareth to England, letteth his subiectes to be vnhard, although he daily lament the great iniury, doue to hym and his subiectes by Englishemen: and therefore my lord I praie you, beleue no suche tales, till I haue tolde you the truthe.

Then the Cardinall called the foure hostages, that laie here for the paiment of money for Turney, and they foure wer deliuered, to my lord of sainct Ihones, to sir Thomas Louell, to sir Andrewe Wyndsore, and to sir Thomas Neuell, euery knight one to kepe safe, and none of their countrey to speake with them priuely, and the Ambassador was cōmaūded to kepe his house in silence, and not to come in presence, till he was sent for, whiche ordre sore abashed the French hostages, and thambassador, but there was no remedy, and commaundement was geuen to the Maior of London, to attache all the Frenchemen, body and goodes and them to kepe in prison, till he hard farther of the kynges pleasure: then were all the Frenchmen in London and aboute, arrested and brought to prison, so that all the prisons in and aboute London wer full of them, some of them escaped by speakyng Dutch, and saied thei wer Flemynges borne, whiche was not tried.

The king for safegard of his Merchaūtes, sent. xxviii. goodly shippes to the sea, well manned and trimmed for the warres, and seuen other shippes he sent toward Scotland, whiche entered the Frith, and proferred to enter into the Scottishe shippes that lay in the hauen, but the Scottes ran their shippes on land, and the Englishemen folowed with boates and landed, and set the shippes on fire, and at Lithe toke certain prisoners, whiche they brought into Englande, & still the kynges great nauie kept the narrowe seas, for then was neither peace betwene Englande and Fraunce, nor open warre as you haue hard.

The kyng had perfect knowlege, that Charles the Emperour would be at the kinges toune of Calice the. xxiii. daie of May, to passe thorow Englande into Spain, wherefore the kyng sent the Marques Dorcet, accompaignied with diuerse knightes and gentlemen, to receiue hym at Calice whiche in all hast sped them thether. Likewise the Cardinal toke his iorney toward Douer the. xx. daie of Maie, and rode through London, accompaignied with two Erles. xxxvi. Knightes, and a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bishoppes, ten Abbottes, thirty Chapelleines, all in veluet and Sattin, and yomen seuen. C. and so by iorneiyng he came to Douer the. xxvi. daie beyng Monday. In the meane season tidynges were brought to the kyng, that the Frenche kyng had sent a great army toward Calice, and the men of war laie at Abuile, Munstrell, Bullein and about, nere the Englishe pale. Wherefore the kyng like a Prince that forsawe all, and entending not to be disceaued, wrote to his nobles, and cities, and tounes, to prepare certain menne of warre in a readines, which was shortly done, and so they were sent to the nauie, so that thei might shortly be at Calice if nede required.

On Sundaie the. xxv. daie of Maie, the lorde Marques Dorset the bishop of Chichester and the lorde de Lawarr, with other noble men, at the water of Grauelyng, receiued the Emperor in the name of the kyng of England, and so the Emperor embraced theim, and he hauyng in his compaignie many noble men came toward Calice, where at the Turnepike in the lordeship of Marke, he was receiued of sir Edwarde Guylford Marshall of Calice, with fiftie menne of armes richly beseen, and also a hundred archers on horsebacke, then in passing forward toward Calice, the ordinaunce shot terribly, and into Calice he was receiued with procession, and then by the lord Barne deputie there, and the cōsaill of the toune: then was he receiued by the Maior and Aldermen of the toune, and then of the Maior and merchauntes of the Staple, and so conueighed to the Checker, and there lodged.

On the Mondaie, he and al the nobles of Spain, Flaunders, & Germany, toke ship at Calice and landed at Douer, at foure of the Clocke at after noone, and with hym the duke Daluoy, the Prince of Orenge, the Countie Nassaw, the Countie Vascord, the lorde Ogmond, and the Marques of Brandēbrough, all in one ship bote. The Cardinall receiued hym on the Sandes, accompaignied with three hundred Lordes, Knightes, and Gentlemen of Englande: themperor embrased the Cardinall, and toke hym by the arme, and so passed forward and toke horses and rode together to Douer Castle, where thei wer lodged. Thenglishe Harbingers diligently lodged the Emperours train, euery man according to his degree. The kyng of England was come to Cantorbury, the. xxvii. daie of Maie, and receiued by the

the Archbishop: and hearyng of the Emperors arriuall, with a smal compaignie on the Wednesdaie, beyng the Assension euen, he rode to Douer, and with muche ioye and gladnes the Emperour and he met, and there taried the Assension day, and on Friday the kyng brought the Emperoure aborde on his newe ship, called the Henry grace a dieu, a shippe of. xv. C. and rowed aboute to all his greate shippes, whiche then lay in Douer rode, the Emperor and his lordes, muche praised the makyng of the shippes, and especially the artilerie, they saied, they neuer sawe shippes so armed.

The same day at after none, the two noble princes marched forward to Cantorbury, where the Maior and Aldermen receiued them without the toune with a solempne oracion, to whom the Emperors Secretary answered ornatly. Then the Princes with their swoardes borne naked before theim, and the Emperour on the right hand entered the citee of Cantorbury, and so with procession were brought to Christes Church where the Archebishop and twelve prelates mitered, receiued them vnder a Canapy, and so they offered to the Sacrament, and the Emperor was brought to the Bishoppes palace, where he lay for that night, and the kyng lodged at sainct Augustines. The morowe after, these princes remoued to Sityngborne, and the next day to Rochester, where the Bishop receiued them with the whole Couent, and on Mondaie thei came to Grauesēde by one of the Clocke, where they toke their Barges, and there wer thirty Barges appoynted, for the straūgiers, and so by. vi. of the clocke they landed at Grenewiche, the same Monday the. ii. day of Iune, where the emperor was of the kyng newly welcōmed, and al his nobilitie, and at the halle doore the Quene and the Princes, and all the Ladies, receiued and welcomed hym: and he asked the Quene blessing, (for that is the fashion of Spain, betwene the Aunte and Nephew) the Emperor had great ioye to se the Quene his Aunte, and in especiall his young cosyn germain the Lady Mary. The Emperour was lodged in the kynges lodging, whiche was so richely hanged, that the Spanyardes wōdered at it, and specially at the riche cloth of estate: nothyng lacked that might be gotten, to chere the Emperor and his Lordes, and all that came in his compaignie, were highly feasted.

The Wednesday, the more to doo the Emperor pleasure, was prepared a Iustes royall: on the one part was the kyng, the Erle of Deuonshire and. x. more compaignions, al mounted on horsebacke, their apparell and bardes, were of rich Clothe of golde, embroudered with siluer letters, very riche, with great plūmes on their heddes. This compaignie tooke the felde, and rode aboute the tilte: then entered the Duke of Suffolk, and the Marques Dorset, and. x. with them barded, and their apparel was russet veluet, embroudered with sundery knottes, and culpyns of golde. The emperor and the Quene, with all the nobles stode in the galery, to behold the doyng. The king ran at the duke of Suffolk. viii. courses, and at euery course brake his spere. Then euery man ran his courses, and that done, all ranne together volant, as fast as they could discharge, and when the speres appoynted were broken, then they disarmed and went to supper. After supper, the Emperor beheld the ladies daunces, and sodainly came to the chamber, sixe noble mē, appareled in Crimosin veluet and cloth of golde, und a mantell of taffeta, rolled about their bodies, and hoddes and bonettes of cloth of gold, on their heddes, and veluet buskyns on their legges: these Maskers entred and daunced a greate while with the ladies, and sodainly entered sixe other Maskers with drumslades, appareled in long gounes and hoddes of cloth of gold, of whiche nomber was the kyng, the duke of Suffolk the prince of Orenge, the Countie of Nassow, the Coūtie of Naueray, & Monsire Egremond. Whē these maskers wer entred, the other auoyded and then thei toke ladies and daunsed, so that the straūgers much praised them, & when the tyme came, euery person departed to their lodgyng.

Thursday, they that Iusted the other daie appoynted theimselfes to Tornay, & as the kyng was armyng him, there came to him one George Luffkin and shewed him, that there was one come frō his Ambassador in Fraunce, the king called for the messenger, and deliuered his letters, whiche the king red, and said to sir William Compton, tell the Emperor that I

haue newes, if it pleaseth hym to come hether: sir Willyam Compton, went and told this to the Emperoure, which without delay came to the kyng, whiche shewed him the letters frō sir Thomas Cheyney his Ambassador wherin was conteined the definitiue answer, made as wel to sir Thomas Cheney, as to Clarenseaux king of armes of Englande, by the Frenche kyng, to the kynges requestes: for you shall vnderstande, that the kyng of Englande, by his Ambassador, had often times demaunded, both his tribute and his lawfull debte, and also restitucion to be made to his subiectes greued, and farther also the league was broken by makyng warre on themperor, so that now by the league the kyng of Englande should be enemy, to him that first brake, and did take part with the other, yet he had so much compassion, on shedyng of Christen bloud, that he would not entre warre, but shew himself a mediator and an entreator betwene theim. And vpō this sir Thomas Cheney had often moued the French kyng, & also moued him to take peace with the Emperor for two yeres, so that some mediacion of peace might be entreated, in the meane season: to all this the French kyng answered, we haue well considered your Masters desire, to the which we nothyng agree, nor hold vs content with his request. Sir said thambassador, the kyng my Master shal be aduertised of your answere by me, wherefore I beseche your grace of safe conduite, to returne into England: then saied the kyng there is an officer of armes come hether out of Englande, let hym come and he shalbe hard, and haue an answere, to which thing sir Thomas Cheney answered not but with reuerence departed, and so on the. xxi. daie of Maie, the said officer called Clarenseaux king of armes, came to the French kynges chāber at Lions, which was accompaignied with many noble men and gentlemen, and then Clarenseux put on his cote of armes, and desired license to speake, and libertie according to the law of armes, which was to him graūted: then he declared that where the French kyng was bound by league tripertite, to kepe peace with the Emperor, and with the king of England, and whosoeuer first brake, the other two to bee enemies to hym, to the which league the Frenche king was sworne, whiche league he apparantly had broken by making warre on themperor, by sir Robert de la Marche and by hymself in persone. Wherefore the kyng by that league must be his enemie and take parte against hym.

Also he declared, ỹ the French king kept away the kynges rētes and debtes, dewe to him. Also that he deteined the dower of the French quene. Also that contrary to his promise, he had sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland: Also that contrary to Iustice he had emprisoned Merchantes, hauyng his safeconduite, where they should haue gone in safte, seyng there was no warre proclaimed, betwene him and the kyng his master: all these articles with many mo, ỹ kyng my master is redy to proue. Nay said the French kyng, I began not the war, nor sent Robert de Lamarche to make warre, but commaunded him to the contrary, and or I made warre in proper person, his warre was open, & he had our toune of Tournay strongly besieged, and as touching the duke of Albany, it hath cost me. xl. M. Frankes, to kepe hym out of Scotland, but I could not let him to go into his awne cōtrey. This the Frenche kyng excused his vntruth. Sir I am farther charged to tell you, said Clarēseaux that the king my souereigne lord, holdeth you for his mortall enemie, from this daie furth & al your adherentes: well said the French kyng, I loked for this a great while agone, for sith the Cardinal was at Bridges, I loked for no nother, but you haue done your message: then ỹ French king rose and departed, and Clarēseaux was conueighed to his lodgyng, and shortly after, sir Thomas Cheney and he, by safe conduite, departed and came to Bullein, and there Monsire Fayett capitain there, theim both staied till the Ambassador of Fraunce, whiche had lien in England, wer clerely deliuered out of Calice. The whole circumstaunce of the demaūdes and deffiaunce, and the French kynges answere, was conteined in the letter, which was brought to the king, which shewed it to the Emperor (as you haue hard) but while the king and the Emperor loked on the letter, a sodein noyse rose emongest both their subiectes, that it was a letter of defiance, sent to them bothe by the French kyng, whiche was nothyng so. Thus now was the warre open of all parties,

betwene

betwene Englande and Fraunce, & Spain. When the two princes had of this matter commoned their fill, themperor called for a horse, and the king himself was armed, and bothe the bendes that should Tornay mounted on horsebacke, and themperor in rich apparell of tissew and richely trapped brought the king into the felde, and toke vp his horse, that all men had great pleasure to beholde him. The men of armes fell to Turnay, and brake swerdes and were seuered, and after came together again, and fought very valiauntly, and when tyme was, the Herauldes cried the disarme, and assone as the king was vnarmed, the Emperor and he wēt to supper, and after supper the kyng brought the Empero r into the hall where was a Cupperd of. xii. stages all set with great mightie plate al of golde, atthe vpper end hong three clothes of estate, and the hall was full of great lightes, set on gylte braunches.

When the twoo Princes were set and the quene also, then entered in eight noble menne in Maskers apparell with visers, their garmentes blacke Veluet garded and embroudered with golde in cut woorkes and ouer that double Lumberdy Mantelles of Sattin, folded vp on euery shulder, curiously embroudered, these Maskers were halfe Englishe Lordes, and the other straungiers. They toke Ladies and daunsed, and sodainly entered eight other Maskers, appareled in ryche tinsel, matched with clothe of golde, and on that Turkey Clokes rebanded with Nettes of Siluer, and betwene the knittynges Flowers of Golde, and the Mantelles were Crimosyn Sattyn, both the Maskers had hoddes of Crimosyn Sattyn, these lustie Maskers entered, and reueled lustely, and when they had done, then were there spices brought and wyne, and then all persones began to drawe to reste.

On Friday, the sixe daie of Iune, the King and the Emperour with all their compaignies marched toward London, where in the waie, a Myle from Sainct Georges barre, was set a riche Tente of Clothe of golde, in whiche Tente were two lodgynges, one for the Emperoure, and another for the Kyng, where these two Princes shifted theim. And when the Herauldes had appointed euery man their roume, then euery man set forwarde in ordre, richely apparelled in Clothe of gold, Tissew, Siluer, Tynsell, and Velnettes of all coloures. There lacked no massye Cheynes, nor curious Collers: an Englishemanne and a straungier roade euer together, matched accordyng to their degrees, before the Emperoure and the Kyng, were borne twoo swordes naked, then the two Princes folowed in Coates of Cloth of Golde, embraudered with Siluer, bothe of one suite: after theim folowed the Kynges Henxemenne, in coates of Purple Veluet pieled and paned with riche Cloth of Siluer, and with them were matched the Emperours Henxe menne in equall nomber, in Coates of Crimosyn Veluet, with two gardes, the one Golde, and the other Siluer: then folowed the Capitaines of the Gardes, then the Emperours Garde on the right hande, and the Englishe Garde on the left hande, and so in this ordre they wēte forwarde, and in the waie the Maior Ihon Milborne and his brethren, in fine Skarlet and well horssed, met with the Emperoure and the king where one sir Thomas More knight, and well learned, made to theim an eloquent Oracion, in the praise of the two princes, and of the peace and loue betwene them, and what comfort it was to their subiectes, to se theim in such amitie, and how that the Maior and Citezens, offered any pleasure or seruice that in them laye, next their souereigne lorde.

When this was done, thei came into Southwarke, where the Clergie receiued theim in Copes, with Crosses, and Sensers, and so kept the one side of the strete, all the citee through. When they came by the Marshalsie and the Kynges Beriche, the Emperoure desired pardon of the kyng, for the prisoners, and he at the Emperours request, pardoned a great nomber of theim. When they were almoste at the Bridge foote, there was a staie, the Kyng demaunded the cause, and it was told hym, that the Herauldes had appoynted two gentlemen to ride together, one was the Ambassadour from the Marques of Mantua, to the Emperour, and the other from the Citee of Seines, to the Emperour also, and the Citee and the Marques were not freudes, the Emperoure incontinent, sent his Lorde Chamberlaine to theim, saiyng: that if they would that daie do him honour, he would thanke theim, and if they would not ride as they were appointed, he praied them to departe. When

the Lorde Chamberlaine had told this message, they rode furth and made no more curtesie.

When they were come to the Drawe Bridge, there were set Targettes, of the Armes of the Emperour and his Dominions, richely paincted, and on the other side, stoode one greate Giaunte, representyng Hercules, with a mightie Clubbe in his hand, and on the other syde stoode another Giaunte representyng Sampson, with the Iawe bone of an Asse in his hande. These twoo Gyauntes helde a greate Table, in the whiche was written in Golden letters, all the Emperours Stile. From the Drawe Bridge, these twoo Princes passed to the middes of the Bridge, where was raised a faire edifice, with Towers embattayled and gates, all like Masonrie, of White and Blacke, like Touche and White Merbell: aboue this buyldyng was a faire pagiaunt, in the whiche stoode Iason all in harnes, hauyng before hym a golden Fleec, and on the one side of hym stoode a fiery Dragon, and on the other side stode two Bulles whiche beastes cast out fyer continually, & in a tower on the one syde stode a fayre mayde representyng the lady Medea whiche was very straungely and richely apparelled, and aboue this Pagiant were written these verses.

Leticiæ quantum mimijs prebebat, Iason
Aurea Phrixee vellera nactus ouis
Leticiæ quantum tulerat Pompeius et Vrbi
Hoste triumphato Scipio Romulidum
Tantum tu nobis Cæsar mitissime Princeps
Intrans Henrici Principis hospicium

When they had beholden this Pagiant they came to the Conduite at Gracious strete where was made a Bastyle with two great gates, one on the one side of the way and the other on the other side, and ouer these gates and betwene these gates were made. iii. great towers embattailed and vauted with lopes Lucanes like Masonry, coriously wrought, and in the middle tower was a clothe of estate, vnder whiche sat one representyng the Emperor, and in the third tower represetyng the kyng. And Charlemayne hauyng. ii. swordes gaue to the Emperor the sworde of Iustice, and to the kyng the sworde of triumphant victory, & before him sat the Pope to whom he gaue the croune of thorne & thre nayles. About this pagiant were sette all the armes of the electors of thempyre and these verses in a table.

Carole Christigenum decus et quem scripta loquuntur
A magno ductum Carolo habere genus
Tuque Henrice pia virtutis laude refulgens
Doctrina ingenio religione fide
Vos pretor consul sanctus cum plebe senatus
Vectos huc fausto sydere gestit ouans

This Pagiant was made by the Esterlynges.

From Gracious strete, where the Esterlynges stode in good order, the twoo princes came to Leden halle wher ouerthwart the great strete that leadeth to Byshoppes gate was erected a goodly Pagiant wonderfull curiously wrought, it was xxxviii. fote broad and lxxx. of length, at the fote of the pagiant sat Ihon duke of Lancastre called Ihon of Gaunte sonne to kyng Edward the third. This duke sat in a rote and out of the rote sprang many braunches curiously wrought with leaues whiche by pollecie dropped swete water, and on euery braunche satte a kyng and a quene or some other noble parsonage descended of the sayd duke, to the nomber of lv. images, and on the toppe stode the Emperor, the kyng of England and the Quene, as thre in the vi. degree from the sayd Duke. This pagiant was made at the cost of the Italyans & was much praised. Frō thence they passed to ȳ conduite in Cornehill where the strete was enclosed frō side to side with ii. gates to open & shitte, and ouer the gates wer arches with towers embattailed set with vanes and scutchions of the armes of the Emperor & the kyng, and ouer the arches were two towers, the one full of Trompettes and the other full of Shalmes and shagbuttes whiche played continually:

Betwene

Betwene these two towers was a palice, vnder a riche clothe of estate sat kyng Arthur at a rounde table & was serued with x. kynges, Dukes and erles all bearyng Targettes of their armes, and when the Emperor and the kyng were commyng thither a Poet sayd.

Laudat magnanimos vrbs inclita Roma Catones
Cantant Hannibalem punica regna suum
Gentis erat Solime rex ingens gloria Dauid.
Gentis Alexander gloria prima sue.
Illustrat fortes Arthuri fama Britannos
Illustras gentem Cesar & ipse tuam
Cui deus imperium victo precor hoste secundet
Regnet vt in terris pacis amica quies

When this was sayd, they came to the Stockes where was a quadrant stage where on was an Herber full of Roses, Lylies & all other flowers curiously wrought, and byrdes, beastes and all other thynges of pleasure. And aboute the Herber was made the water full of Fyshe, and about it was the Elementes, the Planettes and Starres in their places and euery thing moued, and in a type in the toppe was made the Trinitie with the Angels singyng, and the Trinitie blessed the kyng & the Emperor, and vnder his feete was written, *behold the louer of peace and concorde.* And so they passed through the Poultry to the great Cõduite in Chepe, where was made on the right hand of the sayd Conduite (as they passed) in maner quadrant with fower towers, at euery corner one with goodly types, betwene euery tower was a gallery, whiche galeries were hanged with clothes of golde and siluer within, and so couered ouer. The forefrontes of euery gallery were hanged with white & grene Sarcenet wrethed and with great knottes of golde, let doune in maner of a valence before the gallery, and vnder the sayd galleries were Targettes and scutchions of the Emperors and kynges armes & deuises. In the fower towers were fower fayre ladyes for the cardinall vertues so richely besene that it was great pleasure to behold, euery vertue hauyng a signe and token of her propertie. In the galleries sat children mixed with men and women singyng and playyng on instrumẽtes melodiously, of the whiche sort one child sayd these verses folowyng.

Quanto amplexetur populus te Cæsar amore
Testantur varijs gaudia mixta sonis
Aera, tube, Litui, cantus cithare calamisq;
Consona te resonant organa disparibus
Vnum te celebrant, te vnum sic cuncta salutant
O decus, O rerum gloria Cæsar aue.

When they came to the stãdard there was made a mightie buildyng of tymber w towers set in carbles forced with arches buttãd & al abilamentes embossed, & the lynterelles inhaunsed with pillers quadrant & the vautes in orbes with crobbes depẽdyng & mõsters bearyng vp the pillers & in the roffe was a louer swelling, in ẏ top wherof was a bãner of the armes of Spayne & England & al the pagiant ful of scutchions of armes of the ii. princes. At the fote of this pagiãt sat Alphons kyng of Spayne richely appareled, & out of his brest a braunche of whiche sprang many kynges, quenes and princes whiche satte and were liuely persones richely appareled euery one with a scutchion of armes shewyng their mariages, and in the highest braunche satte the Emperor, the kyng and iust v. and vii. degrees frõ the sayd kyng of Spayne, to whõ the sayd kyng Alphons sayd these verses.

Carole qui fulges sceptro & diademate sacro
Tuq; Henrice simul stemmata iuncta gerens
Alter germanis, lux alter clara britannis
Miscens Hispano sanguine vterque genus
Viuite felices quot vixit secula Nestor
Viuite cumque tempora fatidice

After this pagiant seen & the verses sayd, they came to the litle Conduite in Chepe where

was buylded a place like heauen curiously painted with cloudes, erbes, starres & the Ierarchies of angels, in the top of this pagiant was a great type & out of this type sodainly issued out of a cloude a fayre Lady richely appareled, & then al the minstrels whiche wer in the pagiant plaied & the angels sang, & sodainly againe she was assumpted into the cloud whiche was very curiously done, and aboute this pagiant stode the Apostles wherof one sayd these verses.

Ob quorum aduentum tocies gens ipsa britanna
Supplex dijs superis vota preterq; dedit
Quos etas omnis, puert, iuuenesq; senesq;
Optarunt oculis sepe videre suis
Venistis tandem auspicio Christi Marieq;
Pacis coniuncti federe perpetuo.
Heroes saluete pij, saluete beati
Exhilarent nostros minima vestra lares

Yet you must not forget for all the pagiantes how the Citezens well apparelled stode within railes sette on the lefte side of the stretes and the clergie on the right side in riche copes, whiche sensed the princes as they passed and all the stretes were richely hanged with clothes of golde, siluer veluet and Arras, and in euery house almooste Mynstrelsy, and in euery strete were these two verses written in letters of gold.

Carolus, Henricus, viuant defensor vterq;
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie

Whiche verses wer also writtten in other tables in golden letters as ensueth.

Long prosperitie
To Charles and Henry Princes moste puissaunt.
The one of fayth
The other of the Churche Chosen defendant.

When they were past the lytle Conduite they came to the west ende of Poules churche and there they alighted, there was a Canapie redy vnder whiche they two stoode and were receiued by the Archebishop of Caũtorbury and xxi. prelates in pontificalles and so they offered at the high aulter and returned to horsebacke and came to the Blacke Friers where the Emperor was lodged in great royaltie: All his nobles were lodged in his newe palace of Brydewell, out of the whiche was made a Gallery to the Emperors lodgyng, whiche gallery was very long, and that gallery and all other galleries there wer hanged with Arras. The kynges palayce was so richely adorned of all thynges that my witte is to dull to descriue theim or the riches of the hangynges or the sumptuous buildyng and giltyng of chambers.

On saterday the kyng & the Emperor playd at tennice at the Bayne against the princes of Orenge and the Marques of Brandenborow, & on the Princes syde stopped the erle of Deuonshyre and the lorde Edmond on the other syde, and they departed euen handes on bothe sydes after xi. games fully played.

On Whitsonday the viii. day of Iune themperor and the kyng with great honor both apparelled in cloth of siluer reysed, gounes and cotes and all their apparell white except their bonettes, roade to the Churche of saint Paule & there heard high Masse whiche was song by the Cardinal whiche had his trauers & cupborde, and before Masse ii. Barons gaue him water & after the Gospell ii. Erles, and at the last lauatory ii. Dukes whiche pride the Spanyardes sore disdayned. When Masse was done they returned to Brydewell where the Emperor was highly feasted. Thesame sonday at after noone the two princes went by water to Westminster and roade to the churche, and in ridyng all the sanctuary menne cryed mercye and pardon, they were so hastye and presed so nere that the sergeauntes at armes could scase kepe theim from touchyng the Emperor and the kyng: The Cardinal gaue them a gentle answere whiche contented theim for a tyme. They wer receiued with Procession into the Abbey & heard euensong & beheld kyng Henry the seuenthes chapel & then

then went into Westminster halle, at the largenesse wherof the Emperor muche merualled, then they turned to Brydewell and there supped.

On Móday thei dyned in Southwarke with the duke of Suffolke and hunted there in the Parke, and roade to the Manor of Richemond to their lodgyng and the next day to Hampton court, where they had great chere and from thence on thursday to Wyndsore where he hunted Fryday and Saterday and on Sonday at night in the great halle was a disguisyng or play, theffect of it was ŷ there was a proud horse which would not be tamed nor brideled, but amitie sent prudence and pollicie which tamed him, and force & puissaunce brideled him. This horse was ment by ŷ Frēche kyng, & amitie by the king of Englād & themperor, & the other prisoners were their counsaill & power, after this play ended was a sumptuous Maske of xii. men and. xii. women, the men had in garmentes of clothes of golde and siluer lose layde on crimosyn Satten, knit with pointes of gold, bonettes, whoddes, buskyns, were all of gold. The ladies were of thesame suite whiche was very riche to behold, and when they had daunced, then came in a costly bāket and a voidy of spices, and so departed to their lodgyng.

Monday, tewsday, and wednesday the princes and their counsail sat moste parte in counsail, and on *Corpus Christi* day, they with great triumph rode to the college of Wyndsore where the Emperor ware his Mantle of the Garter and satte in his owne stall, and gaue to the Heraudes CC. crownes: that day bothe the Princes receiued the Sacrament, and after Masse both sware to kepe the promises & league eche to other, for the which amitie great ioy was made on both parties, & after ŷ Masse was ended they went to dyner where was great feasting.

On Fryday they departed out of Wyndsore, & by easy iorneys came to Wynchester the. xxii. day of Iune, & in the way thether, the Emperor hunted the Hart. Before the Emperor was come to Wynchester, therle of Surray Admyrall of England with all ŷ kynges Nauy was come to Hampton, and with him the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, sir Gyles Capell, sir Nicholas Carew, sir Richard Wyngfeld, sir Richard Iernyngham, Fraunces Bryan, Anthony Browne, Ihon Russell, of whiche many were of the kynges preuy chamber: These with many more departed from Hampton with. xxx. shippes well manned & ordinaūced in the ende of Iune, noisyng that they should only skoure the seas for safegard of the Emperor and his Nauye: But they had priuy instruccions to go to another place as you shall heare after.

All this while was the warre on the parties of Picardy hotte, and the capitaine of Bullain called Fayet wrote euer mockyng letters to the garrison of Calaice, and said if the garison of Calaice would issue out, he would mete with them halfe way with. iiii. M. men. Wherupon sir Edward Guildforde Marshall of Calayce, whom the capitaine of Bullain called the fyrebrand, because it was his badge, sette furthe out of Calayce the. xi. day of Iune with. xii. C. men, & went out of Calayce and sent a pursuiant to the capitain of Bullain certifying him that he was commyng with his fyerbrand, and bad him kepe promise. This officer declared the message to him, but he came not: Furth marched sir Edward til he came to Marguison and taryed to see whether the capitain of Bullayne would come or no. And when he sawe he came not, he set fyer in the toune, and the light horsemen forrayed the beastes and pillage, and brent villages all about, whiche was well perceiued in the countrey a farre of, and towarde night all the crew came home with good pillage, & on the morow sir Edwarde Gyldford deliuered a prisoner franke and free, on condicion he should tell the capitaine of Bullain that he had bene at Marguison with his fyerbrand, whiche truely did his message, for the whiche the capitaine brake his head: all the castels and fortresses in the Englishe pale were well manned and vitailed and lacked no artillerie, so that the Frenchemen could do theim no harme.

When the Emperor and the kyng laye at Byshops Waltham they ioyntly sent letters of defiaunce to the Duke of Lorraine, as alye and confederate with the Frenche kyng. The fyrst day of Iuly the Emperors nauie sailed before Hampton, which wer. C. lxxx. goodly

shippes. When the Emperors shippes were come, he tooke leaue of the kyng and had great gyftes geuen him and muche money lent to him, & so the. vi. day of Iuly he toke his shippe, so with all his Nauy he made saile towarde Spayne where he arriued in safetie the. x. day after.

The kyng about this very tyme sent to the citie of London to borow xx. M. poũdes, whiche sore chafed the citizens, but the somme was promised, and for the payment the Mayer sent for none but for men of substaunce. Howbeit the craftes solde muche of their plate. This summe was payde, and the kyng sent his letter promisyng payment of thesame and so did the Cardinall. The poore men were content with this payment and sayd, let the riche churles pay, for they may well. Lyke loane was practised through al the realme, and priuy seales deliuered for the repayment of the same.

This season the. xxi. day of May was the citie of Geane gotten by the Emperors capitain called *Octauiano de Columna*, whiche had with him. iiii. M. and. iiii. C. Spaniardes. v. M. Italyans, and. iiii. M. Lanceknightes: & in the citie was taken *Porter de Nauarro* the Frenche kynges familiar capitaine and all the lordes of Geane whiche fauored the Frenche kyng were taken prisoners or slaine, and especially one *Octauiano Faragoso*, whiche ruled there for the Frenche kyng, was euil punished: The spoyle of the citie that the souldiers had, was. iiii. M. dukates beside the pillage, whiche was a great thyng.

Now let vs returne to the lorde Admyrall of Englande whiche departed frõ Hampton as you haue heard, and so with his Nauy sayled and skoured the seas, and at last came on the costes of *Britaigne*, and commaunded the wysest Masters and Marriners to boy the hauen of Morles, whiche was done, and so the next night all the flete came to the hauen of Morles in safetie & moored their shippes together. Then all men were commaunded to harnes and to auaunce their standardes, & all souldiers to geue their attendance on their capitaines, and then the lorde Admyral appointed and caused. xiiii. pieces of ordinaunce called Faucons to be brought to land and drawen furth with strẽgth of men. Then when all menne that shoulde go forwarde were landed, the lorde Amyrall with banner displayed tooke lande on the Estside of the hauen the fyrst day of Iulye, and with him a fayre band of souldiers, as the lorde Fitz Water, the Baron Curson, sir Richarde Wyngfelde, sir Richard Iernyngham, sir Wyllyam Barantine, sir Adrian Foskew, sir Edwarde Donne, sir Edwarde Chamberlayne, Fraunces Bryan, Richard Cornewall, sir Anthony poynes, sir Hẽry Sherborne, and the vice Admyrall, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, sir Edmond Bray, sir Gyles Capel, sir Willyam Pyrton, sir Ihon Cornewalles, sir Ihon Wallop, sir Edward Echyngham, sir Willyam Sidnay, Anthony Broune, Gyles Huse, Thomas More, Ihon Russell, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cobham, Thomas Owdayle, Thomas Louell, Robert Iernyngham, Anthony Kneuit, sir Ihon Tremaile, and the Master of the kynges ordinaunce, sir Willyam Skeuyngton, and Ihon Fabian serieant at armes, by whom this enterprise was chiefly moued as was reported, with many other gentlemen and souldiers, to the nombre of vii. M. The lorde Admyral and sir Richard Wyngfeld brought these men in good order of battail, & caused Christopher Morres the master gunner to see all thinges redy prepared, & then about. viii. of the clocke of the sayd fyrst day they marched towarde Morles in good ordre of battail with banners displaied. The *alarme* rose in the countrey and came to the toune of Morles wherby the gentlemen of the countrey shewed theimselfes prickyng, but when they heard the Gunnes they fledde as though they neuer vsed warre. They of Morles armed theimselfes & went to the walles and shut the gates and laide ordinaunce where was most ieopardie. The Englishemen had gone fiue long myle and were now come to the subberbes of the toune: then the Englishemen archers shot, and the Brytons them defended: then the Admyrall commaunded the toune to be assauted, then the lord Fitz Water and the Baron Curson quartered the toune on all sides: The Englishemen shot with long bowes, and the Brytons with crosse bowes, whiche defended themselfes manfully Before the port Moruet where is a *Meason de dieu*, At this gate gaue the assaut sir Richard Wyngfelde, Nycholas Carew, Fraũces Bryan, sir Ihon Wallop and all their bendes hauyng

hauying with them thre pieces of ordinaunce called Fancons, whiche the master Gunner oft tymes shot, but the Britons had set the gate full of hacbushes, then the Gunner sayd, haue at the wicket, and in the smoke of the gunnes let vs entre the gate, the gentlemen assented, then the sayd sir Christopher Gunner strake the locke of the wicket, so that it flew open, then in the smoke ranne to the gate the said Christopher and the other forenamed gentlemen, and when Christopher came to the gate he found the wicket open & entred, and the gentlemen folowed, the Brytons defended them selfes, but thei were put backe or slaine, then was the great gate opened and then entered the souldiers that were on the other side of the toune. When the Brytons on the walles sawe the towne gotten, some fled at the posterne and some by another way, the best way that they could. Therle of Surray with bāner displayed toke the market place. Then the souldiers fell to pillage and rifled the chestes and ware houses of marchauntes, for the toune of Morles was very riche, and specially of lynnen clothe, the gentlemen suffered the souldiers to do what they would. When the souldiers had taken their pleasure of the toune as muche for a trueth or more then they could beare away. Morles assauted & gotten.

The lorde Admiral cōmaunded the trumpettes to blow, & cōmaunded all men to set fyer in al places of the toune (the holy places only except) the fayre market place was set on fyer, & the subburbes brent ardātly. Wherfore all men were commaunded to their standardes, and aboute vi. of the clocke the army retreted, and as they passed they brent the villages and places. And when night approched they drewe together and all that night lay on land abyding their enemies. And the next day with honor they tooke their shippes, and when all menne were shipped and fewe or none missed. The lorde Admyrall cōmaunded. xvi. or. xvii. shippes small and great liyng in the hauen to be brent. Then they sailed furth and came to anker before saint Polfe de Lyon, then he commaunded that the foyst and other small shippes and great botes should be manned to enter into an harborow for shyppes called pympoll or pympole, which was sone done, the boates entred ỹ place & some lāded, but then the Bryrons were to strong, & so they tooke their boates & bet the Britons on the shore, & the Brytons shotte great ordinaunce at the Englishemen, but it did them no harme, and yet the Englishmen brent a shippe of. CC. and many small vessells. When tyme came the whole flete sailed into the hauen of Brest and with barkes and rowe barges entered the hauen and toke land, and some Englishemen did so muche that they set fyer in houses nere the castle. And euen as thenglishemen sayled by the cost the Brytons them askryed and fortefied the lādyng places, yet dayly the Englishemen skyrmished with the Brytons and came safely to their shippes againe: with this warre was all the duchy of Brytaigne sore troubled.

When the lorde Admirall had wonne the toune of Morles as you haue heard: He called to him certaine squyers whom for their hardynes and noble courage he made knightes, fyrst sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Anthony Broune, sir Richard Cornwall, sir Thomas More, sir Gyles Huse, sir Ihon Russell, sir Ihon Raynsford, sir George Cobham, sir Ihō Cornwalles, sir Edward Rigley and diners other. And after he wrote letters to the kyng of his good spede: In the whiche he muche praised all the gentlemen and souldiers for their hardynes. When he had sayled a while on the seas, he had letters sent from the king that he should retreyte, and so he came with all his flete vnder the Isle of Wyght to a place called the Kow, and then he departed from his shippe and came to Estamstede the. xxi. daye of Iulye to the kyng, of whom he was well welcomed you may be sure. And so on mounday the. xxiii. day of Iuly the kyng and he came to London to the Cardynals place and there sat in counsaile to determine what should be done. After this the kyng dyned with the Cardinall the. xxiii. day of Iulye, where he rehersed that he had knowlege that the Admyrall of Britaigne was in Morles with a. C. horsemen and a. C. crosbowes, and yet he fledde, and the kyng muche cōmended the lorde Admyrall for his paine and hardynes, and praised theim of his garde, and specially fiftie, whiche left pylferyng and neuer went from the lorde capitaine.

On the third day of Iuly while this enterprise was done at Morles, certaine Frenchemen to the nomber of. CCC. horsemen came nere to the castle of Guysnes and kept theim selfe

in a close couert and so appered. viii. or. x. horsemen and came nere Guysnes: out of the Castle came. viii. Englishe archers and issued out of the gate and fell with the Frenche horsemen in skyrmishe: to the Frenchemennes reskue came. iiii. men of armes and skyrmished with the archers whiche were a fote. Then out of Guysnes issued. xii. dimiaunces all Welshemen and rāne boldely to ỹ Frenchemen in reskue of the fotemen, Then the whole bend of Frenchemen issued out and set on the Welshemen, the fotemen shotte while arrowes lasted and were faine to fight with swordes, the Welshmen kept themselfes together and entred into the bend of Frenchemen and brake their speres and then fought so with swordes that they made away, so that they escaped from the bend of. CCC. horsemen, and of the Frenchemen were slayne. iii. men and. v. horse, the fotemen were ouerpressed and solde their liues dere, for the Frenchemen slew them all and would take none prisoner, they were so angry with the killyng of their horse.

Also the. xxv. day of Iuly sir Wyllyam Sandes treasorer of Caleys and sir Edward Guilforde Marshall, with banners spred, issued out of Caleys with. xiiii. C. menne and went into the Frenche pale lokyng for Mounsire Foyat whiche was a great mocker and a coward: But when he appeared not they went to Whitsand baye and set it on fyer, and the people fled to the churche whiche was fortified and stode at defence, the body of the churche was wonne and then they toke the Steple and some yelded themselfes, but the remnant by counsail of a priest maintained so long that the Steple was fyred and then the priest cried succour, but it was to late and so the Frenche people was fayne to lepe the Steple & diuers perished, & they that were saued wer led to Caleys as prisoners. Farther the. xxiii. daye of the same moneth Thwaites a capitain of an Englishe shippe tooke land beside Bullein, and went vp thre myle into the countrey to a toune called Newe Castle and forrayed all the countrey and in his returne set fyer on the toune & brent a great part therof maugre the Bullenoys, and with his bowes and men whiche only was. vi. score, he put backe. lxxx. Hagbushes and. CCC. men of warre of the countrey and so came to their shippe with all the botie and lost no mā notwithstandyng they were sore folowed to their shippe.

On the. vi. day of Iuly the Cardynal satte in the starre chamber at Westminster where he sayd, my Lordes it is reason that you should know the honorable enterprise done by the lorde Admiral and his compaigny in Brytaigne whiche hath dispoyled and destroyed the great toune of Morles in Brytaigne with all the villages and countrey adioynyng to the same, which is in the Frenche dominion, whiche mischiefe had neuer risen if Fraunces the Frenche kyng had kept his othe and promise. For he is bound that he should neuer retayne the Swyches from the Emperor, nor that he shall not inuade any of the Emperors landes or dominions, whiche he hath done, for he hath inuaded the cōtrey of Henaude and Cambrises and taken Hedyng and Fountraby with many other iniuryes. For when the kyng sent me and other to his great costes the last yere to Caleys to treate a vnitie and peace betwene theim, all our saiynges were by the Frenche kyng turned into a mocquery. Also cōtrary to his promise he hath suffered Duke Ihon of Albany to entre the realme of Scotland to the great perill of the yong kyng Nephieu to our soueraigne lorde, and also entendeth to mary the Quene of Scottes contrary to the kynges honor. The sayd Frenche king also withholdeth the kynges dueties & his sisters dower: wherfore of necessitie the kyng is entred into warre, for no prince will suffre the wrong that the French kyng offereth him as an vntrue & forsworne prince, wherfore for your owne welth you must now ayde your prince, trustyng to punishe and chastice him to your great honor and fame.

Then by commaundement wer all Frenchemen and Scottes imprisoned and the goodes seazed, and all suche as were denizens were commaunded to shewe their letters patentes, & suche as were allowed had all their goodes and the other not, and all Frenchemen and Scottes that had maryed Englishewomen, the wifes and children had halfe thegoodes deliuered vnto them, and euery denizen to fynde suertie for his good abearyng, and al the other if they would be bayled to fynde suerties for their trueth and allegeaunce or els to be kept in prison, for the portes were so kept that they could not flye.

The

The kyng nowe beyng entered into the warres thought not to slepe and let the Frenche kyng alone, wherfore by his letters he commaũded certain persones with their powers to come to Lõdon in August. They that wer appointed came accordyngly, euery man with suche a momber as to him was appointed, and when they had mustered at London before the kynges Commissioners they were nere. xii. M. menne with the Pyoners, and they wer sent to the lorde Admyral whiche lay at Douer with. iiii. M. mẽ, but because baruest was not done, ỹ vitaile at Caleys was to litle for so great an armye, wherfor they lay in Kent at tounes there a good space, whiche made vitayle dere there.

In this sommer the lorde Rosse and the lorde Dacres of the North whiche were appointed to kepe the borders against Scotland did so valiantly that they burned the good toune of Kelsy and. lxxx. villages and ouerthrew. xviii. towers of stone with all their Barnkyns or Bulwerkes.

The kyng also in this moneth was credibly enformed that the Duke of Albany prepared an army Royal of Scottes and Frenchemen to inuade England. Wherfore the kyng appointed the Erle of Shrewsbury his lorde Steward to be his Lieutenaunt generall against the sayd Duke and his inuasions, whiche directed his letters to the shyres of Yorke, Darby, Stafford, Shropshyre and al other beyond Trent that all menne should be in a readynes.

The. xx. day of August the Cardynall sent for the Maior, Aldermen and the moste substanciallest commoners of the Citie of London, where he declared to theim that the kyng had appointed commissioners through the whole realme of England for to swere euery manne of what value he is in mouables, the more to be in readynes for the defence of this realme. And the kyng for the loue he beareth you would haue syt with you himselfe, but for certayn other affayres in his warres to be done he is letted, and so hath appointed me your Commissioner. Wherefore in conuenient tyme certifye me the nomber of all suche as be worth one hundreth poundes and vpwarde, *to the entent* I may sweare theim of their values: for fyrst the kyng asketh of you your louyng hartes and due obeysaunce, the whiche shall appeare by your conformitie to his requestes, and when the value is taken he desyreth only the tenth part of goodes and landes whiche is the least reasonable thyng that you can ayde your prince with. I thynke euerye one of you wyll offer no lesse, as for the spiritualtie euery manne is in the shyres sworne and shall and wyll gladly pay the fowerth part to the kyng and liue on the. iii. partes. Nowe to your part I am sure you wyll not grudge, therfore name me the men of substaunce and for the meaner sort, meaner Commissioners shall be appointed. Sir sayd a marchaunt if it may please you, how shal this tenth part to the king be deliuered? in money plate or Iuels sayd the Cardinall at a value. O my lorde sayd the Aldermen it is not yet two monethes sithe the kyng had of the Citie. xx. thousand pound in ready money in loane, whereby the Citie is very bare of money, for Goddes sake remembre this that riche marchauntes in ware be bare of money: Well sayd the Cardynall, this must be done and therefore go about it. So the Aldermen resorted to their Wardes and named suche as they iudged to be of that value, which came before the Cardynall and moste humbly besought him that they might not be sworne for the true value of their substaunce, for the true valuacion to theim was vnknowen and many honest mennes credence was better then his substance, and therefore they doubted the peril of periury. Well sayd the Cardynall sythe you dread the crymne of periurye, it is a signe of grace, and therefore I will for you borowe of the kyng a lytle. Make you your bylles of your owne value likely to report your fame and then more busynes nedeth not, for you see what two costly armyes the kyng hath ready against bothe Fraunce and Scotland, therfore nowe shewe your selfes lyke louyng subiectes, for you be able inough. And I dare sweare the substance of London is no lesse worth then two Myllions of golde. Then sayd the citizens we would to God that it were so, and the citie is sore appaired by the great occupiyng of straungers. Well sayd the Cardinal it shalbe redressed if I liue: But on Saterday next I shall appoint one to receiue your bylles, and he that is of credence more then of Substance let him resorte to me and I will be secrete and good to him.

Thus

Thus the Citezens departed in great agony saiyng, that at the last loane some lent the fifth part and now to haue the tenth part was to muche. And here note wel that the. x. thousand poundes that was lent was not taken as the. xx. of euery mannes substaūce, but it should be allowed as part of the. x. part, and this valuacion should performe vp the whole. x. part. Great was the mournyng of the common people as it is euer in suche cases of paymentes. But in the ende one doctor Tonnys a secretary to the Cardinal came to the Chapiter house of Poules, and to him the citezens brought in their bylles and on their honestie they were receiued, whiche values afterwarde turned them to displeasure.

The spiritualtie made suite to the lorde Cardinal that no temporal men should sit to examyne them to be made priuy to their possessions & goodes: wherfore bishoppes and Abbottes were appointed commissioners to take the value of their substaunce.

In this season was great plentie of vitayle sent to Caleys, and to the lorde Admyral were sent Tentes and Pauilions some of. lxx. lodgynges for him and other noblemen.

The Friday beyng the. xxii. day of August certain Welshemen were lodged at a poore village named Cause, because in Caleys was verye narow lodgyng, and the same night. CCCC. Frenchmen passed by Caleys haue for lacke of good watche and came into the same village and set fyer in the house where the Welshemen lay, which ranne awaye naked into the Marishe and saued themselfes, but their horses wer taken. This chaunce happened for lacke of good watche.

When the lorde Admyrall had brought all his menne out of the shippes and that all the souldiors were come out of Englande and the ordinaunce set on land, then came into Caleys hauen. xiiii. shyppes out of Spayne from the Emperor whiche set on land. CCC. Spanyardes whiche wer sent to serue the lorde Admyrall and vnder him they were put. When all thynges were ready, the lorde Admyral set in order his battels and for the forwarde he appointed sir Robert Ratcliffe, lorde Fitzwater for Capitayne, and with him diuers knightes and gentlemen whiche capitaine kept his men in very good order.

After that battail folowed the ordinaunce, artilerie and other trusses with vitail and all necessaries, & for the capitaine of the horsemen was appointed sir Edward Gyldford, by whom the currers and vewers of the countrey were appointed. The myddle warde ledde the lorde Admyrall himselfe, and in his compaignie the lorde Edmond Hawarde his brother with many worshipfull knightes, squiers, and tall yomen: The last battail was ledde by two valiaunt knightes of the Garter sir Wyllyam Sandes and sir Richard Wyngfelde, and with theim was sir Richard Iernyngham with many other. In good order of battail they passed ouer Newnam bridge the. xxx. day of August to a place called Calkewell & there lodged betwene ŷ Wyndmyl & the Marrishe.

The same day came to the lorde Admyrall a certain nombre of wilde persones, as menne out of seruice and apprentises that ranne frō their Masters and other ydle persones, and him desired that they might be retained in the kinges wages, to whom he answered, that the kyng had appointed the nōbre of suche as should haue wages, whiche was fully complete and aduised theim to returne into England and not to loyter there. Then sayd a tall yoman, my lorde here be many good felowes that with your fauor would leopard to get or lose, for their mynde is to be reuenged on the Frenchemen enemies to the kyng and his realme. Good felowe sayd the lorde Admyrall, their mindes be good, but if for lacke of conduite they should be cast awaye, it were a losse to the kyng and a great corage to the Frenchemen. Then all the compaignie cried, let vs go in the name of God and sainct George: Then after counsail take he gaue them a Pēnon of sainct George and bad them aduenture (of whiche they were called aduenturers) and farther bad theim that if they got any botie they should euer bryng it to tharmy and they should be payde to the vttermost, and then he gaue them money and cōmaunded them weapons & so the sayd. xxxi. day the sayd aduenturers. iiii.C. in nombre and mo, sette forwarde before the host, but how they did, you shall heare afterwarde.

Monday the fyrst day of September the armye remoued towarde Guisnes, which day was very hote & drinke lacked, and water was not nere, so that some died for faintnes, & this night they laye at Guysnes.

Tewsday the second day of September the armye passed towarde Arde: and in the golden Valay where the kyng of England and the Frenche kyng met two yeres before, there met with tharmy of England two capitaines of the Burgonions, the one called the erle of Egremond the Seneschal of Henaude, and the lorde of Bauers Admyral of Flaūders with v.C. horsemen, like men of warre. The lord Admyral in gentle maner receiued these two capitaines and their compaignie & so they ioyned theimselfes to the Englishe armye, and the same day they tooke lodgyng at Arde south from the toune, where they were wel vitailed, & there lay wednesday all day, and the Burgonyons lay vnder the castle of Mountorrey. The next day they remoued to the vale of Lyekes, & there encāped themselfes. Sir George Cobham thesame day ẏ. ii.M. men, by the Admyralles cōmaūdement came to the toune of Selloys & set fyer in the toune, & when the toune was on fyer he assauted the castle. They within made resistence, but it auayled not, for the walles were entred & the souldiers taken, and the castle set on fyer, & with gunpouder ouerthrew the walles: then ẏ hast he remoued to a toune called Brune bridge and set it on fyer, and also brent a toune called Senekerke, and also the tounes of Botyngham and Manstier & so returned to the lord Admyrall whiche gaue him great thankes, The Frenchmen appered in plumpes, but yet they durst not reskue their tounes.

On saterday the lord Admyrall remoued with the whole army to a ground beside sainct Nerbyns and there lay all sonday beyng the. vii. day of September, where he sent diuers companies out which forraged the coūtreys & brent many villages as farre as thei might trauail: the lord Admyrall caused the toune of Narbyn to be brent, & tooke the castle and rased it and vtterly destroyed it.

On Monday the. viii. day, he remoued to Dauerne and brent all the tounes as he passed, and lyng there, he brent the toune of Dauerne and cast doune the castle of Columberge & the castle Rew, but the churches of Dauerne and a house of Nonnes were saued by his cōmaundement.

Thesame day was brent saint Marie de Boys and all the countrey twelue myle about was of light fyer, the people fledde and left tounes and Castelles full of wyne, corne, and all other necessaries, so that in Dauerne the Englishmen found great plentie, whiche or they went away they set a fyer.

The ix. day of Septembre the whole armye came before the toune of Boyardes in whiche was a Church more liker a castle then a Church, for it was depe ditched with drawe bridges and with Bulwarkes fortefied and lopes very warlike, The Admyrall beholdyng it sayd, this is like no house of praier. Then he commaūded his people to entre the dyches and plucke doune the drawe bridges and set fyer in ẏ Churche, and with gunpouder ouerthrew it, and brent the toune and all the villages adiacent to the same, the people cried and fledde, well was he that might saue himselfe.

The. x. day, thei came to the toune of Vaus, which was nye the toune called Foucamberge and there a company of Frenchmen wer askried, for out of a wood they showed themselfes, but they taryed not long, but without profer of encountre they departed. Wherfore the whole army toke their campe & there lay till the. xiii. day which was saterday, euery day sendyng plumpes out to set fyer in the countrey, and on that day they toke the way to Frynge or Fryuges, and there brent the toune and destroyed the castle which was very strong.

The Sonday beyng the. xiiii. day, the lorde Admyral with his compaigny in great raine and yll wether passed by hilles and valeys verye painefully, and with great labor came to a toune called Blaniow, and there taried monday all day, & there all day counsailed the capitaines both of England and Flaūders or Burgon what was best to be done.

On tewsday in the mornyng came a trumpet from the Castle of Hedyng and desired to speake with the capitaine, whiche incontinent sent for him: my lorde capitaine sayd the trumpet, the capitaine of Hedyng desireth you to come thither and see the place, and on the walles he wil bring you good lucke, and he prayeth you not to hurt the dere in his parke, and for any other hurt you can do him he careth not: well sayd the lorde Admyrall, I will send him

Message to Hedyng.

The answer. him answere by my trumpet, Incontinent he called a trumpet and had him go to Hedyng to Mounsire de Bees and to say to him that he would come to the castle of Hedyng, & if he slay any of my menne with his artilerie, let him trust me, that If I gette the castle I shall saue neither man, woman, nor childe. So with that message the trumpet departed & declared it to Mounsire de Bees, whiche sayd that it was spoken of noble corage, and so the trumpet returned, and thesame day the campe was remoued and the whole army came about

Hedyng besieged. the castle of Hedyng, at whiche tyme the toune of Hedyng was sore infecte with pestilence, wherefore a generall commaundement was geuen that no mā should ones come into the toune, howbeit some of the Burgonyans did and set fyre in the houses.

When the siege was planted, the ordinaunce was very light for the wayes were so depe and the grounde so wet that the great ordinaunce could not be caried. This thing was well debated by the lord Admyral and the capitaines. After they had been there. xi. dayes, fyrst they considered that the castle could not be obtained without great ordinaunce, which in no wise could then be caried, and also if they with the light ordinaūce shotyng should spend all their pouder and not get the castle then in theim might be reckened great foly, and also they should be in great ieopardie to passe without ordinaunce, and further the plage began sore in the armye, wherfore they determined to leaue the siege and returne. But while they lay at ỹ toune they bet doune rofles, galleries, chymnies, and suche other thinges as the light ordinaunce would bete doune, whiche sore defaced the beautie of the castle. They also destroied all the dere in the Parke, whiche were falowe dere and left none for the capitaine.

The cause why the castle was not assaulted. The Englishemen were clerely determined to haue assauted the castle if the Burgonions would haue done thesame: but they refused, whiche seyng the Englishmen left the assaut alone: For though the Englishemen had gotten it, it should haue been defiuered to the Emperours vse by the treatie, for he clamed it as his inheritaunce, whiche caused the Englishemen to leaue the assaut.

The siege raised. And so the. xxii. day of September they rered the siege and set theim selfes in good order of battail and passed styl onwarde til they came to Dorlans and brent the toune, and rased the castle, and frō thence came to the good towne of Darrier and brent and spoyled thesame. Thus he brent all the way as he passed: and euer the wether was worse, and men fell sicke, wherfore the Burgonions and the Spaniardes returned into Flaunders about Betwyn.

Then the lorde Admyrall saw that it was no tyme to kepe the felde, turned backward in good ordre of battail & came to Calaice the. xvi. day of October. And while he lay at Calayce he sent out sir Willyā Sandes, sir Morice Barkeley, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam with. iii.M. men, whiche brent Marguyson whiche was newly edified and fortefied, they brent also the toune of sainct Iohnes Rhode & Temple toune, & many villages. At this voiage wer take many prisoners. xiiii.M. shepe, xiiii.C. great cattal as Oxen & Kyen, & xiii.C. bogges, and vi. C. Mares & Horses, with this great botie this crew returned to Calayce in safetie.

Then ỹ lord Admyral sent sir Ihon Walop with. ix.C. men to saint Omers to lye there and at Guysnes, Hammes and at Marke, & at Oyhe left another nombre and left capitaines to ouerse them, & all the soudiers had a monethes wages payde them & so returned into England.

The aduenturers taried stil and gat many good prayes, & brought to the garrisons, and lacked nothyng: they were muche drad of all the common people, for of them they had great prayes, and dayly learned feates of warre whiche made them the bolder.

When the lorde Admirall had set all thinges in an order on that side the sea, he toke shippe & with the Nauy came into the riuer of Thames and so to the *kyng*, of whom he was well welcommed & not vnworthy.

In this season were banished out of Southwarke. xii. Scottes whiche had dwelt there a long season & wer conueied frō parishe to parishe by the constable like men ỹ had abiured the realme, & on their vttermost garment a white crosse before & another be-

hynd them. Thus were they conueyed through London Northwarde till they came to Scotlande.

While the lord Admiral was this in Fraunce destroiyng the countrey, the noble Erle of Shrewesbury lorde George Talbot & Steward of the kynges houshold prepared by the kynges commaundement a great army toward Scotland: for the kyng was enformed that Duke Ihon of Albany (whiche in ỹ Parliament of Scotland was made lord gouernor of the realme and of the yong kyng duryng his nonage) had raised a mightie & puissaunt host of Scottes to the nomber of, lxxx.M. men as after was well knowen, whiche were warlike appointed, & that he with. v.C. Frenchemen with handgunnes and other great artilleric was cõmyng forward to inuade the west Marches of England adioynyng toward Scotland. Wherefore the kyng sent worde to therle of Shrewesbury, which with all diligẽce like a noble capitain set forward towarde Yorke, & wrote to therles of Northumberland, Westmerland and Darby, to the lorde Dacres, Lumley, Clyfford, Scrope, Latemer, Ogle, Darcy, Conyers, & to all other gentlemen to be ready with. viii. houres warnyng with all their powers, and so in iorniyng, he with his power whiche was great, came to the citie of Yorke abidyng the ordinaunce, and the lordes and all other thynges necessary in suche a case.

In the meane season the Scottes were come nigh to the citie of Carleyle and lodged them nigh the water of Eske not farre from Sulway sandes, & there made their abode. Therle of Westmerland, ỹ lord Dacres, the lorde Roos, the lorde Mountagle, with the knightes of Lancashere, Westmerland & Cumbeiland were ready with. xxviii.M. men to haue geuen them battail.

When the Scottes sawe that they could not come into Englãd with out battail, the lordes of Scotland drew to counsail, and amongest all one wyseman sayd, my lordes, hether be we come by the cõmaundement of my lorde Gouernor the duke of Albany, but for what cause the warre is we should know: you al remẽbre that the last warre was to ỹ realme of Scotland muche preiudiciall: For kyng Iames the. iiii. brought the realme of Scotlãd to the best that euer it was: and by his warre it was brought to ỹ worst almost that may be, for by that warre was he & his nobilitie slaine, whiche Scotlãd sore lamẽteth: Wherfore by mine aduise let vs go to ỹ duke & know of him the cause. Tbẽ thei al came to ỹ dukes court, & therle of Arrayn an aũcient mã spake for thẽ all & sayd, my lord Gouernor, by your wil & cõmaũdement here is assẽbled almost all ỹ nobilitie of Scotland ẅ their power vpõ a pretence to entre into Englãd, my lordes here would know ỹ cause & quarel why this war is begon, if it might please your goodnes, it should wel satisfie their mides. The saiyng of a Scottishe Erle.

The duke studied a good while & sayd: this questiõ would haue been demaũded or now: For well you know ỹ I for the very loue that I bere to ỹ realme of Scotlãd, of the whiche I haue my name, honor & lignage. I haue passed ỹ seas out of ỹ noble realme of Fraũce into this realme of Scotlãd. One great cause to bring you to a vnitie when you wer in deuision by reason of which deuision your realme was likely to be cõquered & destroyed. Also ỹ Frenche kyng by my suites & intercessiõ wil ioyne ẅ you in ayde against thenglishe naciõn: & when this war was determined in ỹ parliament, you made me capitain, authorisyng me to inuade Englãd ẅ bãner displaied: then was no questiõ demaũded of ỹ right or quarel, & that I haue is by your assent & agrement, & that I will iustifie: But to answer your demaũde, my thynke you haue iust cause to inuade Englãd with fyer, sworde, & blond, if you be not to forgetfull & without you will beare dishonor & reproche for euer: For you know that this realme of Scotlãd is our inheritaũce as a porcion of ỹ worlde allotted to our nacion & aũcetors whõ we succede: Then where may be better warre then to maintaine this our natural inheritaũce, is not daily seen the great inuasions ỹ thenglishmen on vs make, ỹ great mỹslaughters & murders with robberies & spoiles that they do dayly? Is not this a cause of warre? To defẽd the coũtrey is ỹ office of a king, the honor of noble men & the very seruice of chiualry, & the dutie natural of ỹ cõmynaltie. For I thinke it a iust quarel if we might cõquere the realme of Englãd & annex it to our realme & make a Monarchie: For sith ỹ beginning of our habitacion in this Isle of Britaigne, that naciõ & we haue been ene- The answere of the duke of Albany.

mies, & vs they haue euer hated, & yet we haue euer with stode the til at ỹ last battail of Branxston where we by chaūce lost our souereigne lord & many noble men, but that was by treason of his lord chāberlain, & yet I thinke we wan ỹ felde: whiche murther I thinke all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therfore I would that you should coragiously auaūce your self in this quarel to get honor & to be reuēged.

Then a sad mā called the president of the cousail sayd, my lord, Fortune of war is led by him that all ledeth, & he striketh the stroke, we can worke no miracles, & here are ỹ lordes of Englād redy to encountre vs, and surely they will fight, for their power shall encreace daily and ours is at the hyest. And if God geue vs ỹ victory as I trust he will, yet haue we not won the field. For redy cōming is ỹ lord Talbot erle of Shrewesbury so muche drad in Fraūce as you know well, with a great puissaūt army, & there is no doubt but the kyng of Englād wil send or bring another army, if we should chaūce to get the first battail: if we get the. ii. feld, that will not be wout losse of many nobles, by reason wherof the realme shalbe weaker. And if we be ouercome, how many shalbe slaine God knoweth: They ỹ fle be worthy to be reputed as traitors to ỹ king & so by wilfulnes & folishe hardynes ỹ realme shalbe in ieopardie to be vndone, & I say, while the king is yin age, we ought to moue no war, sith by war we may bring him to distruccion. Alas sayd ỹ duke, here is al ỹ puissaūce of Scotlād: if we returne, we shall encorage our enemies, & the realme of Scotlād shal euer be rebuked & defamed. All this communicacion in cousail was written by one sir Lother priest & Scot and secretary to ỹ quene of Scottes, whiche was a secretary there in ỹ host at that tyme, to a Scottishe priest ỹ dwelt in Lōdon: & farther he wrote that the Scottishe king did muche for the Frenche kynges pleasure to draw the lordes of Englād vn their powers toward that partie & to put the kyng of Englād to charges, so that he should not inuade Fraunce.

After this cōunicacion the quene of Scottes whiche doubted the sequele of this matter, sēt worde to the duke & him required to comon of a peace w the warden of thenglishe Marches, which sent an Herauld to the lord Daker then warden of ỹ west Marches, ỹ lord Daker agreed, & vpō hostages wēt to the duke of Albany into his cāpe, where ỹ quene of Scottes by that tyme was come, & so ther was an abstinence of war taken for a season: and in the meane tyme the duke and the quene promised to send Ambassadors to the kyng of England to conclude a peace: And thus ỹ Scottes returned into their houses. This truce was take the xi. day of Septēber betwene Englād and Scotlād this xiiii. yere of ỹ kyng. Therie of Shrewesbury hearyng of the truce by the lord Dacres letters returned with al his cōpany, sory that he had not gone forward on the Scottes. In this season the cōmissioners sat for the loane of the x. part of euery mans substaunce in euery shyre, the people were swoune and some anaunced them selfes more then they were worth of pride, not remembryng what was comyng, and the commissioners did what they could to set the people to the vttermoste, whiche afterwarde turned the people to muche heauines, & by reason of this, great summes of money were leuied, but the moste part were not content, because the loane was so sodainly payed. But vnder the value of, v. pound no mā lent a peny. The. vii. day of October was. iiii. M. pound payde to the citie of London whiche was lent for a priuate cause about the loane of the. x. part.

In this yere the bakers of London came and told the Mayre that corne would be dere, wherupon he and the aldermen made prouision for xv. C. quarters, & when it was come they would bye none, and made the cōmon people beleue that it was musty, because they would vtter their owne, so that the lord Cardynal was faine to proue it, and found the bakers false and commaunded them to bye it.

The xvi. day of October the kyng lay at Hitchyn in Hartford shyre to see his Haukes flye, and by chaunce, there the kynges lodgyng was on fyer & he in great feare, but in no ieopardie, and so the kyng came shortly to London and sent for the Mayre and diuerse comyners and to them gaue thankes for many kyndnes whiche they thought they had wel deserued.

The warre thus cōtinuing betwene the Frenche kyng and the kyng of England, there was a valiaunt

a valiaunt capitane Constable of the castle of Hammes vnder the lorde Mountioy called sir Richard Whethyll, the Frēche men him somuche hated that they deuised a policie to take him, & so on Christmasday at night there issued out of Bullain CC. horsmen and CCC. fotemen, and somuche they trauailed that all together were come to a place where Hoppes grew, nere Hammes castle called Catte Hall. When they were come thither, they kept theimselfes couert, and in the morning they brake vp the Turne pyke by sainct Gertrudes: Then sent they into Hammes Marche. ix. or. x. fotemen to take cattell. In the castle the *alarme* rang, but the embushment kept theim still close. The Constable perceiued what the *alarme* ment, and armed him, & so did his archers, and toke his horse, and thre gētlemen went on fote by him. The Frenchmen of purpose driued the cattel here & there as though it would not be driuen, sir Richard Whethyll pursued them. When the driuers sawe him, they droue the cattel into a great felde: then were the bushment of horsmen and fotemen betwene him and sainct Gertrudes, and they sodaynly brake out on him, and the thre gentlemen on foote fought valiantly but they were slaine, the knight alighted and fought on fote manfully, but he was borne doune with pykes, and sore wounded and so was compelled to yelde himselfe prisoner: by that tyme wer xxx. archers come out of the castle, and when they sawe the great nomber of the Frenchemen, then they knewe that their capitaine was betrayed and so returned.

In this Christmas whiche was kept at Eltham, the Cardinal made diuers reformacions for the kynges housholde, and all they that had no masters were commaunded to auoyde.

The. xxvii. day of February sir Ihon Walop knight sent. lx. auenturers from Guysnes to seke auentures, and they mette with a gentlemanne called Thomas Palmer whiche went with them. And out of a castle betwene Bullaine and Marguyson called Hadyngham came out. lxxx. Frenchemen with Pykes and Crosbowes, and sette on the same Palmer whiche him defended.

Al his company sauyng, xxiii. persons wer gone about to seke their pray. These. xxiii. persones him manfully succoured & after the Frenchmen had slaine his horse and wounded him, his company slew. iii. Frenchemen and toke xxv. on liue whiche were all hurt & so wer thenglishmen, for the Frenchemen fought sore. All these prisoners were brought to Guisnes, & the remnant of thauenturers returned with muche cattel.

The last day of February. lx. Englishmen archers & bilmen came to a place called saint Anthonies nere to Marguison & entred ỹ houses and fell a spoilyng: The Frenchmen were therof aduertised by a spy, & came on & set on a few Englishmen which wer together: then with noise othēr of thenglishmen approched, so they were. xl. persones. Then came out a freshe embushment of Frenchmen & set on thenglishmen & so slewe. xi. & toke xx. prisoners & the other scaped. About this time ỹ duke of Albany sailed out of Scotlād into Fraūce, & the French king somuch fauored him, ỷ as it was shewed to the kyng of Englād for trueth, that when ỹ Frenche king rode through Paris he rode on ỹ one hand & Richard de la Pole a traitor to Englād & by parliament attainted on ỹ other hād, & that the duke had asked of the Frēch kyng v.M. horsemen &. x.M. Almaines, & that he had promised ỹ French kyng if he had those. xv.M. men, he would do one of these. iii. thynges, either sley ỹ kyng of Englād in battail, or els take him prisoner, or els driue him out of his realme. These were shamefull bragges of a noble man and very folishe.

The duke of Albany returned.

Ye haue hard before how truce was taken by ỹ duke of Albāny & the lord Dacres for a season betwene Englād & Scotlād & that Ambassadors should be sent to ỹ king of Englād, so it was ỹ in October accordyng to their accustomed doublenes they sent. iii. personages of small behauor as it semed, as Ambassadors frō Scotlād: they were smally regarded & shortly departed. Their Cōmission to was know whether the same tyme or abstinēce of warre was by ỹ king assēted to or not, & other cōmission had they none. Thus they ment craftely as you may perceiue, for in suche troublous tyme they steale vnpunished, whiche they may not do in tyme of peace. Wherfore the kyng to be sure of them sent for Hēry the. v. erle of Northūberland & him made warden of the whole Marches which thākefully accepted the-

Ambassade frō Scotlād.

same, & so departed lord Warden. But how soeuer it happened he made suite to ỹ kyng & his cõusail & neuer left, till he was discharged of thesame, & then therle of Surray lord Admyral of Englãd was made general warden, & the lord Marques Dorset was made Warden of thest Marches & myddil, and the lord Dacres of the west Marches: whiche iii. lordes sped them thether the vi. day of March for ỹ defence of the borders. For refusyng of this office therle of Northũberland was not regarded of his owne tenaũtes whiche disdained him and his blod and muche lamẽted his foly, and all men estemed him without hart or loue of honor and chiualrie.

The loane gathered,

The kyng out of hãd sent cõmissions to gather ỹ loane, this was called the practisyng of the loane, which sore emptied mens purses. In the same moneth were musters taken through the realme & euery mã cõmaũded to be ready within a dayes warnyng to do the kyng seruice in harnes, which caused euery man of honesty to bye harnes and weapon.

The lorde Marques Dorset warden of the East Marches betwene England & Scotland accompanied with sir Willyam Bulmer and sir Arthur Darcy and many other noble men, the second day of April then beyng there thursday entred into Tyuedale & so. x. myle into Galoway and brent on euery side townes and villages, and the Scottes in great nomber shewed themselfes on the hylles & did not approche, & so he all that night taried in the Scottishe ground & on good Friday returned with their botie whiche was. iiii. M. head of nete into England, when they had brent Grymslay, Mowhouse, Dufforde mylles, Ackeforthe, Crowlyng, Nowes maner, Midder Crowling, Marbottel, Low Bog, Sefforth Maner, Myddyl rigge, Primsed, Broket, Shawes Haruel, wide open Haught & other townes & villages, & yet lost not many men.

The. xv. day of April beganne a Parliament at the blacke Fryers in Lõdon, & that day the Masse of the holy ghost was song, all the lordes beyng present in their Parliament robes. And when Masse was finished the kyng came into the Parliament chamber and there satte doune in the seate royall or throne, and at his fete on the right side satte the Cardynal of Yorke & the Archebishop of Cantorbury, & at the raile behind stode doctor Tũstal bishop of Lõdon. which made to the whole Parliament an eloquent Oracion declaryng to the people the office of a kyng: Fyrst he must be a man of iudgement accordyng to the saiyng of the Prophet Dauid *Deus iudicium tuum regi da, &c.* Also he must be a man of great learnyng according to the saiyng of the Prophete, *Eruditimini qui iudicatis terram.* Accordyng to whiche saiynges he sayd that God had sent vs a prince of great iudgment, of great lernyng, & great experience, whiche accordyng to his princely dutie forgat not to studye to sette forwarde all thynges whiche might be profitable to his people and realme, least ther might be layde to his charge the saiyng of Seneca *Es rex & non habes tempus esse rex?* Art thou a kyng and hast no tyme to be a kyng, which is asmuch to say, as art thou a kyng and doest nothyng profitable to thy people: Art thou a kyng & seest the people haue an *insufficient* lawe? Art thou a kyng and wilt not prouide remedy for the mischiefe of thy people? These thynges haue moued the kynges highnes to call this his high court of Parliament both for the remedy of mischiefes whiche be in the common law, as recoueries, forain vouchers and corrupt trials. And for making & orderyng of new estatutes which may be to the high auauncement of the common wealth, wherfore he wylleth the commons to repare to the cõmon house and thereto elect theim a speaker, or their comon mouth, and to certifie the lorde Chauncellour of the same, whiche should thereof make report to the kynges moste noble grace, whiche should declare his pleasure when he would haue him presented before his persone. This was the cause of the Parlyament he sayd, but surely of these thinges no worde was spoken in the whole Parlyament, and in effect no good act made except the graunt of a great subsidie were one, but accordyng to this instruccion the commons departed to the common house and chose for their speaker sir Thomas Moore knight & presented him the saterday after in the Parliament chamber, where he accordyng to the old vsage disabled himself both in wit, learnyng, and discrecion, to speake before the kyng, & brought in for his purpose how

The Oracion of Doctor Tũstal bishop of London.

The Oracion of sir Thomas More.

how one Phormio desired Hanniball to come to his readyng, whiche thereto assented, and when Hannyball was come he began to reade, *de re militari*, that is of Chiualrie, when Hannyball perceiued him, he called him arrogant foole, because he would presume to teache him, whiche was master of Chiualrie, in the feates of warre. So the speaker sayd, if he should speake before the kyng of learnyng and orderyng of a cõmon welth and such other like the kyng beyng so well learned & of suche prudence & experience might say to him as Hannyball sayd to *Phormio*. Wherfore he desired his grace that the commons might chose another speaker: The Cardinall answered, that the kyng knewe his witte, learnyng & discrecion by long experience in his seruice: wherfore he thought that the commons had chosen him as the moste metest of all, and so he did admit him. Than sir Thomas Moore gaue to the kyng his moste humble thankes, and desired of him two peticions: The one, if he should be sent from the commons to the king on message & mistake their entent, that he might with the kynges pleasure resort againe to the commons for the knowlege of their true meanyng: The other was, if in communicacion & reasonyng any man in the cõmon house should speake more largely then of dutie he ought to do, that all suche offences should be pardoned, & that to be entred of recorde, whiche two peticions were graunted, and so thus began the Parlyament and continued as you shal heare.

Because an euil chaũce happened to the great rebuke of all christen princes, I entend briefly to declare thesame miserable chaunce. In the beginnyng of this yere Sultan Solyman Pac called ỹ great Turke whiche was but the viii. of ỹ ligne of Ottoman, the first that toke vpõ him to be a great capitain or ruler. And to whom Sultan Selyme his father had lost thempyres of Constantinoble, Trapesonde, Alexandry, & Babylon, with many diuers kyngdomes & realmes: whiche Sultan Solymon the yere before had gotten the toune of Belgrado beyng the key of Hungary. Because he sawe all ỹ great princes in Christendome now at discord, thought it most for his honor & profite to make warre on the Isle of ỹ Rodes and to take thesame, which Isle had been kept by the space of. CC. xiiii. yeres by the brethren or knightes of the order of sainct Ihones of Ierusalẽ. Dyuers thinges moued him to take this enterprice. One was because this Isle stode so that the religious of thesame oftentymes toke & destroyed his shippes as they came with golde and other riches from Egypt, Sirie & other Estparties to Constantinoble, so that by theim of that Isle he sustayned more hurt then by all Christendome, because the sayd Isle stode in the entry toward Constãtinople. Another mocion was because his father when he died charged him to assay to take the Rhodes for to be reuenged of the shame that they had done to his graundfather Mahomet the great Turke whiche was with dishonor beten frõ the siege of the Rhodes. But the greatest occasion of all was the exhortacion of a great counsailer of the religiõ called Andrewe Amyral borne in Portyngale, whiche knew the whole estate & in what case the toune stode in: The cause why this Andrew Amyral bare malice to his religion, was because after the death of Frier Fabrica de Laretto lord master of their religion, he was not elected to that honor, but one Philip de Vylliers de Lisle Adam of Fraunce was named to be lord Master, wherfore the said Andrew prouoked the Turke to come to the Rhodes.

The great Turke seyng so great an occasiõ offered & desiryng honor, & also knowing the fortresse of ỹ Rhodes to lacke munitions (for surely the brethren of the sayd order wer both of suche wealth & pride, and also liued after suche an vngracious & vngodly fashion, that they toke neither heede of their vow & solempne profession, nor also did forese the thyng to come, so that the great welth of them, & their euil liuyng blinded them, so that they thought ỹ Turke durst not ones attẽpt to set on their garrison, & so they beyng eleuate in in this point of pride, left their toune vnfurnished and so wer sodainly surprised as you shall heare) wherfore ỹ sayd Turke couertly prouided for. iii. C. saile, in ỹ which he caried all his artilery & all other thinges necessary: in ỹ which army wer. lx. M. myners and pyoners prepared for the only intent to digge & myne: all the rest of the army of ỹ Turke came by lãd to a place called Fysco, which stãdeth so directly against ỹ Rhodes that a fyer may be seen frõ the one side to the other, frõ whiche place the Turke sent letters to ỹ aboue-

The Rhodes besieged.

Why ye turke couered the Rhodes.

named

named Philip de Vylliers lord Master of the sayd religion signifiyng to him that he would haue ỹ sayd Isle for ỹ great damage ỹ they had done to him & his people, and if they would yeld to him the sayd Isle, he promised on his fayth & by Mahomet his fyrst prophet, they should haue no damage nor hurt by him, & that they that would depart shuld go in safetie, & they that would tary & serue him should haue good wages, & if they refused this to do, he sware that he would subuert the walles of their fortresse and destroy them all and make them slaues, whiche letter was dated at Constantinople the fyrst day of Iune. The said Lorde Master and his compaignie were greatly abashed of this letter, but yet like hardy gentlemen they intended to defende them, and made all the preparacions that they could do in so short a space, and wrote to all princes christen of their nede and distres. But the Turke like a wyly serpent knowyng the great deuision amõgest ỹ christen princes, so that he knew that they could sende no succours to the Rhodes, sent CC. M. Turkes whiche arriued in the Isle of the Rhodes on Mydsomerday, whiche was ỹ feastful day of ỹ Rhodians in honor of S. Ihon baptist whiche sodain commyng sore abashed the Rhodyans beyng but. vi. C. knightes and v. M. other mete to beare armes: yet of noble courage and trusting in God, they determined to defend the enemies of God, and the. xxviii. day of Iuly the Turke arriued there in his owne person, whiche muche encoraged his people.

When the Turke was arriued, he bent his ordinaunce towarde the toune and did no great harme, when he saw that the walles were of that defence that ordinaunce did litle harme, he caused all his Pyoners to cast yerth one banke ouer another styll till they came within a bowshot of the wall, and although that many of the pyoners were slain with ordinaunce of the toune, they neuer ceased tyll they had made a banke of yearth higher by. x. foote then the wall of the toune, and thei there layde their ordinaunce, so that no persone durst styrre on the walles or Bulworkes, and thus with mountaines of yerth was the toune enuironed and behynd the mountaines lay the Basheaux and chief capitaines of the Turke whiche were euer redy to take their aduauntage, and dayly they shot into the toune and bet doune houses and slewe the people in the streates, for they vpon this mount might easely see into the toune. Beside this, the Turke caused so many mynes to be made in diuers places, that they within were not able to make countermynes for lacke of people, insomuche as women were set a worke to dygge and cary, by reason wherof a great part of the walles were ouerthrowen, and if they within had not made countermines the toune had been gotten within a short space.

The moũtes.

The Mynes.

Also the Turkes in September gaue to the Rhodyans foure great assautes like valiaunt warriers, but the Christen men within, so valiantly defended them, that at euery assaut they lost at the lest. ii. M. men, and at the fourth assaut they lost. x. M. Turkes and more.

The assautes.

The great Turke seyng the losse of his men at the assautes, sent for Moustaffa Basshaw, through whose counsail he toke on him this enterprice and much blamed him that he had made him beleue that he might haue the toune within. xii. dayes or in a moneth at ỹ most, wherfore in ỹ furie he would haue put him to death, if the other Basshawes had not entreated for him: but in cõclusion ỹ Turke determined clerely to rayse his siege and to depart, and so had done if that same night sir Andrew Amyrall that you heard of before and a Iewe beyng within the Rhodes had not written letters and shot them out on quarelles into the Turkes army. By whiche letters the Turke knew the necessitie of the toune and feblenes of the people, whiche caused him to chaunge his purpose. But this treason was espyed, and the traytors taken and put to terrible execucion. And the Turke caused so many Mynes to be made, that although some tooke none effecte, yet by some he ouerthrew bothe Bulwarkes, walles and towers, so that he might entre into the toune: and so on sainct Andrewes euen he caused a great assaut to be geuen, whiche was very fierce, but yet the Christen men so valiauntly defended them, that they slewe three thousand Turkes and mo, and kept them from enteryng that daie, but the Citezens of the Rhodes after this assaulte, came to the lorde Master, and praied hym to haue compassion of them, their wiues and children, and shewed him that if the toune wer taken by assault, (as it was like to be) that thei al should be cruelly murdered, the Lorde Master muche regarded his honor, and comforted

Treason espyed.

forted the people with faire wordes, but by chaunce about thesame tyme, the great Turke sent a letter into the Rhodes, willyng theim to deliuer the toune, and they all should haue their liues and goodes, and they that would tary, should tary in quiet, & thei that would depart, should sauely depart.

When this letter was knowen, then the people cried out on the lorde Master to take the offre, wherfore he callyng all his counsaill together scyng that it was not possible to kepe the toune longer, both for lacke of artilary and vitaile, and also because his nomber was so minished that scace he had souldiers to kepe the walles: wherefore he by greate aduice determined to take the Turkes offer, and so sent to hym twoo of his religion, for the farther conclusion and assuraunce of thesame, whiche well entertained them, and had writynges sealed of all thynges that they desired, to which two knightes, Aymeche Basshaw sware by his faith that there was slain at the siege. lxiiii. thousande Turkes, and. xl. thousande dedde of mortalitie and mo. The yeldyng vp of the Rhodes.

And so on Christmas daie, the greate Turke hymself entered into the Rhodes, and toke possession therof, and the lorde Master and all his religion, the first daie of Ianuary tooke ship and sailed to Candy, and so in conclusion came to Rome, and there declared his chaunce and aduenture. Thus was the toune and the isle of the Rhodes, taken by the great Turke, whiche was a greate succor to all Christian men, resortyng into the East partes of the world, whiche chaunce was muche lamented thorowe all Christendom, and much blame put in all Princes, because they sent no succor nor aide to the Isle.

And this yere the Byshoppe of Duresme died, and the kyng gaue the bishoprike to the Cardinall, and he resigned the bishoprike of Bathe, to doctor Ihon Clerke master of the Rolles, and he made sir Henry Marney his vicechamberleyn lorde Priuie Seale, & after created hym lorde Marney. In thende of this yere, doctor Blithe bishopp of Chester, was attached for treason, but he acquite hymself. And aboute this season, the Cardinall of Yorke beyng Legate, proued testamentes, and did call before hym, all the executors and administrators, of euery Dioces within the realme, so that the bishoppes and ordinaries, did proue no great willes in their Dioces, except he wer compounded with, not to their litle disauauntage. Also by his power Legantine he gaue by prouencions, all benefices belongyng to spirituall persones, by the whiche doyng, he not onely had the hatred of the spiritualtie, but also he ran into the daunger of the Premunire, whiche he sore after repented, as it shall appere in the. xxi. yere of this kyng.

¶ THE. XV. YERE.

The. xv. yere.

TIe Parliament beyng begon, as you haue hard before rehersed, the Cardinall accompaignied with diuerse lordes, aswell of the Spiritualtie, as of the temporaltie, came the. xxix. daie of Aprill into the Common house, where he eloquently declared to the commons, how the Frenche Kyng, Fraunces the first, called the moste Christened kyng, had so often tymes broken promise with the kyng of England, and his welbeloued nephew Charles the Emperor, that the kyng of his honor could no lōger suffre. For first he declared, that the metyng of the saied twoo princes at Guysnes, thesaid Frenche kyng was sworne, to kepe all the articles conteined in the tripartie league, made betwene him, the Emperour, and the kyng of Englande, sithe the whiche tyme, he hath made warre on themperors dominiōs, by Robert de la Marche his capitain. He also hath with holden the tributes and other paimentes, whiche he should paie to the kyng of Englande for redempcion of Tornay and Erwin, and not with this content, hath not alonely robbed and spoyled the kynges subiectes, but also hath sent Ihon duke of Albany into Scotland, to make warre and to inuade this realme, wherfore the King of necessitie was driuen to warre and defence, whiche in no wise could be mainteined, without great somes of money, and he thought no lesse then. viii. C. M. l. to be reised of the fifth part of euery mans goodes and landes, that is to saie. iiii. s. of euery pounde, for he said that the yere folowyng, the Kyng and the Emperor should make suche warre in Fraunce, as hath not been seen. The Cardinalles oracio. The demaūde.

After.

After that he had declared his matter at length, exhortyng the Commons to aide their prince, in tyme of necessitie, he departed out of the cōmon house. The morowe after, sir Thomās More beyng speker, declared all the Cardinalles oracion again to the commons, and enforced his demaund strongly, saiyng: that of duetie men ought not to deny to paie. iiii. s. of the pound. But for all that, it was denied and proued manifestly, that if the fifth part of substaunce of the Realme, were but. viii. C. M. l. and if men should paie to the kyng, the fifth part of their goodes, in money or plate, it was proued, that there was not so much money, out of the kynges handes, in all the realme, for the fifth part of euery mannes goodes, is not in money nor plate: For although fiue men wer well monyed, five thousand were not so, the gentleman of landes, hath not the fifth part of the value in coyne: The Merchaunt that is riche of Silke, Wolle, Tynne, Clothe, and suche Merchaundise, hath not the fifth part in money, the husbande man is riche in Corne and cattell, yet he lacketh of that some. Likewise viteilers and all other artificers, be riche in houshold stuffe, and not in money: and then consequently, if all the money wer brought to the kynges handes, then men must barter clothe for vitaile, and bread for chese, and so one thyng for another: then cōsider that after this valuacion, the kyng hath had by the waie of loane. ii. s. of the pound, whiche is. iiii. C. M. l. and now to haue. iiii. s. of the. l. whiche amounteth in the whole. xii. C. M. l. whiche first and last is. vi. s. of the. l. whiche is almoste the third part of euery mans good, whiche in coyne cannot be had within his Realme, for the profe whereof was alleged, that if there were in Englande, but. xv. M. parishes, and euery parishe should geue a. C. marke, that were but. xv. C. M. marke, whiche is but. x. C. M. l. and how many parishes be in England one with another able to spare a. C. markes, out of cities and tounes: and where it is written, that in England there bee. xl. M. Parishe Churches, it was proued that there wer not. xiii. M. parishe churches at this daie. Then accompt the whole some cannot amounte aboue. x. C. M. l. and the kyng demaūdeth. viii. C. M. and he according to this valuacion, hath had. iiii. C. M. pounde, therefore it was thought, the some was impossible to be leuied, and if all the coyne wer in the kynges handes, how should men liue: Also the kyng had of the spirituall men the last yere, iiii. s. of the pounde.

After long reasonyng, there were certain appoynted, to declare the impossibilite of this demaunde to the Cardinal, whiche according to their commission, declared to him substancially the pouertie and skarcenes of the realme: all whiche reasons and demonstracions, he litle regarded, and then thesaid persones, moste mekely besecbed his grace, to moue the kynges highnes, to bee content with a more easier some, to the whiche he currishly answered, that he would rather haue his tongue, plucked out of his hedde with a paire of pinsons, then to moue the kyng, to take any lesse some: with whiche answere, they almoste dismaied, came and made reporte to the common house, where euery day was reasonyng, but nothyng concluded.

Wherefore the Cardinall came again to the common house, and desired to be reasoned withall, to whom it was answered, that the fasshion of the nether house was, to heare and not to reson, but emong themselfes. Then he shewed the realme to be of great riches, firste, because the kynges customes were greater now then they were before tyme: also he alleged sumpteous buildynges, plate, riche apparell, of men, women, children, and seruauntes, fatte feastes, and dilicate dishes, whiche thynges were all tokens of great aboundance: with whiche repetyng of mennes substaunce, as though he had repined or disdained, that any man should fare well, or be well clothed, but hymself, the commons greatly grudged. And when he was departed out of the house, it was proued, that honest apparel of the commodities of this Realme, aboundance of plate and honest viandes, were profitable to the realme, and not prodigall.

After long debating, the Commons concluded to graunte. ii. s. of the pound, of euery mannes landes or goodes, that was worth. xx. pounde, or might dispende. xx. pound, to be taken for the kyng, and so vpwarde of euery. xx. s. twoo. s. and from. xl. s. to. xx.

pounde, of euery. xx. s. xii. d. and vnder. xl. s. of euery hed. xvi. yeres and vpward. iiii. d. to bee paied in twoo yeres. This graunt was reported to the Cardinall, which therwith was sore discontent, and saied, that the lordes had graunted. iiii. s. of the pound, whiche was proued vntrue, for in dede they had graunted nothyng, but harkened all vpon the commons.

Then a knight called sir Ihon Huse of Lincolneshire, saied, to please the Cardinal somewhat, let vs gentlemen of fiftie pound lande and vpwardes, geue to the kyng of our landes. xii. d. of the pounde, to be paied in thre yere: with whiche mocion diuerse gentlemen wer sore discontent. And when the question was asked, ten or. xii. of the gentlemen saied yea, and when the naie should be asked, the commons saied nothyng, for they would not condempne, nor let the gētlemen to charge themselfes, and so by. x. or. xii. persones the gentlemen wer hurdened, with. xii. d. more then other, for the whiche graunt, sir Ihon Huse had muche euill will.

After this graunte made the. xxi. daie of Maie, because of Whitsontide, the Parliament was proroged to the tenth daie of Iune: Duryng which prorogacion, the common people saied to the Burgesses, sirs, we heare saie you will graunt. iiii. s. of the pound, we aduise you to do so that you maie go home, with many euill woordes, and threatenynges.

And in this season, the Cardinall by his power legātyne, dissolued the conuocacion at Paules, called by the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and called hym and all the clergie, to his conuocaciō to Westminster, which was neuer seen before in England, wherof master Skeltō a mery Poet wrote.

Gentle Paule laie doune thy sweard:
For Peter of Westminster hath shauen thy beard.

When the parliament was begonne again, the landed men of fiftie pounde and vpward, seyng that they were charged, with. xii. d. of euery pounde of their landes, moued, that all suche as were worth fiftie poūde in goodes and vpward, should paie also. xii. d. of the pounde, in the. iiii. yere. At the whiche mocion was muche reasonyng, & at the last the. xxvii. daie of Iune, the question was asked, and doubtfull it was, whether the yea or nay were moste, then was the house diuided, and all the commons seuered theimselfes, from the knightes of the sheres, so that one yea part remained onely the knightes of the shire, and the cōmons stifly affirmed that the mocioners of this demaunde, wer enemies to the realme. At the last the Speaker called theim all together, and after long perswadyng, and priuie laboryng of frendes, it was agreed that. xii. d. of the pounde should be paied the fourth yere, of fiftie pounde in goodes.

After this the parliamēt the. xxxi. daie of Iuly, was adiorned to Westminster, and there continued till the. xiii. daie of August, and that daie at. ix. of the clocke in the night dissolued. Durynq the tyme of this Parliament the. xxvii. daie of Aprill, was sir Arthur Plantagenet, bastarde sonne to kyng Edward the fourth, at Brydewell created viscount Lisle, in the right of his wife, whiche was wife to Edmond Dudley behedded.

In this season was true worde brought, that on Christmas daie laste past, the strong toune of the Rhodes was deliuered, to the great Turke called Sultan Soliman, with the whole Islande, to the greate hurt of all Christian nacions: the causes of the losse, was the euill liuyng of the brethren or knightes, and negligēce of prouision for the defence, and the enuie and treason emongest themselfes, as it is written and reported.

This yere Cristierne Kyng of Denmarke with his wife, which was sister to the Emperor Charles, and his thre children, with. xviii. shippes arriued in Flaunders, cleane banished out of his realmes and dominions, by his vncle Frederick duke of Holst, & his awne subiectes for his crueltie as is written. Whiche Cristierne with his wife, was well entertained of the Duches of Sauoy, and a pencion assigned to hym to liue on, in Brabant and Hōlande. Duryng the tyme of his there soiornyng, he made muche suite to come into Englande, to see and speke with the kyng, whiche request was to hym graunted, and so he and

The Kyng of Denmarkes commyng into Englande.

his Quene, with foure gentlewomen, and a trayne of fourtie persones, poore and euil appareled, landed at Douer the xv. daie of Iune, where he was nobely receiued, by the erle of Deuonshire, and the bishoppes of Excester, and Rochester, and diuerse knightes and Esquiers, and so brought to Grenewiche: where the Kyng and the Quene, standyng vnder their clothes of estate, receiued in the greate hall of Greneuiche, kyng Cristerne and Quene Isabell his wife. And he dined with the kyng, and she with the quene, both set vnder the clothe of estate, and were sumpteously serued, of all dilicate viandes.

And when he had soiorned there a season, euery daie feasted at the Court, he was conueighed to Londō, and lodged at Bathe place, where he hearyng of the watche in London, on sainct Peters euen, desired to se it, and so was accompanied with the duke of Suffolk, the Erles of Oxford, Essex, and Kent, and diuerse other lordes and ladies, and brought into the Kynges hed in Chepe, where the citee of London made to him and his wife a costly banket. And when he had seen the watche, he saied, I would to God I had so many Archers, Pikes, and halberders, as I sawe this night, then I trust I would ponishe suche, as haue wrōgfully dispossessēd me, of my realme and countrey. And after he had solaced hymself in London, he resorted to the kyng, of whom he had many great giftes, and likewise had his wife of the Quene her aunte, and so tooke their leaue, and were conueighed to Douer. And when he had been in Englande. xxii. daies, he tooke shippyng, and sailed again into Flaūders, preisyng muche the kyng of Englande and his Court.

Duryng all this season, and session of the parliament, the warre was fierce, bothe betwene England and Fraunce, and England and Scotlande, in so muche that eche parte, did asmuche as in theim laie, to hurte the other. For on the borders of Scotlande, laie the valiaunt Erle of Surrey, greate Admirall of Englande, and the Marques Dorset, and his three brethren, sir Willyam Comton, and sir Willyam Kyngston, with diuerse other knightes and Esquiers, sent to theim by the kyng, whiche daily inuaded the Realme of Scotlande, and threwe doune the Castle of Wedorberne, the castle of West Nesgate, the Castle of Blakkater, the tower of Mackewalles, the tower of Est Nesgate, and many other, and brent to the nomber of. xxxvii. villages, and haried the countrey from the Este Marches to the West, and neuer had skirmishe: but they oftē times shewed themselfes in plumpes, waiting their auantage how be it in all this iorney, were fewe Englishemen lost. Wherefore the Lordes perceiuyng, that the Scottes entended not to make any armie into Englande, fortefied the frontiers on euery parte, with men and all thynges necessary for defence, for stealyng, or other small rodes. After all whiche thynges set in a perfectnes, they returned toward the kyng, and came to the ende of the Parliament.

A ship sunken with stone in Calice hauen.

In this season, the Frenchemen hauyng a greate desire, to haue the kynges toune of Calice, deuised first to destroy the hauen, by the which thei supposed, that Calice might haue been lightly gotten, for faulte of reskewe. Whereupon thei laded an old ship of. iiii. C. tonne, with great Cane stone, in the port of Depe, whiche ship had no mast, but came with a forsaile, as though the mast had been cut, and cast ouer the bord in the sea in a tempest. And when she came before Caliche, euery man that sawe her thought she had been wether driuen, and lost her mast by tēpest, and so aboute. x. of the clocke at night the. xxiiii. daie of Maie, thesaid shippe came before Calice haue, as though she would entre for harborow, and so was enteryng and missed the chanell, & turned to the sandes, towarde Rise banke, and the Frēchemen supposyng, that they had been in the very chanell, launched out their boate, and sodainly set the shippe on fire, and lepte into their boate, and so skaped by the skore. When thei of Calice sawe the fire, they were sore troubled, and at the last when the water was gone they perceiued the ship consumed, and the goodly Cane stone liyng whole.

Wherfore the lorde Barnes deputie of Calice, the lorde Barkley leuetenaunt of the castle, the lorde Sandes thresorer of Calice, and other commauded all the laborers that might be gotten, to breake the remnaunt of the ship, and to cary awaie the stone, and so thesaied stone was brought to Calice: wherupon thesaied capitaines sent a letter, to the capitain of Bulleine,

Bulleine, by Calice pursiuant at armes, desiryng him to geue thankes, to Monsire Lodowyke capitain of Depe, for the sendyng of so faire a ship, and goodly stone to Calice, whiche stone thesaied lordes sent worde, they had receiued into the toune of Calice, and that it did thē muche profite, for the fortification of thesaied Toune, desiryng hym to sende more, and they would receiue it on thesame price. To the whiche letter, the capitain of Bulleine answered, I haue nothyng lost, nor they haue nothyng gotten of me, tell hym that hath lost, with whiche answere the pursiuant departed. Whereupon thenglishemen beyng greued, there issued out of Calice an. C. light men of warre, called auenturers, and came nere Bulleine, and obteined a greate botie, wherof the garrison of Bullein beyng aduertised, issued out and folowed the Englishmen, and sharpely them encountered. The Englishemen shot so, that the French men whiche were fiue hundred, lighted and fought sore, so that as it appered euidently, that there wer dedde on the ground. xlvi. Frenchemen, and. xxii. Englishemen, and the Frenchemen toke. xx. Englishemen prisoners, the residue of the Englishemen kept them to gether, and so came to Calice, the capitain of this enterprise was one Lathebery.

The lorde Sandes thresorer of Calice, entendyng to be reuenged on the Frenchemen called the counsaill of Calice to hym, and declared to them how that the Frenchemen, and in especiall Monsire de Bees capitain of Bullein, daily imagened to destroye the Englishe pale, and that they on the Englishe part had nothyng done yet against them: wherfore he aduised them all to do some act, and he hymself would be present, and formoste man, and their leder and capitain. Whereupon it was concluded and commaunded, that euery man should be in a readines, at the soundyng of a trompet, vpon whiche warnyng, the saied lorde Sandes the. ix. daie of July early in the mornyng, sent furth twoo hundred light Horses, through the Englisbe pale, to stoppe the people from goyng, the one towarde the other, least his enterprise should bee askried, and so the people wer kept in all that daie, and in the euenyng aboute seuen of the clocke, he hymself with a capitain called Guiot, Thomas Palmer, Ripton, Raufe Broke and other, set forward with light ordinaunce and vitaile, and embattailed themselfes in good arraie, and marched towarde Sandifelde by a. xi. of the clocke, and there refreshed themselfes and in good ordre, thei came to the Water of Sclaukes, not farre from Bullein, whiche was the tenth daie of July.

When thei were askried *Alarme* was rong all the countrey, and the capitain of Bullein sent furth. lxx. menne of Armes, and foure hundred footemen with morice pikes, crosebowes, and hande gunnes, wherefore capitain Guyot was sent with his bend of horsemen, to aide thenglishe footemen, whiche were farre behynde, and Capitain Ripton, was appoynted to fight with the Frenchemen, and sir Thomas Palmer, and Raufe Broke, with the remnaūt of the horsemen, stode for a stale. Then capitain Ripton profered forwarde with the Speres of Calice, and the Frenchmen came on valiauntly, then began a sore skirmishe, the Frēche men bothe horsemen and footemen, defended the passage at the water of Sclaukes, whiche is but a gut made by force of lande water, but after long fight the Englishemen gat ouer the water by pure force, and toke the Frenchiemens standerd, and a gentleman, whiche was a man of Armes of Bullein, called Charles de Maruiel, and euer sir Thomas Palmer and Raufe Broke, stode, & aided where necessitie was moste. Thus this skirmishe continued, from foure of the Clocke in the mornyng, till. ix. of the clocke, before None, and euer the Frenchemen encreased, but at the last they retreited themselfes toward Bullein, in whiche returne diuerse of thē wer slain. Or the skirmishe was ended, came the lorde Sandes with the fotemen, with his spere on his thigh, and his helme on his hed, and greatly encoraged his compaignie: duryng whiche conflict, diuerse of Picardy had gathered them together, and had taken the church of Odirsaell, whiche was wel fortefied, and a strong place: whereof the Lorde Sandes beyng aduertised, he marched thether ward, and in the waie burned all that might be brent, and sent an officer of Armes, to thē that kept the churche of Odirsaell, to yeld the churche to hym, whiche to hym aunswered, that they would stande at defence: then he commaunded an assaut, which quickly was done, and the Frenchemen defended thē selfes,

with hand gonnes, crosebowes, and pikes, so that the Englishmē could not entre. Then the lorde Sandes commaunded a curtall, whiche he had with hym, to be shotte to the churche, and perced it through: then they within sawe that their defence could not hold, yelded thē-selfes body and goodes. Out of the Churche came. lxxii. Frenchemen, whiche were taken as prisoners, and all the goodes whiche they had caried into the churche were taken for a botie. Thus by one of the clocke, the said tenth daie of Iuly, was the churche of Odiesaell taken.

In this while also, had the Frenchemen manned the steple of Odyngham, whiche was a very strong tower, muche like a castle, to whom the lorde Sandes sent an officer of armes, to commaunde them to yelde the fortresse, to whom they answered, that they wer Frenche-men, and to hym they would none yeld, and if he came thether, they would withstand him: wherupon he and his armie marched thether ward, and aboute foure of the clocke at after none, he assaulted the steple, and the Frenchmen them selfes valiauntly defended, but so-dainly by a chaūce vnknowen the steple was a fire, and the Frenchemen fled doune to the quire, then the Englishemen lightly entered the bodȳ of the churche, & assaulted the Frēch menne, whiche cried mercie and yelded theim selfes, and at twelue of the Clocke at midnight the assault ended, and there were yelded out of the churche fortie prisoners.

After whiche tyme, the Lorde Sandes encamped hymself, and made good watche for feare of enemies, & in the mornyng called to hym all the priestes, whiche were in bothe the churches, and stode at defence, and said to thē, that they ought not to be men of warre, and notwith-standyng he had theim as prisoners, yet for Gods sake he relesed thē, admonishyng thē, that if euer after they wer taken at defence, they should be hanged on the nexte galowes: after whiche monicion done, he deliuered them frely.

About. viii. of the clocke in the moruing, he marched forward in good ordre of battaill, and came to the Castle of Hardyngham, the whiche he brent and spoyled, and so the. xi. day of Iuly, he and his cōpaignie whiche passed not. xii. C. men, of whiche he had lost but onely. xii. returned to Calice with greate store of bestiall and pillage.

This same season, the Frenche kyng sent an armie of. xviii. M. men, towardes the parties of Flaunders, whiche secretly enterprised to take a place called Newdike, which is a strong passage, betwene Fraunce and Flaunders, kept by the Flemynges, whereof they beyng ad-uertised, arreised a great power of. xiii. M. and came to the passage, and slewe of the Frenchemen. vi. C: then the Frenchemen reculed, and seuered theimselfes: some went to Mount Orry, and some to sainct Omers and some brent the subbarbes, they within Mount Orry defended themselfes, and hurte the capitain of Bulleine, called Monsire de Bees, and slew his horse: wherfore the Frenchmen wente thence, and brent a village called Arkus: thus was all the frountiers full of Frenchemen, insomuche that in the monethe of August, they bette into the toune of Guisnes, the scourers and the scoute watche, whercof began *Alarme*, and the Frenchmen whiche were many in nōbre, alighted as though they would geue assaut maintenant, and fiersly proffered toward the diches, but when the ordinaunce began once to shote, it was no neile to bid theim go. Then the Englishemen, coragiously folowed the chace, but sodainly out came an embushement of Frenchemen, and toke twoo Eng-lishemen and thus all the armie of Fraunce, remoued to Gyngate beside Tyrwyn.

The Frenche kyng seyng the kyng of England, daily more and more encoraged to make war on him and his dominions, and that the Scottes did nothyng to his pleasure, for lacke of the Duke Ihon of Albany whom the Scottes called their gouernor. He therfore caused great preparaciō to be made, on all parties for men, shippes, harnes, and artilery for the sendyng the Duke Ihon of Albany into Scotlande, which Duke of a great presumpcion promised to the Frenche kyng to driue the kyng of Englande, out of his realme, whiche pro-mise was not kept.

The kyng of Englande, hearyng that the Duke of Albany should passe into Englande, to make warre on his realme, thought to haue him met on the seas, and therfore he prepared a flete of tal and strōg shippes mete to encounter with the saied Duke and his power, and made Admirall of that iorney, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, and with hym sir Fraunces Brian, sir Antony Pounez, Seriant Rot, Ihon Hopton, Willyam Gonstone, Anthony Kniuet, Thomas

Thomas West & other, whiche with great diligence, laie in waite to mete with the said duke of Albany, and as they sailed on the Freuche coast, they determined to lande, to doo some harme to Tray Port and as they houered there, thei were espied: then the capitain of the toune fired the beakēs, sent for aide of al the fortresses about and strengthed and manned the toune very warlike. This notwithstandyng, sir William Fitz William and other capitaines left not their enterprice, and so the. xxiii. daie of August beyng Sondaie, at seuen of the clocke in the mornyng, they toke lande in the hauen of Treyport, at whō the Frenchemen shot out ordinaunce, quarelles and stones, the English men in the botes shot likewise, and encoraged by their capitaines, assauted the Frenchemen in their bulwerkes, the Frenchemen them valiantly defended, and thenglishe capitaines as men without fere, theim assailed and yet the nomber was nothyng egall, for the Englishemen were but. vii. C. men, & the Frenchmen. vi. M. For the well fightyng of the Frēch men, their bulwerkes wer taken, and their ordinaunce sezed, and all that wer about, fled to the toune of Treiport, and euer thenglishmen folowed shotyng arowes at them, and sleyng them, in whiche skirmishe Seriant Rotte had his bowe in his hande striken with a Gonne. Then the capitaines cried sainct George, to the gates of Treyport, then euery manne auaunced forward, and as they were goyng, Cristopher Morres master Gōnner, espied a pece of a Maste, whiche he caused to bee taken vp, and then Anthony Kneuet, and Fraunces Neudigate with ther men, ranne with the said maste to the gate, but the gate was so strong, that it could not be broken: and also at euery loupe laie a pece, of ordinaunce, whiche continually shot at the Englishemen, whiche caused theim to leaue the gate, and then they sette fire in the subbarbes, whiche was a faire strete, and all was brent, and while the subbarbes brent, the Englishemen wēt to the hauen, and would haue had out the shippes, but water lacked, wherefore they set fire on theim, and brent there seuen faire shippes beside other. All this while was there skirmishyng at the gates, and much murder on bothe sides, for the Frenchemen in fliyng from their bulwerkes to the toune, lost. lxxx. persones, and many wer hurte with arowes. The men of the countrey came thether still, insomuche as the nomber became very great, whiche sir William Fitz Willyam perceiuyng, caused his trompet to blowe a retrete, and with suche prisoners, pillage, and ordinaunce as they had gotten they returned to their boates and the capitaines sent their souldiers before, the Frenchemen perceiuyng the Englishemen returned, issued out and founde on lande, Fraunces Neudigate, Thomas Wagham, Seriant Rotte, and other Capitaines to the nomber of twelue, and ran hastely toward theim in greate nomber, whiche perceiuyng that, bended themselfes to sell their liues dere. Sir Willyam Fitz Willyā perceiuyng the greate ieoperdy that they wer in, turned his boate toward the lande, and discharged his ordinaunce, & with muche pain saued these gentlemen, and them toke into boates, notwithstanding a great nomber of Frenchemen, whiche wer in the water to let him: and thus the whole armie returned to their shippes, after they had been. v. houres on land, and brought with them. xxvii. peces of faire ordinaunce, which wer in the bulwarkes & lost of their men not fully. xx. persones, and then euery capitain toke his awne ship, and coasted the seas, euer lokyng for the duke of Albany, but thei hard no tidynges of hym.

Iorney of the duke of Suffolke.

In the Parliamēt (as you haue hard) it was cōcluded, that the kyng of necessitie, muste nedes make strong warre on the realme of Fraunce, wherefore the noble Charles duke of Suffolk, was appoynted as Capitain generall, to passe with an armie royall into Fraunce, in thende of August, whiche with all diligence, prepared all thynges necessary, for suche a royall enterprice: and for the furniture of this armie, there were appoynted to geue their attendaunce on hym, the lorde Montacute, and sir Arthur Pole his brother, the lorde Herbert sonne to the erle of Worcester, the lorde Ferreis, the lorde Marney, the lorde Sandes, the lorde Barkeley, the lorde Powes, and Baron Curson, and of knightes, sir Richarde Wyngfelde, Chauncellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, sir Ihon Veer, sir Edward Neuell, sir Willyam Kyngston, sir Richard Weston, sir Andrew Wynsore, sir Robert Wyngfeld, sir Anthony Wyngfeld, sir Edward Guyldford, sir Edward Gryuell, sir Edward Chamberlein, sir Thomas Luce, sir Euerard Digbby, sir Adrian Foscew, sir Willyam Skeuyngtō Master of the

the ordinance, sir Thomas Cheiney, sir Richard Cornwall, sir William Cortney, sir Willyam Sidney, sir Henry Owen all these lordes and knightes, with many other knightes and coragious Esquiers, & actiue Gentlemen, came accordyng to the kynges commaundemēt at last, with all their people and retinue to Dōuer, where thei mustered at seuerall times, as thei passed to the sea, and so the nombre takē, that is to saie, of dimy Lances. vi. C. of archers on horsebacke twoo. C. of Archers on foote three. M. of bill men fiue. M. of pioners and laborers. ii. M. vi. C. and when the viewe was taken on the other side of the sea, there were adioyned to this nomber. xvii. C. whiche might be spared out of the fortresses, and krewes of Hams, Guysnes, and Calice so that al the army wer. xiii. M. and an. C. well barnesed, and appareled for the warre, the pioners onely excepte: but the duke hymself arriued at Calice the. xxiiii. of August, with his retinue and counsaill, abidyng the armie, and caused all thynges, as vitaill and other to be prepared for the same.

Muche commonyng was in Englande whether this army should go because that no man, except a fewe, knew the secretnes: some said to Bullein, some to Paris, and so euery man iudged, accordyng to his awne opinion, as the common vse is.

In this season, because the mortalitie was greate in Calice, the duke of Suffolk caused his armie to be lodged in tentes and pauilions, vpō the faire grene beside sainct Peters Churche, for their more healthe, and he accompaignied with diuerse noble men, the. viii. daie of September rode to Graueleyng, & thether came to hym Cristerne kyng of Denmark and the lorde Isilsten, capitain generall of Flaunders, whiche amiably enterteigned the saied duke, and after they had secretly commoned of diuerse matters, concernyng diuerse armies to inuade Fraunce, in sondry places, the duke toke leaue of the kyng and other, and came to Calice.

A riot at Calice.

While the armie laie without Calice, they daily came into the toune, and so it happened that a symple felowe cut a purse, as he made to bye apples, whiche incōtinent was taken, and brought to the Maiors house to ward, whiche thyng diuerse Welshemen perceiuyng, and not knowyng what apperteigned to Iustice, ranne in great compaignies to the Maiors house, and would haue broken the house, the Officers of the toune entreated, and Welshemen more and more approched, the nombre of the Welshemen were so greate, that the watche of Calice strake *Alarme*. Then the Lorde deputie and the lorde Sandes, did all that in theim laye to bryng theim to conformitie, but thei were so rude that thei nothyng them regarded,

The Sacrament.

the priestes brought furthe the blessed Sacrament, whiche also was not regarded. Wherfore the Lorde Ferreis was straightly commaūded to appese their rage, for with hym thei came thether, whiche with greate pain and entreatie theim appesed: and then all the Welshemen were comaunded to the felde, and to depart the toune and so wer al other capitaines, & after diuerse of ỹ hed rioters wer apprehēded & sore punished for exaple. And when al thynges necessary were prepared, the duke issued out of Calice & toke the feld, & ordeined his Marshal, & capitain, of the vantgard the lord Sandes, capitain of his right wyng sir Williā Kyngston, and capitain of his lefte wyng, sir Euerard Dighby, sir Edward Guyldford Marshal of Calice, was capitain of al the horsemē, sir Richard Wingfeld, capitain of ỹ rereward: then the duke with al his army, as capitain of ỹ middle ward, with standerdes, baners and penons, displaied, marched forward in good ordre of battail, & came to a place called Kalkewell, and their lodged the. xix. day of September. In whiche place diuerse souldiers, of Cariers and vp lande men, whiche wer vnmete for the warre, (for euery thyng to theim was pain) fell sicke and disseased, wherfore the duke gaue them leaue by pasport to returne.

And on the. xxii. daie of September, he toke vp his campe and came to Hamswell, and there pitched his felde, he thus lyng in abode for the armie of Flaunders, which promised to ioyne with hym, whiche as then were not come to. S. Omers. He entendyng not to lie still idlely, sent Clarenseux kyng of Armes, to somon the castle called Bell castle, to yelde to him or els he would destroy it with fire and sword, the officer of armes did his message accordingly, to whom the Capitain answered, that he would deliuer no castle to the duke, &

if

if the duke came thether, he should nothyng get, for he said he was sure of suche rescues, ẏ should not be to the dukes auantage: whiche with this answer returned toward the duke and the waie he met the lorde Sandes, & the lord Ferreis in array of battail, with. v. C. horsmen, &. i. M. footemen, to whō he rehersed the answer, then said ẏ lordes we must cōpel him, if otherwise he wil not. Then the master of thordinance was cōmaūded to prepare for a batrie, which was done, & thether came. v. c. horsemen of Burgoniōs, &. v. C. fotemen, then thordinance with great difficultie was brought nere the castle, & al though it wer night, the gonnes cesed not & bet the place sore, they within defended the best that they might, & when the day begā to spring, the lordes caused to blow to thassault, which hearyng the capitain of the castle said to his cōpanions, ẏ they wer not able to abide thassault, & that their succors failed them, wherefore of necessitie they muste deliuer the castle, whereto they agreed, and so he yelded the castle, his life onely saued and all other at the mercie of the duke, whiche pardoned theim, and toke thē as prisoners, and deliuered the castle to sir Willyam Skeuyngtō, whiche was shortly rased doune to the ground, the. xxvii. daie of Septēber.

Mondaie beyng the. xxviii. daie of Septēber, there was a proclamacion made in tharmy, how that Fraunces duke of Burbon, & Constable of Fraunce, was become frend to the kyng of Englande, & enemy to the Frēch kyng, & was sworne to the kyng of England, & had in his wages for the kyng of England. x. M. Almaines to inuade Fraūce, or to let the French kynges purposes, & for this intent to him was sent money in no litle some, but the common peeple said, ẏ neuer was Frenchman true to England, how be it he was true as long as he liued.

To make this proclamacion more apparant, you must vnderstande that in this season the Frenche king was ruled by his mother the Coūtesse of Angulesme and the Admyrall of Fraunce called Lord Bonyuet whiche as was reported and sayd, loued the sayd lady as his paramor, of whiche all the court of Fraunce spake muche. These two persones so ruled the kyng, that what thei sayd was done and no iudgement nor sētence passed in the Parliament at Parys without their assent, so that nothing was done without them, at whiche thing the nobles of Fraūce sore disdained and especially the lorde Fraunces duke of Burbon and Constable of Fraunce whiche hauing a suite for therledome of Moutpelyer could not be heard speake nor his counsail neither. At the last he beyng sore displeased with this vnkynd and vniust handling, came to the French kyng besechyng him of iustice & fauor, whiche flateryng him sayd that al that was in his power to do he would gladly accomplish, & other answer had he none, & to encreace his grudge ẏ more, the Frenche kinges mother made a title to the whole Duchy of Burbon & Auerne, and the Admyral & she so entised the kyng that he sayd opēly that the Duke of Burbon shortly should be as poore as the meanest gentleman in Fraunce, whiche wordes reported to him caused him to hate mortally the Frenche kyng and his mother, and so in displeasure departed into his owne countrey. The kyng of England beyng hereof aduertised, sent to the duke of Burbon a knight of his Chamber called sir Ihon Russell a man well languaged, whiche wisely and couertly so behaued himself, that he came to the duke to Molyns and knew all his entent how he would forsake his kyng and serue the king of Englād & the Emperor against the Frenche kyng, and therevpon tooke his othe. The Frenche kyng not mistrusting the allegeaunce of the duke of Burbon sent to the Duke to prepare him to go into Italye, for he had prepared a great army to passe the mountaines against the duke of Mylliaine, in which army he had. vi. M. men of armes, and. xxv. M. fotemen. The duke hearyng hereof fained himselfe sicke, and the Frenche kyng passyng by Molyns visited & cōforted him: to whō the duke promised to come shortly after to Lyons with all his power, and caused an horselitter to be caried emptie, iii. dayes amongest a certain of his souldiers as though he were there, but he himselfe fled secretly into the Countye of Burgoyne pertaignyng to the Emperor, where he retained. x. M. Almaines to inuade Fraunce assone as the Frenche kyng was passed the mountaines.

When the Frenche kyng heard of this, he sent the Admyrall into Italy with his army, &

sent his great Master to seaze al the dukes lādes. Of all these doynges sir Ihon Russell brought true worde, for he was present with the Duke, and also sawe the Frenche armye, and returned vnespied, wherfore he deserued & had of the king and his cōusail great thankes. Wherevpon the kyng caused the proclamacion to be made in the army, that they might knowe that all the power of Fraunce should not trouble them. For what with the warres of Italy and for the duke of Burbons power they might do what they lust & be vnfought withal which so proued after. Whiche tidynges muche encoraged thenglishe souldiers.

After this proclamacion, there were tidynges brought to the army for a trueth, that one Hierome Vicount, a great familiar frende w the duke of Myllayne entised by the French kyng, had almost slaine Fraūces duke of Myllaine with a dagger behynd at his back, with the whiche doyng the Frenche kyng aboue all persones fained himselfe to be most displeased. The morowe beyng the xxix. day of September the duke with his whole army remoued to Arde and there lodged, & the last day of September he remoued to a village called Alrke, and from thence the fyrst day of October he came to a village betwene Tyrwyn and saint Omers called Esqwerdes or Cordes, where the duke lay and encāped himselfe abidyng his enemies.

Nowe must I returne to tell you what was done betwene England and Scotland this same season. Whyle the duke of Suffolke was thus inuadyng the realme of Fraūce. The Scottes thinkyng the war turned into Fraunce, and that nothyng should be attempted against them, began to robbe and spoile on the Marches of England, wherof the kyng hearyng sent againe thither the valiant erle of Surray treasorer and Admyrall of England, whiche in all hast sped him to the west Marches and sent for an army of vi. M. men, & with banner displayed entred by the dry Marches betyng doune castles & fortresses on euery side. And although the Scottes be men of high corage, yet they seyng the wise conduict of the noble erle of Surray and his chosen company, durst not once encoūter with him, and so he passed quietly through the dales, tyll he came to the strong toune of Iedworthe, in whiche lay a great garrison of Scottishmen whiche did all the hurt they could to the Englishmen, and hardely in great nomber skyrmished with thenglishmen, so that on both partes diuers wer slaine, but in the end the Abbay, Castle, and toune of Iedworth were brent and all rased a sonder in the open sight of the Scottes. And after this he would not returne but encamped himself in the Scottishe ground abidyng battail, and lay there from the xxii. day of September to the xxv. day. Duryng whiche tyme he sent y lorde Daker of Gyldersland to a strong hold of Doncar called Fernhurst, the whiche castle stode very euil to come to, for the wayes wer hylly, stony, and full of marishes, and the Scottes had bent their ordinaunce that way: yet for all that the Englishmen so fiersly set on that they gat the Castle, notwithstandyng that the Scottes fought valiauntly, and many of theim were taken, as Dan Car the lorde, the lorde of Gradon and diuers other whiche was there taken, and so the lorde Daker returned with his prisoners, and then he was ordained to kepe the watche that night whiche set his watches & his wardes surely. In the night sodainly. CCC. good geldynges brake out of a pasture, whiche were in custodie of the sayd lord Dacres campe, and as beastes wodde and sauage ranne enraged and notwithstandyng that men did as muche as they might to stoppe them, yet they ranne as though they were in array of battail, whereof the noyse in the night was so great, that the armye sounded *alarme*, the horse styll in array ranne to the cāpe, where the erle lay and bare doune many persones in their waye, and so sodainly ranne away whether it was vnknowen: the lorde Dacres men sayd that the deuil was sene amongest them: and after the third day the Erle returned into England.

When the Erle of Surray departed from the borders in August as you haue heard heretofore: The Scottes wrote to the duke of Albany of all their Affaires, whiche was comnyng into Scotland. But when he heard that the Nauy of England lay in wayte to fight with him, he durst not auenture, but sate styll: And when he heard there was no capitaines of name on the borders of England toward Scotland, he deuised by policie that all his shippes should be remoued to the hauen of Brest, and sayd himselfe and caused it to be noysed that he would

would not saile into Scotlād that yere. So rāne the voice al the coastes of Normandy and Britaigne, and so passed tyll the ende of Septembre.

The kyng of England was enformed by suche as knew none other, that the duke of Albany had broken his iorney, and would not passe that yere into Scotland. Wherfore the kyng of England in the middest of September caused his shippes to be layde vp in hauens tyl the next spryng: The duke of Albany beyng therof aduertised boldly then tooke his shippes and shipped his people, and with. lxxii. saile in sight passed by the West partes of England and coasted Wales, & so with great labor landed at Kyrcowbre in the West parte of Scotland with all his people the. xxi. day of Septēber whiche wer in nomber. iii.M. or there about, and with him was the traytor Richard Delapole.

When it was knowen in Scotland that the lorde Gouernor was landed, muche gladnes there was amongest the people. Then the duke was highly receiued and his people wel cherished, and then beganne a Parliament. The kyng of England hearyng that the duke of Albany was landed in Scotlande and was vnfought withall, was not a litle displeased, and suspected that suche as enformed him that the Duke would not passe that yere, had deceiued him, but there was no remedye: Wherfore he made prouisions and put all thynges in a readynes, if he would attempt any thing against him and his realme.

The Duke of Albany Gouernor of Scotland beyng in the Parliament of the realme, with great eloquence declared to them the loue and fauor that Fraūces the Frenche kyng bare to the realme of Scotland, insomuch that he beyng aduertised of the great murders, slaughters, & burnynges done by the Englishemen, thought that he suffered no lesse hurt and damage then they did, accomptyng him self one of their membres, and them likewise the membres of him and his realme, and for the reuenging of thesame, he to be partener as their member, & for the more credite he shewed the Frenche kynges fauorable letter, affirming his declaracion. When the letters wer red, there start vp a Baron of Scotland called the lorde Forbos, whiche sayd: the realme of Scotland for the loue of Fraunce suffereth great paine as daily doeth appere, for our nobles be slain or taken, our cominaltie murdered, our lādes ouerrūne, our houses & fortresses brent & rased, the profites of our owne lādes we lese: which mischief we nede not to haue had, but for the loue of Fraūce, & what helpeth Fraunce? A farre frend is not sone fet? A mightie neighbor may be a cruel enemy. I affirme this, if we would kepe amitie with the realme of England we were out of all these daungers. God forbyd sayd the duke of Albany that Scotland euer should seke a new frende or profer their amitie, to the destroyers of their coūtrey and nacion, but you my lordes of Scotlād are sufficient of your selfe to maintain your lādes, libertie, & fredome against your comon enemies thenglishemen. And therfore now let vs together reuenge the hurtes done to vs & our countrey: And I on myne honor shal go with you, and therfore I haue brought with me bothe treasure, men, and artillerie into this realme. I thinke not but we shall so do that all Christendome shall speake of our noble cōquest. To the dukes request all ẏ court of Parliament agreed and then wer cōmissions sent through Scotland & cryes made that all men shuld assemble at Doglas dale with vitaile for xxviii. dayes. The Scotes in al hast prepared, so that the lordes wer come to the place appointed the xviii. day of October, with vitaile, gunnes, & all other artilerie, and so came by easy iorneys to the riuer of Twede on a ground beside Hume castle, & frō thence came to Cawdestrene & there lodged.

All this doyng the kyng of England knewe well, wherfore with all diligēce he caused to be assembled the people of the North part beyond Trent, wherof there were. iii.M. beryng cotes of armes ẇ their power and strength, whiche all were cōmaunded to resort to the erle of Surray with spede. The noble Marques Dorset Thomas was appointed to kepe Berwicke with. vi.M. men, lest ẏ Scottes therto would lay siege.

The duke of Albany whiche lay on the frontiers hearing of the Erle of Surreyes preparyng sent to him an Herauld promisyng him of his honor to geue him battail, and if he tooke him in battail he would put him to curteous raunsome & his body to be safe: To whom the erle answered, that muche he thanked the duke of his offer, and that he would abide bat-

tail, promisyng him that he would geue him battail if he durst abide: and if that ỹ sayd duke wer taken prisoner by him or his menne he would strike of his head & send it to the kyng of England his Master, and bad that he should trust to none other, at whiche answere the duke of Albany & the Scottes toke great dispite.

The erle of Surray beyng at Alnwyke, to him came therles of Northumberland and Westmerland, the lorde Clyfford, the lorde Dacres, the lorde Lumley, the lorde Ogle, the lorde Darcy, and many noble Knightes, Squiers and yomen, to the nomber of xl.M. And from the kynges court was sent to be at the batail sir Nicholas Carew Master of the horse, sir Fraunces Bryan, sir Edwarde Baynton and diuers other. All this armye laye on the borders abidyng the Scottes cõmyng into England, whiche laystyll in Scotland and did nothyng till the last day of October beyng Saterday. The night before the Scottes had sent ouer the water into England iii. or iiii.M. men to lay siege to a lytle castle called ỹ Castle of Warke, whiche stãdeth nere the border the great ordinaince of Scotland sore bet the castle, and Dan Car and the Frenchemen whiche came out of Fraunce with the duke of Albany gaue to the castle a strong assaut: within the castle was sir Willia Lyle with .C. persones, but the Scottes were so many in nomber, that they got the vttermoste warde called the Barnkyns, where the beastes and barnes were, whiche seyng, the capitaine sent in all hast to the Erle of Surrey aduertisyng him of their distres, whiche in all hast assembled his capitaines to reskue the castle, therby hopyng that Duke Ihon of Albany would enter into England. The Frenchmen and Scottes lay styll about the castle cõtinually shotyng ordinaunce Sonday & Monday the fyrst and second day of Nouember, and then the Scottes thinkyng the place assautable, coragiously set on the castle and by strength entred the second warde. Sir Willya Lyle perceiuyng that ỹ Scottes had gotten the false brayes and that nothing remained but only the inner warde or dõgeon, sayd to his company, sirs for our honor & mãhod let vs issue and fight with the proude Scottes and stately Frenchmen, for more shall our honor be to dye in fight, then to be murthered with gunnes, to the whiche his company that were left agreed: for of his .C. men he had lost almost xl. at the other assautes. Then they issued out boldly and shot coragiously as men that shot for a vauntage, and with shotyng and fightyng they draue their enemies clene out of the place & slew of them & chiefly of the Frenchmen CCC. whiche lay there dead in sight when the Erle came thither, beside suche as dyed of woundes & were drouned. Then the Scottes remoued their ordinaunce, in great hast ouer the water, and by that tyme was the Erle of Surrey come w v.M. men on horsebacke & all his great army folowed & was very sory that his enemies were gone, & muche praised sir Willyam Lyle for his valiauntnes.

When the duke of Albany & the lordes of Scotland knew that the erle of Surrey approched with his puissant army, they thought it not conuenient to ieoparde all the nobilitie of Scotlande in one felde, considerỹg their chaunce x. yeres before, and therefore they cõcluded to returne, and so on the sayd secõd day of Nouember in the night the duke with all his armye retreated more for his suretie then honor.

The horsemen of Scotland kept the fordes that no mã should passe to greue the fotemen as they returned, and when all the baggages wer gone they cast them selfes in a plumpe and returned.

When the day appeared, then the Englishmen might plainly see the Scottes how they fled fiftie mennes thickenes, many a lusty Englishman would faine haue folowed them on horsbacke, and so would therle of Surray with all his heart, but his cõmission was only to defend the realme and not to inuade Scotland, whiche thing him sore displeased. Thus brake vp the great army of Scotland to the great rebuke of the duke of Albany & the nobles of Scotland whiche. ii. yere together had made bragges & assembles and durst not abide battaile. The Scottes made much bragges that they had beaten doune the walles of Warke castle, but they spake nothing of their men that they left there, nor how cowardly thoy returned & would not abide. After this returne quene Margaret of Scotlãd & mother to the yong kyng, sent to her brother the kyng of England for an abstinence of warre to be taken betwene ỹ realme

realme of England and Scotland, to thentent that some way might be taken, that an amitie might be had betwene them: whiche request to her was graunted, and so the great armye of England was dissolued and the Erle of Surrey returned to the coast.

In this season the Emperor Charles sent to the kyng of Englād. ii. Mules trapped in crimosyn veluet curiously embrodered, al ȳ buckles, stirroppes & all suche other garnishynges A present sent by the Emperor to ye kyng. were siluer & gilt of merualious cōyng worke. He sēt also. xl. Genettes ful goodly to be ye kyng. hold trapped with russett veluet richely wrought, and. iiii. speres, &. ii. lanelynes of straunge tymber & worke richely garnished, and. v. brace of greyhoūdes: and to the quene he sent two Mules with riche trappers and high chayers after the Spanishe fashion, all these presētes wer thankefully receiued both of the kyng and quene.

Now let vs returne to the Duke of Suffolke whiche lay at Cordes or Esqwerdes thē. xx. day of September & thither came to him ȳ army of Flaunders, wherof was capitaine the lorde of Isilsteyne which had with him of Spaniardes, Almaines, Cleues and other. iii.M. fotemen and v.C. horsemen well apparelled for the warres in all pointes.

The duke of Suffolke beyng thus furnished passed forward in wete wether makyng bridges & wayes, euer lokyng for battel, & on the. xvii. day of October he sent the lorde Sandes Marshall of his armye, and with him. iii.M. men to a good toune called Anker whiche accompanied with diuers knightes & gentlemen in good order of battail marched towarde the toune. The Frenchmen perceiuyng the Englishmen cōmyng toward their toune, fled out as fast as they might, and left the toune desolate: then entred the Englishmen and had there a great botie and toke the castle called Bone gard and therin put a garrison of Englishemen, whereof was capitaine the lorde Leonard Gray brother to the Marques Dorset to conduict vitailers to the armye, whiche nowe was farre from any succours of the Englishe part. In this toune was an abbay of Monkes whiche receiued humbly the lordes and nobles of England, whiche to them did no hurt nor dammage, and then they returned to the duke.

After this, the. xix. day, the Duke with his armye passed to a village called Qwede: and there, after long cōsultyng it was determined that the whole army should passe to a strong toune and well fortefied called Bray, whiche toune was well ordinaunced and had in it. xvi.C. men of warre, the capitaine therof was called Adrian, and for succours to the toune were come Mounsire Pontdormy, the Vicount Larnerdam, the Vicount Turraine, Mōsire Applyngeort, & Mounsire Dāpney, with v. C. horsmen, so that in the toune beside the inhabitauntes wer. ii.M. good men. This toune standeth on the riuer of Some. xxiiii. Englishe myle from Arras, and xiiii. myles aboue Amyas: This toune was well diched and strengthened on euery side.

The. xx. day of this moneth the Duke cōmaunded al his great ordinaūce to be brought by. iii. of the clocke in the morning before ȳ toune of Bray, they that had the charge therof so manfully acquited thē that notwithstādyng all ȳ damage that their enemies could do, brought the ordinaunce before the toune at ȳ houre appointed. Then eche part shot dredfully at other, but the Englishe gūners shot so wel, that the walles of the toune were beaten doune & rased with the ordinaunce, insomuche that by. ix. of the clocke the toune was made assautable. Then the duke caused to blow to thassault. Then the Englishmen & Flemynges & Burgonions lept furth quickely, and notwithstandyng that the diches wer depe, yet they so coragiously entered by the good comfort of the lorde Sades & other noble men that they gaty ȳ diches. The Frenchmen perceiuyng that the toune should be gotten, hastely made traynes of gunpouder from strete to strete & house to house, saiyng that the Englishmen after their entry into ȳ toune would fal to pillage, & then sodainly sodain fyer should destroy them. This was the prouision of the Frēchmen: by this tyme the Englishmen wer enteryng on the walles, and the Frenchmen stode yet at defence with pikes, crosbowes, handgunnes, & halberdes, but they were to weke, for on all partes entred thenglishmen and sodainly the Frenchmen fledde and the Englishemen folowed and killed and slew in euery part.

Nowe you must vnderstand that this toune of Bray standeth on the riuer of Some whiche is there deuided in diuers braunches & betwene euery brauche is a marishe ground, where

on the farside of ȳ toune was fortefied a Bulwarke ful of ordinaunce to kepe the passage ouer ȳ water, & the Frenchmen had losed the plankes of the bridge nere a myle aboue Bray, & the horsmen of Fraūce passed by a myle which was to the Frenchfotemen a great ayd, for thei stode & kept the passage till ȳ fotemē wer come ouer the bridge, & then they plucked away the plāckes of the bridge, so that nomā should folow, but euer thenglishmen folowed & cast plākes on the bridge & passed ouer the bridge, in which passyng diuers wer drouned, but w̄ great trauail all men passed, horsmen & fotemen, & fiersly assauted the Bulwarke and toke it with all the ordinaunce, & in it was taken capitaine Adrian and capitaine Vlterlew. The Englishe horsemen folowed the Frenchmen & diuers of them wer slaine and takē, sir Robert Iernyngham brake a spere on the lorde Pountdormy. The lorde Leonard Gray did valiaūtly that day. You must remember that when the Frenchmen issued out of the toune, they forgatte not to lay a matche to the traine of gunnepouder whiche they had made, whiche in short space set the toune al on fyer, so that when thenglishmen returned again, al was on fyer, so that there they had litle profite but wyne, whiche to them did great pleasure. This was the toune of Bray taken and destroyed the xx. day of October.

The duke conderyng that litle succours were for him and his souldiers in the toune of Bray because the sayd toune was consumed with fyer, he therfore cōmanded the bridges to be wel repayred for to passe ouer the great riuer of Some into the realme of Fraūce: and when the passage was sure, the lord Sandes the. xxi. day of October in the mornyng was prest to passe ouer with the vaward. Then some gentlemen sayd that they would passe no farther forward, & diuers souldiers were on thesame opinion. It was asked why they should feare, and they answered that if they were past ouer the riuer, they were past all succours and vitail, none could be brought to them. By reason of this noyse the souldiers stayed, whiche ȳ lord Sādes perceiuyng, sayd to the Welshmen which wer euil willyng to passe ȳ riuer: sirs sayd he, behold what I do, and with that he toke a banner of saīct George & sayd, as many as loue the kyng of England & be true to him and to the croune, folow me, and then he and sir Wylliam Kyngston set forward and passed the water, whiche there runneth in thre streames, then all other persones coragiously folowed, and the ordinaunce and vitailes.

After the foreward folowed the duke and al his battail: At this tyme the army was sore minished by reason many wer diseased and from the host departed, so the host was not of that strength that it was at the settyng out of Calayce. When thenglishemen were passed, then folowed the Burgonions in good order, and so that night this army came to a toune called Kappe and there encamped theimselfes, all the inhabitauntes were fled bothe out of the toune and Castle: there thenglishemen found C. tonne of wine, & other good pillage. The garrison that lay at Anker knowing that ȳ duke was passed the riuer of Some, rased the toune & castle, and came & ioyned with ȳ dukes army at Kappe.

There the duke caused proclamacions to be made in the armye that all the people of Fraunce that would vitaile the armye of Englande should be well entreated & haue their vitailes well payed for, and safe goyng and cōmyng, by the whiche proclamacion the host was well vitailed, for the people of ȳ countrey resorted with all thynges necessarie.

The Duke thus liyng at Cap sent to the toune of Roy to yelde them to the kyng of England. The toune perceiuyng that their power was not able to withstand the great armye of the Duke, assented to deliuer the toune to the Duke. This was a strong toune well walled, dyched, and ordinaunced but not manned, the Duke sent thither sir Richard Cornwall and other with iiii. C. men to receiue the toune, whiche went thither in good array and had the toune to theim deliuered and then they sette the banner of saīct George in the highest part of the toune, and full well this garrison kept the toune of Roy til the duke came thither with his whole armye.

The Duke & his armye the xxv. day of the sayd moneth remoued to a village called Lyhome, & had there great pillage: for this toune was muche haunted of marchauntes and

there

there kept great markettes. The next day he remoued to Dauenker, and the. xxvii. day he remoued and came before ỹ strong toune of Mountdedier, where for defece of warre lacked neither diches, walles, nor bulwarkes: The horsmen of the Englishe army rode about the toune to vew it, at whō the capitaines caused diuers pieces to be losed whiche shewed well their strength. The duke sent an officer of armes to somon the capitain to deliuer ỹ toune: the officer departed, & with him a trumpet whiche blew before the gate, but no person would answere, because they would haue no Sommons made to them: the officer of armes returned and made report: Then the Dukes skyrrers made profer afore the toune, out of the whiche issued a great compaignie of horsemen and skyrmished with the Dukes horsemen and fought valiantly, but at the last. xl. of the horsemen were taken, with whiche the lorde Roche Baron capitaine of the toune was sore displeased, yet he thought him able to maintaine the toune against the whole armye. Then the Duke of Suffolke pytched his felde and layd his siege rounde about the toune of Mountdedier and kept good watche and warde on euery side: whiche thing the lorde Roche Baron perceiuyng comforted his menne of warre and bad them not be afrayd but to be of good corage, and sayd that the Duke there should get nothyng. When the Duke had thus planted his siege, he considered that he was farre from reskew, and that liyng still and nothyng doyng was not profitable, he knewe also by report of the prisoners that in the toune of Moundedier were two thousand footemen, and one thousand horsemen, wherefore he sent for all the lordes and capitaines of his army and muche praised their hardynes and sayd that the noble corage that he sawe in theim did muche auaunce him to sette forwarde in all thynges, the praise wherof should be to them and not to him, and therfore nowe he encoraged them againe to continue still in their valiaunt doyng, for with Goddes grace he entended to bend his ordinaunce the next mornyng before the toune, to the whiche all the lordes agreed and praised muche the dukes corage and forwardnes.

Then was sir Willyam Skeuyngton knight, Maister of the ordinaunce cōmaunded to prepare for the battery, whiche with all diligēce made trenches, and prepared all thinges mete for the purpose. In this season sir Ihon Walop knight had with him almost a M. proper men and hardy, hauyng litle wages or none whiche lued alonely on their auenture, wherfore of some they were called aduenturers, of some they were called kreekars. These men wer light, hardy, and politike, and by their manhod and hardines had robbed many townes, taken many prisoners, with great boties, & daily brought to the army Horses, Mares, vitaile, cloth, corne, & other necessaries whiche might not be missed. Of this company the Frenchemen and especially they of villages & passēgers wer sore afrayde, for they were neuer idle but doyng some thyng in one part or other. The lorde Pountdormy, or Pountreny hearyng Mountdedyer was besieged, called to him diuers great lordes & capitaines to the nomber of. v. C. menne of armes and dimy launces, and a great nomber of fotemen, entendyng to bryng gunnepouder and other necessaries to the toune of Moūtdedier: & as they wer thither cōmyng by night, Thomas Palmer, capitain of the skout watche of thenglishe army them askried and skyrmished with them although they wer more in nomber: manfully fought the Frenchemen, but for all that they were compelled to flee backe, and then Englishemen them folowed and slewe diuers, and two speres were broken on the brother of the lorde Pountdorny, but by the swyftnes of his horse he saued himselfe, and in this chase were C. prisoners taken whiche muche reioysed the Englishmen.

When the Master of the ordinaunce had all thinges ready, at the houre of iiii. of the clocke in the mornyng he discharged the ordinaūce continually in suche fashion, that by viii. of the clocke the. xxviii. day of October the walles were made lowe & the toune assautable. All whiche while, the great ordinaunce shot still out of the toune tyll the walles & toune were beaten doune. The capitaine of the toune perceiuyng this, called to him al the capitaines, declaryng to them that their toune was in. iiii. houres made assautable, and that surely the Englishmen would assaute the toune whiche should be to their cōfusion, wherfore he asked their aduise what was best to be done, al they answered, do as you will:

Then

Then he went into a tower & caused a trompet to blowe and set forth a banner of truce. Then the duke comaunded the ordinaunce to cease. Then sir Willyā Skeuyngton came to the walles & demaunded what they would, & the lord Roche Baron sayd, that if it pleased the duke for the lone of the kyng of England & his honor, to graūt to him & thother gentlemen that wer there, licence to depart with life, bagge & baggage, they would deliuer the toune of Mountdedier. Then sir Willyā Skeuyngton made report to the duke, whiche therto cōsented, saiyng: they be men of warre, their riches is not great. Then the lorde Sandes and diuers other were appointed to receiue the toune, & so they entred & set their stādardes on the top of the gates, & toke the keys of all the strong houses, towers, and Bulwarkes. The Frenchemen were readye to depart with trussages and cariages, with Crosbowes, Pykes, & Handgunnes, with whiche doyng the lorde Sandes and the Englishemen which wer within the toune wer not cōtent, & sayd that the Frenchmen should passe without weapon: on this point was muche alteraciō and the Frenchemen were stayed; but the lorde Roche Baron gaue many fayre wordes and passed forwarde with a red standard, with a white crosse before him, that seyng sir Thomas Palmer, ranne to the stādard and plucked it in pieces. Then sayd the Lorde Roche Baron that it was vngently done: To whom he answered that he should beare no standard there like a conqueror. Then after long disputacion the Frenchemen sayd, that it was promised theim that they should haue their weapons and baggage, and so vpon that they were suffered to depart. The fotemen likewise had a standard before them whiche was rent by sir Robert Iernyngham. The nombet whiche departed truely accompted, were two thousand footemen, fiue hundreth horsemen and odde wel and warlike appointed, and they left muche baggage behynd them, because they sawe the Englishemen so fast come into the toune, they were in feare of losse of all.

When the Frenchmen wer departed, the duke with his whole army entred the toune and there the Englishemen founde fine fetherbeddes, napery, coueringes, and muche housholde staffe, and especially of wyne great plentie, and there the armye rested till the last day of October, and then were all the gates of the toune rased and threwen doune, and all the Bulwarkes likewise. Then the duke caused all the ordinaunce to be taken and so remoued to the toune of Roye, where he and all his armye rested for a while: wherof they were glad, for they had trauailed sore, and the wether was wette and colde. On the feast of all sainctes called Alhalon daye, the Duke in the chiefe Churche of Roy made knightes, the lorde Harbert, the lorde Powes, Olyuer Manners, Arthur Pole, Richard Sandes, Robert Iernyngham, Robert Sailsbury, Edmond Benyngfelde, Richard Corbet, Thomas Wentworthe, Wyllyam Storton, Water Mantell, George Warran, Edward Seymoun after erle of Hartford, and now Duke of Sommerset, and moste worthy Gouernor of the kynges maiesties persone and Protector of all his realmes, dominions and subiectes.

The morowe after, the armye remoued to a place called Neele, there the Burgonions began to waxe wery, and so did the Englishemen, for euery day was foule wether and raine bothe day and night. Wherfore dyuers companies fell to grudgyng saiyng, now you may see that by our remouyng we shall be ledde from place to place all this wynter, whiche is to the vtter losse of our lyues: for dayly we see that of our company dyeth no smal nombet (and trueth it was that some dyed but not many) they sayd farther, the Burgonions haue the great gaine and do least for it, for they haue wagons and carye their botes to their countrey, whiche is nere hand, and we go before and fight, and we haue no meanes to conuey any thing into our cōutrey for lacke of carryage, and so we bete the bushe and they take the byrdes. This grudge was seassed by gentle wordes for a tyme.

In these iorneys was cōmonly spoken that the duke of Burbon with his x. M. Almaynes would haue inuaded Fraunce and so ioyned with this armye, but by truth was cōtrary, for he turned his host another way and went into prouince and layde siege to Marcelles, wherof the duke, beyng aduertised, not a litle mused, and also seyng his menne daily fall sicke, was sory, and yet he so comforted theim that euery man was glad to folowe his will and entent.

On the. vi. day of Nouember the lorde Sandes beyng capitaine of the foreward, and the duke of the middle ward, and sir Richard Wyngfeld capitaine of the rereward came in order of battail prest to fight, to a village called Veane and there rested for that night, and the morow after the whole army returned againe ouer the water of Some, & came to a place called Beaufford: At this passage the duke made knightes Ihon Dudley, and Robert Vreyght esquiers.

The viii. day ỹ duke remoued to a place called Mount sainct Martyne a very mete place for an armye, and then was the dukes instruccions loked vpō by the capitaines, and they perceiuyng that they hard nothyng of the duke of Burbons commyng, ayde nor counsail, all they thought and determined to send the lorde Sandes in post to the kyng, to declare all the case as it stode & their necessitie according as he himselfe knew and saw in all pointes: whiche lorde Sandes tooke great paine and made good diligence toward the kyng, and while he was ridyng, the duke remoued his armye to a place called Permount & there lodged for a tyme to rest, and the army was well vitailed, but euer the Welshemen muttered and grudged more and more.

After the great raynes and wyndes that had fallen, came a feruent frost, so sore that many a souldier dyed for colde, some lost fyngers and some toes, but many lost their nailes of their handes, whiche was to thē a great grefe. The duke all this notwithstandyng remembryng that he came not thither to lye styl, the xiii. day remoued to a place two myle from the castle of Bowhen and still it frised, insomuche that the master of the Ordinaunce was compelled of necessitie to set the wheles of his ordinaunce on hardels for sinkyng. In the mornyng the Welshemen set out a shout and cryed, home, home, the krekers hearyng that, cryed hang, hang. For whiche matter deuision was like to haue fallen, but by policie it was ceased. Sir Edward Gyldford capitaine of the horsmen vewed the castle of Bowhen or Boghan, whiche euer was thought to be impregnable, but he iudged it might be wonne, for the castle was inuironed with Marryses, so that to no mans iudgement it was possible to wynne it: But nowe he perceiued that the frost was so great and strong that it might be besenged, & all that night it fresed againe: wherfore he desired the Duke to geue him leaue to assaute it whiche thereto agreed. Then he caused the ordinaūce to be set furth ouer the marrish. When they within the castle perceiued that the marrishe fayled theim, they were sore dismayed. Then sir Edward Guildeford shot thre great pieces at the castle, and the castillan shot thre pieces againe. Then as the Englishe gunners wer prepating to the battery, the capitain seyng his castle could not hold, by reason that the marishe failed, and that he could defende none assault, deliuered the castle to him to the behofe of the Emperor and the kyng of England, and after a small communicacion had betwene the sayd sir Edwarde Guyldforde and the capitaine, the capitaine with all his retinue departed leuyng behynd the ordinaunce of bombardes, curtawes, & demy curtaux, slinges, canons, volgers, and other ordinaunce, there were lxxvi. pieces, plentie of pellettes & pouder. The duke of Suffolke perceiuyng that this castle stode on the border of Henaude: Wherfore the more to please the Henawers he made capitaine of thesame castle of Boghan the Seneshal of Henaude, to the behofe of the Emperor and the kyng of England. In this place the army was euil vitailed, because the Frenchemen had stopped the water of Some, that no vitaile should passe ouer the riuer: wherfore the Duke sent to them of Henaude & specially to theim of Valencien, to haue ayde of vitaile, which of their litle sent to the army a litle, but yet it did them some seruice, and all this while the feruent frost with bitter windes cōtinued, which caused many people to dye: yet still lay the army abidyng the answer of the lord Sandes, whiche as you haue heard rode in post & somuche trauailed that he came to the king of England to his castle of Wyndsore and there declared to the kyng his message, whiche was that his people which wer in the Frenche ground abode muche misery, for the wether was wet, the wayes depe, long nightes and short dayes, great iorneys and litle vitaile, which caused the souldiers daily to dye. Also they trusted when they passed the seas accordyng to their instruccions to haue had ayde of the Duke of Burbon (of whom sith

A great frost.

their

their departyng they neuer heard worde) wherfore the Duke of Suffolke and other nobles of your army haue set me to your highnes to declare their state and condicion, their good will to tary, & the euil chaunces which daily happeneth to them by God and not by their enemies. Well sayd the kyng all this we knewe before your cõmyng: wherfore we haue appointed the lorde Mountioy with. vi. M. men to passe the seas for the relefe of our army, whiche lorde Mountioy is almost in a redynes: For we will in no wise that the army shall breake.

Then the kyng came to Westminster to the Cardinals place & there receiued letters from the duke of Suffolke by sir Robert Iernyngham of the gettyng of the castle of Boghan or Bowen: wherfore incõtinent it was by the kyng and his counsail determined that the lord Mouioy should make spede, whiche did suche diligence that many of his souldiers were come to Lõdon wel harnissed and weponed redy to passe the seas. Wherfore the kyng sent in all hast sir Robert Iernyngham again to declare to the duke the kinges pleasure and what ayde was cõmyng towarde him. But or sir Robert Iernyngham could come to the duke the armye was remoued from Bohan and brent the toune, and so came to the citie of Valencine in Henaude, & there layde vp their ordinaunce and from thence came to the citie of Turnay (whiche then was vnder the Emperor and out of the Frenche kynges handes) and so toke their iornay homeward thorow Flaunders and the army there broken and dispatched. But when the duke mette with sir Robert Iernyngham at Bridges in Flaunders and knewe the kynges mynde and entent, he did what he might to retreate the souldiers, which could not be, for many Englishemen shipped at Autwarpe, and many at Shyes, and at Newport and other hauens, and they that were at Calayce were steyed for a tyme, but when the Duke sawe that he could not bryng all his army together scacely the. iiii. part, he then licensed the remnaunt to depart. Of this breakyng vp of the armye were letters sent to the kyng, which incontinent stopped the lorde Mountioy and sent his men into the countrey againe. The Duke and other capitaines hearyng of the Kynges displeasure, were sore abashed, and did write to their frendes that they had perfite knowlege that the Duke of Burbon had broken vpp his campe for the extremitie of the Wynter, and also shewed that their souldiers dyed, and vitail failed, whiche caused them to breake the army, for of trueth the souldiers would not abide: with which reasons the kyng was somewhat appeased and so on good hope the duke came to Calayce the. xii. day of December, & there abode long, till their frendes had sued to the kyng for their returne. And when it was graunted and that they were returned, the Duke and the capitaines came not to the kynges presence in a long season, to their great heauynes and displeasure: But at the last all thinges were taken in good part and they well receiued and in great loue, fauor, and familiaritie with the kyng.

Whyle the Duke of Suffolke was in Fraunce and the Erle of Surrey on the Marches of Scotland, the Cardinall sent out cõmissions in the moneth of October through the realme, that euery man that was worth. xl. l. should pay the whole subsidie before graunted out of hand & before the dayes of payment: This payment was called an Anticipacion, which is to say, a thing taken or a thing cõmyng before his tyme or season: This terme was new to ỹ cominaltie, but they payd wel for their learnyng, for their money was paied out of hand wout delay.

An Anticipacion.

The kyng this yere kept his Christmas solempnely at his castle of Wyndsore and thither came to him the third day of Ianuarye the erle Pountiuer of the royal bloud of Brytaigne and pretẽdyng to be duke of the same, whiche was nere cosyn to the duke of Burbon & banished Fraunce. This erle came hastely from the duke of Burbon & was well entertained and feasted of the kyng, and after answere made to him by the kyng, he went to the Cardinal to Hampton court, and so with great spede returned to the sayd duke into the countrey of Prouince.

In the same season was brought to the court a gentleman of Scotland called Andrew Stewart taken on the sea with diuerse letters by one Water Iago a yoman of the kynges,

with diuers letters from the duke of Albany to the Frenche kyng, by reason wherof the kyng knew muche of their counsail. This gentleman payed raunsome and was very sone redemed.

The. xix. day of Ianuary vi. fayre shippes of Fraunce well appointed, mette with a shippe of the kynges of England called the Kateryne Galley a shippe of. xl. tonne, the capitain wherof was one Ihon Mariner, with a small company, for many of his company were a land: But he so encoraged his menne that all feare was set aside, and euer as the Frenchemen approched, they bet them of with arrowes, pykes, & fightyng, & styll this continued frō. iiii. of the clocke in the mornyng till. ix. of the clocke, & euer on the cost of Englād, and the Englishmen did the best they could to saue themselfes: For by that tyme she had spent her pouder, arrowes with shotyng, & her bylles with hewyng, & her pykes with kepyng them of from cōmyng aborde, and all the company almost sore hurte, and the capitaine wounded to the death, so that they had no other remedy but to sayle. This chace was perceiued by one called capitain Markham, capitain of the barke of Sandwyche, which māfully called his men together out of Sandwyche hauen & with good wynde came to reskue the Kateryne Galley. The. vi. shippes perceiuyng that, left their chace & made with the Barke of Sandwyche. The capitaine coragiously comforted his men and made the quarters of his ship defensable. The Frenchmen sette on fiersly, and their toppes were higher then the toppe of the Englishe ship. Out went the ordinaunce, quarels and dartes of the Frenche shippes: the Englishmen shot fiersly againe and when the Frenchemen profered to enter, the Englishmen bet them of with bylles. The Frenchemen at last with a great gunne bet doune the toppe of the barke & slewe the men in thesame, and lastly they strake doune his Mast. This conflict continued from. x. of the clocke tyll two at after noone. Then he could make no shift, but to saile: and euer the Englishmen shot arrowes, & while thenglishmen had any arrowes the Frenchemen durst not enter: But when their arrowes were spent, the Frenchemen came aborde all at ones & entred the barke. In this fight were slaine of Frenchmen out of hand. xxvii. and. lxxx. sore hurt, and of the Englishe were slaine. xxiii. What should I say, the Englishemen fought valiauntly, but they were to weake for. vi. tall shippes. Wherfore they were taken and brought to Depe for a prise, but the Frenchmen sayd they neuer bought prise so dere. After this Ihon Maryner capitaine of the Kateryne galey dyed, and many Frenchemen that wer hurt dyed at Depe, so that neither part wanne greatly.

In the last moneth called December were taken certain traytors in the citie of Couentry, one called Fraunces Philippe scholemaster to the kynges Henxmen, and one Christopher Pykeryng clerke of ỹ Larder, and one Antony Maynuile gentleman, which by the persuasion of the sayd Fraunces Philip, entended to haue taken the kynges treasure of his subsidie as the Collectors of thesame came towarde London, and then to haue araised men and taken the castle of Kylingworth, and then to haue made battaile against the kyng: wherfore the sayd Fraunces, Christopher and Anthony wer hanged, drawen, and quartered at Tyborne the xi. day of Februarye, the residue that were taken, were sent to the citie of Couentry and there wer executed. One of the kynges Henxmen called Dygby which was one of the conspirators fled the realme, and after had his pardon. An insurrection moued at Couentry.

The. xvii. day of Ianuary there was a Fayer or market at the toune of Marguyson in the French kynges dominions beside Calayce, and for defence of the people and their marchaundise, there were appointed CC. men in harnes wel weaponed: The souldiers of Guysnes hearyng of this, departed in the night & came here to the toune of Marguyson and closly kept themselfes tyll the Market was fayre & at the best, then the Englishmen whiche wer. lxx. archers and bylles, set sodainly on the Market, that seyng the Frenchemen stode manfully at their defence w handgunnes and pykes, but the Englishmen shotte so wholy together that they draue the Frenchmen out of the toune, and would for succors haue taken the Churche, but the Englishemen were betwene theim and the Churche, so that they had none other remedye but to flee and many Frenchmen were slaine. Capitain Ihon de Pound, and capi-

tain Thō de Babage and diuers other were taken prisoners, and diuers marchauntes that were there to sell their goodes were also taken, and all their goodes brought in Frenchemennes wagons to Guysnes and no Englishman slaine but diuers were sore hurt.

The fyrst day of February the valiant knight sir Robert Iernynghā and with him fifty demylaūces of the garrison of Calayce skoured the countrey to Odirsaell & there toke a C. hedde of beastes, by that doyng an askry rose through the countrey, wherby the Frenchmen gathered together to the nomber of. xii. score, and or sir Robert and his company came to Houndyngbrige they were beset round about, so that of necessitie they must fight, the Frenchmen set on with hādgunnes, crosbowes and pykes, and for a while there was a strong encountre, but the Englishmen as menne desperate (because of the nomber) fought so fiersly that they caused the Frenchmen to geue backe and slewe many of them and toke. xiii. prisoners, & in the chace they toke vii. more whiche made vp. xx. Then the sayd sir Robert returned with his botie and prisoners and lost noman, but almoste all were hurt.

The. x. day of Marche the kyng hauyng a newe harnes made of his own deuise and fashion, suche as no armorer before that tyme had seen, thought to assaye thesame at the tilte, and appointed a Iustes to serue him. On fote were appointed the lorde Marques Dorset and the Erle of Surrey, the kyng came to the one ende of the tylt, and the Duke of Suffolke to the other: then a gentleman sayd to the Duke, sir the kyng is come to the tyltes ende. I see him not sayd the Duke on my fayth, for my head piece taketh frō me my sight: with these wordes God knoweth by what chaunce, the kyng had his spere deliuered him by the lorde Marques, the viser of his headpece beyng vp and not doune nor fastened, so that his face was clene naked. Then the gentleman sayd to the duke, sir the king commeth, then the duke set forward and charged his spere, and the kyng likewise vnaduisedly set toward ŷ duke: the people perceiuyng the kynges face bare, cryed hold, hold, the duke neither saw nor heard, and whether the kyng remembred that his viser was vp or no few could tell: Alas what sorow was it to the people when they saw the spleters of the dukes spere strike on the kynges hedpiece: For of a suertie the duke strake the kyng on the brow right vnder the defece of ŷ hedpece on the verye coyffe scull or bassenetpece whereunto the barbet for power and defence is charneld, to whiche coyffe or bassenet neuer armorer taketh hede, for it is euermore couered with the viser, barbet and volant pece, and so that pece is so defended that it forseth of no charge: But when ŷ spere on that place lighted, it was great ieopardy of death insomuche that the face was bare, for the Dukes spere brake all to shyuers, and bare the kynges viser or barbet so farre backe by the counire buffe that all the kynges headpece was full of spleters. The Armorers for this matter were muche blamed, and so was the lord Marques for the deliuerynge of the spere when his face was open, but the kyng sayd that none was to blame but himself, for he entended to haue sayed himselfe and his sight. The duke incontinently vnarmed him, and came to the kyng, shewyng him the closenes of his sight, & sware that he would neuer runne against the kyng more: But if the kyng had been a lytle hurt, the kynges seruauntes would haue put the Duke in ieopardy. Then the kyng called his Armorers and put all his peces together and then tooke a spere and ranne vi. courses very well, by the which all men might perceiue that he had no hurt, whiche was great ioy and comfort to all his subiectes there present.

The kyng was in at a Iustes.

In the ende of Februarye foure Frenche shippes chased the Fysher botes of Rye to the verye shore, and when the fludde was gone, would haue taken the botes and came a land with pikes, but the fishers threw stones, and one archer shotte and slewe a Frencheman whiche helde vp a basket and bad shote Englisheman shote, and the Englisheman shot through the basket and slewe him, and so they saued their botes, and when the fludde came, the Frenchemen sette vp their sailes, and as they were passyng, the Englishemen of warre mette with theim and tooke two of the sayd shippes, and the other two fled.

In this yere the kyng sent the lorde Morlay sir Wyllyam *Hosy knight* and doctor Lee his Almoner to Done Ferdinando archduke of Austrice and brother to the Emperour Charles

Charles with the order of the Garter whiche in the toune of Norryngberge receiued the same, where then were all the princes of Germanye assembled at a counsel or Dyet, against the bishop of Rome, against whom the Germaynes put a C. greues.

The. xiii. day of Aprill one Capitain Breerton one of the capitaines of the aduenturers at Guysnes with. xvi. tall men came to a village called Waste and there toke a bootie of beastes, by whiche takyng an askry rose, and by chaunce certain of the garrison of Bulleyn were then abrode and by the cry of the people came where the Englishmen were, the Frenchemen wer CC. horsemen and with great cryes enuironed the Englishemen about, so that the Englishemen could make no defence. Then capitain Brearton called to the capitain of the Frenchemen and sayd, sir I am a gētleman & this enterprice was myne, I haue brought these good felowes to this ieopardy, wherfore we yelde vs al prisoners to you, and so they deliuered their weapons, the capitain was a gentleman and gently them receiued, then to the men of warre drewe all the peisants or chorles of the coūtrey nye hand to the nomber of vii. or viii. score, whiche desired to bye ỹ Englishmen that wer takē, the Frenchmen were content and toke money, then the Englishmen were deliuered to the vplandishe people, and the men of warre rode away.

When the menne of warre were departed the rybaudes with pykes, iauelyns, and knyues, fell on the Englishemen whiche had no weapon and them slewe all xvii. and cutte them in pieces the moste shamefully that euer was sene. Capitaine Brearton murdered.

When knowlege hereof was brought to the capitain of Guisnes sir Ihon Gage, he sent for the auenturers willyng theim to reuenge their capitaines death. So all the aduenturers the xiiii. day gathered together to the nomber of. xl. archers and pykes, and by good guide the next day in the mornyng they came to the same village of Wast & there toke xxxvii. prisoners and moste part were at the murder of Brearton and his company, and of the xxxvii. they slew xxxvi. and so they left one and caried him with them, but or they departed they set the toune on fyer and spared nothyng, their ire was so great: the men of warre of Fraunce costed the Englishmen, but they would not medle with them in that rage. The murder reuenged.

When they came to Guysnes they sware the Frencheman that was left on liue to declare their message to the capitaine of Bullein, whiche was that after that day they would saue neither man, woman nor child that came to their handes for the great crueltie that the peysantz had done to capitaine Brearton and his compaṅy, with whiche message the Frenchmen were discontent & sayd that the villaynes deserued to haue vengeaunce for their crueltie.

In this yere through bookes of Emphymerydes and Pronosticacions made and calculate by Astronomers, the people were sore affrayde for the sayd writers declared that this yere should be suche Eclipses in watery signes, and suche coniunctions that by waters & fludes many people should perishe, Insomuche that many persones vitailed them selfes and went to high groundes for feare of drounyng, and specially one Bolton which was Prior of sainct Bartholomewes in Smythfeld builded him an house vpō Harow of the hill, only for feare of this flud, and thether he went and made prouision for all thinges necessarye within him, for the space of two monethes: But the faythfull people put their trust and confidence onely in God. And this raine was by the wryters pronosticate to be in February, wherfore when it began to raine in February the people wer muche afrayd, & some sayd now it beginneth, but many wisemen whiche thought that the worlde could not be drouned againe, contrary to Goddes promise, put their trust in him onely, but because they thought that some great raines might fall by enclinacions of the starres, and that water milles might stand styll and not grinde, they prouided for meale, and yet God be thanked there was not a fairer season in many yeres, & at the last the Astronomers for their excuse said that in their computacion they had mistaken and miscounted in their nomber an hundreth yeres. Bolton prior of saint Bartholomewes.

The Emperor charles which also was enemy to the French kyng, seyng the great army that the kyng of England his confederate had in Fraunce, thought it was to him honorable to make warre also on that part of Fraūce that ioyneth to Spain, & in especially he imagined

how to recouer the toune of Fountraby, whiche the Frenche men before that tyme had gotten: wherfore he assembled a great puissaunce and made capitain the lorde Barnardine de Belasco Constable of Castyle, which with great diligence came before the toune of Fountraby whiche was strongly fortefied and the capitain therof was a Nauerоys: but when the capitaine and his compaigny sawe the toune besieged with suche a puissaunce, and also that the sea was so narowly kept that they could not haue vitail nor succour, they determined to geue vp the toune: but yet the capitaine of a high stomacke shotte out his ordinaunce and sent his trompet to the capitain of the Spanyardes to know what prisoners he had of his, and for the communicacion therof he desired abstinence of warre tyl he had communed with the counsail of the Spanish host, whiche to him was graunted. Then was communicacion for fiue dayes and nothyng ended, for the Spanyardes were haute on the one syde, and the Frenchmen proude on the other syde, but on the vi. day it was concluded that the toune should be deliuered with ordinaunce and artillery and all the men of war to depart with bagge & baggage and so the xxvii. day of February was ỹ toune of Fountraby brought againe to the handes of the Emperor, & he that was capitain of Fountraby was afterwarde restored to his landes in Nauer by the Emperor and became his man.

The bishop of Rome called Pope Clement seyng the great warres that were this yere on all parties and in especial betweне the Emperor & the kyng of England on the one partie against Fraunces the Frēche kyng and his alyes, sent an archebishop of the realme of Naples fyrst to the Frenche kyng, and after to the Emperor, whiche declared to the Frenche kyng the manyfolde mischiefes that ryse by warre, the great stroke of vengeaunce that God will strike for vniust warre & specially for the death of innocentes and effusion of christen bloud, and shewed farther that the sayd Frenche kyng made daily warre on the Emperor and the kyng of England without cause, but onely because he himselfe would do no right to them nor to their subiectes.

The Frenche kyng after counsail taken answered, my lord Legate we assure you that we make no warre, but warre is made on vs, and we stande at the defence, notwithstandyng our right is kept from vs both the duchy of Myllain and realme of Naples by the Emperor and the vsurped duke, to the whiche we haue good title, and the kyng of England warreth on vs without cause, notwithstāding that we haue geuen him and many lordes of his cousail diuers fayre pencions, not because we be afrayde of him, but because we would haue his loue and amitie, and when we perceined that he toke part with the Emperor our mortal enemy, we withdrewe our pencions as with right we might, & now with all his power he would conquere our good will, which is against reason, and we clayme nothing of him. Well sayd the ambassador, I will speake fyrst with the Emperor and after with the kyng of England, & then I will declare to you their rightes and demaundes, with whiche the Frenche kyng semed to be content.

Then the sayd ambassadour tooke his leaue and in post came to the Emperor in Spaine, & there exhorted him to peace with many goodly reasons affirmyng that the warre was vniust and without reasonable cause made on the Frenche kyng as the sayd kyng affirmed. Then the Emperor like a noble prince answered, that the warres were neuer of his beginnyng: For the Frenche kyng or he wyst had taken the toune of Fountraby, and also had sent an army to conquere the realme of Nauerne, & not with this contented, reteyned the Swyches whiche be the Emperors subiectes and caused them to be enemies to thempyre, and he also withholde the duchy of haut Burgoyne, and the countie of Arthoys with diuers other countreys and seignories belongyng to him: Wherfore his quarel was alway iust, and because the college of Rome should perceiue the whole cause of his warres, he deliuered to the sayd ambassador a scedule, with whiche he departed, refusyng all giftes whiche the Emperor offered him, and came againe to the Frenche kyng and rehersed to him all the Emperors saiyng, but the French kyng him selfe highly excused and sayd that he might not lese that that his predecessors left him, and so the bishop of Romes ambassador toke his leaue and cāme into England.

After

After this Legate was departed frō the Emperors court, there came thither an Ambassadōr from Portyngale, whiche highly behaued him selfe, and when he came to the Emperors speche, he proudly sayd: Sir you that are the greatest prince of Christendome ought aboue all men to do iustice and right, and to do wrong to no man, and where it is well knowen that by the labor, studye, and learnyng in Cosmography and Astronomy of vs only Portyngales, the trade to the parties of Inde or Indias were fyrst sought and found, and the fyrst labor in that behalf was ours and the great innumerable riches whiche was spent for the searchyng and findyng of thesame, was employed & spent by the kyng of Portyngale and his progenitors, by whiche trauail we haue wonne straung lādes, wherby all Christendome is greatly enriched w̄ Iuels, stones, and perles and other straung commodities. How can it then be thought iust or righteous that any other persone should take from vs that cōmoditie that we haue so derely bought? Yet most puissant lorde and mightie Emperor, your subiectes daily trauail thither and wrongfully take away our gayne, whiche neuer labored nor toke paia for the findyng or serching of thesame, wherfore of iustice you must cōmaunde your subiectes not alonely to leue their trade thitherwarde, but also to make to vs Portyngales a sufficient recompence for the harmes that we haue susteined. The propōsicion of a Portyngale.

When the Ambassador had sayd, after a lytle deliberacion the Emperor answered: The very pouertie of your countrey of Portyngale is suche, that of your selfes you be not able to liue, wherfore of necessitie you were driuen to seke liuyng, for landes of princes you were not able to purchase, and lande of lordes you were not able to conquere. Wherfore on the sea you were compelled to seke that ỹ which was not found: And where you say that you haue found lādes, I say those landes fōūd you by shipwrekes of the sea beyng cast theron before you thought of any such ground & so sought farther for succours in necessitie, yet they say not that you haue them wōne, but they haue wōne you. And where you would that our subiectes should not repare thither, we ascertaine you that no man shall prohibite our subiectes to saile where they lyst for their auauntage. For our subiectes may be warned no place by them w̄ whom I haue peace and amitie: for he is mine enemy and no frend that letteth my libertie: Well sayd the Ambassador, and we wil let your subiectes to passe thither. Nay sayd the Emperor we wil not trye so farre, for I am able to disturbe your doynges nerer hand. But for a suertie you Portyngales be enemies to all Christendome, for to the Indyans you cary nothyng but coyne, whiche is hurt to all countreys, wherefore at this tyme you may depart, till you be better aduised. After this answere geuen to the Portyngales, they offered great summes of money to the Emperor to leaue his trade into the Indyans, but he therto in nowyse would agree. The Empe-rors answer.

THE. XVI. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this xvi. yere the kyng lay at his maner of Newhall in Essex, and there kept the feast of sainct George & hearyng that the bishop of Romes Ambassador was commyng into England remoued to his manor of Grenewyche where the sayd Archbishop and legate came to him & was highly entertained, which declared wisely and eloquently the message & entent of his master, whiche was to make a peace and cōcord betwene ỹ princes of Christendome, & especially betwene the Emperor, the kyng of Englād & the French kyng, & for that cause he had been with the Emperor & also with the French kyng, whiche as he sayd affirmed that without cause the kyng of England made on him warre, considerynq thathe to thentent to haue ỹ more amitie & fauor of you & your nobles hath liberally geuen to you & theim honorable pencions, whiche by no dutie as he affirmeth you can nor may clayme, but of his beniuolence and bountie. Also he sayth that you clayme his crowne, realme, and possessions, whiche toucheth him highly, and of yours he claymeth nothyng, and therfore he thynketh of right you ought not to make him warre. Wherfore may it please

your highnes to tell me your mynde and I shall it declare to the whole court of Rome God willyng and forget nothyng.

Then the kyng called to him his cousail & after diuers cōsultacions had, the Ambassador was sent for, & there was shewed to him many recordes, prouyng the kyng of England to be inheritor to the realme of Fraūce by bloud & also so cōfirmed by diuers Charters in the tyme of kyng Charles the vii. And as cōcernyng ỹ pencion, to him was shewed diuers Charters, that it was no Pencion of frendship but due rent for the duches of Normādy & Guyan and the countreys of Aniew & Maine which are the kyng of Englandes very inheritaunce. Furthermore there wer shewed to him diuers bondes of the sayd French kynges for the payment for the citie of Turnay & other duties whiche he ought to the kyng of England, all whiche articles to fulfyll, the Frenche kyng hath oftentymes been requyred by Ambassadors, & yet he euer dissēbled & would not conforme himselfe to reason: of all these thinges wer notes written & deliuered to the bishop of Romes ambassador, which toke his leue of the kyng & returned in post accompanied but with iii. persones. By reason of ỹ cōmyng of this Ambassador men hoped ỹ peace should ensue, but it succeded not this yere: for the third day of May the garrison of Bullein with diuers other in the moste secrete wise that could be came to a place within the Englishe pale called Sentricas & sodainly strake vp a dröme or droun-slade: the people hearyng this in the night were sore abashed, some fled naked & some clothed, the most part fled to the Churche, and the Frenchemen them folowed & toke xxi. prisoners and then set fyer on the Churche: by this tyme was all the pale raised which thyng the Frenchmen perceiuyng left their botie and returned in all hast with their prisoners to Bullein.

In this season the lordes of Flaunders lay at the siege before Tyrwyn and were likely to haue taken it by famyne, wherof the Frenche kyng beyng aduertised assembled an armye of xxii.M. horsemen and fotemen vnder the conduicte of the Duke of Vandosme and the lorde Pountdormy, and the Frenche kyng himselfe came doune to Amyas and there caused it to be noysed that he would besege the toune of Valencyen in Henaude, where the Duke of Suffolke the last yere had left the kyng of Englandes ordinaunce. The kyng of England hearyng of this, sayd, that if the Frenche kyng beseged Valencyen, he in person would go thither for to reskue his ordinaunce. The lorde Fynes and other lordes of Flaunders whiche lay before Tyrwyn with ix.M. menne were aduertised of the Frenche armye, but because of the fame that the host shuld go to Valencyen, they sent for nomore succors.

When the Frenchmen had all thynges ready, they lefte the waye to Valencyen and tooke the way directly to Tyrwyn. When the lordes of Flaunders perceiued that, they were sore abashed & then they knew that they were disceiued, and that they were not able to abyde the puissaunce of the Frenche army. Wherfore they raysed their siege, & put thē selfes in order of battail on ỹ Southest side of Tyrwyn: the French armye passed forward the vi. day of May towarde Tyrwyn and made no semblaunce to fight: Howbeit some of theim skyrmished with the horsemen of Flaunders, but they at the last entered the toune, whervnto they were welcome, and the lordes of Flaunders departed sore displeased but there was no remedy. Then ranne a brute that the French army would lay sege to Guysnes: wherfore the kyng caused men & all other thynges to be put in a readynes for the spedye reskue thereof if it had so chaunsed. But the Frenchemen toke a better aduice.

In this moneth of May sir Robert Iernyngham capitain of Newnam bridge cōmuned with Christopher Coo, a capitaine of diuers Englishe shippes that kept the sea, whiche then was in Calayce hauen for vitaile and sayd, capitain Coo you know how the Bulleners haue visited nere to Calayce the Englishe pale and haue burned Sentrycas. If you will promise to set many of your menne a lande at the hauen of Bullein the. xix. day of Maye, I with as many as I can furnishe will mete with you there in basse Bulleine at the tyme and houre betwene vs appointed, to the whiche the sayd Christopher agreed and faithfully promised, and so prepared accordyngly euerye thyng necessarye and so sayled towarde Bulleyn, sir Robert Iernyngham sent worde of this enterprise to sir Willyam Fitzwillyam capitaine of Guysnes

to know if he would ayde any part toward this iorney, whiche sent worde that he would be at thesame auenture himselfe: then all the gentlemen desired him to be capitaine of that enterprise, whiche he thakefully and with heart receiued: then all the men of warre and the aduenturers and the Bayly Marke assembled together, so that when all were come together they wer. CCC. horsemen, and of the countrey and Marke. iii.C. and of the auenturers. C.lx. and so one and other they were vii.C. men. All these persones mette at an houre appointed at Sandyngfelde: the night was short so that it was day or they came nere Bullein all set in good order of battail, but they were askried before they came nere Bullein, and so it chaunsed that Christopher Coo with his shippes whiche had winde at will was come with his iiii. shippes before Bullein somwhat before day, the Bulleners that kept the watche him espied, & then he manned his boates and with men and ordinaunce stretched toward the land, by that tyme was all basse Bullein in harnes ready to defend the Englishmen from londyng, but capitaine Coo did what he might, and almost all the people of Basse Bullein wer on the shore, that seyng the garrison made them ready and bent their ordinaunce. Sir Willyā Fitzwillyam hearyng the gunnes toward the hauenside knew wel that Cristopher Coo was in his busines, and so encoraged euery man to do well and marched forwarde w asmuche spede as might be, insomuche that all the Englishemen were on the hylles before Bullein in sondry plumpes, then issued out the horsmen of Bullein betwene the castle and Cardons tower, the light horsmen of the Englishe part theim encountred, there was a good fight, the Frenchemen shote with Crosbowes, and the Englishemen with long bowes, and the great ordinaunce shot terribly, the Englishemen approched the toune walles, this skyrmishe was fierse & euer the archers ayded the horsemen. Whyle the horsemen were thus skyrmishyng, the viii. score auenturers whiche were hardy & valiaunt men cast themselfes about & came to basse Bullein, and there they were hardely receiued of the Frenchemen, yet notwithstādyng they lost their barriers and the Englishmen entred, there was shotyng on all sides and a strong fight. The Frenchmen cried Bullein, and theenglishmen sainct George Calayce: but at the last the Frenchmen were driuen backe and many slaine, & xliiii. taken prisoners, and so they returned to their capitaine sir Willyam Fitzwillyam. All this while was Christopher Coo on lond on the sea cost and bet ỻ Frenchmen vp to the toune, and when the tide turned he with all his came againe in safetie to their shippes. The Englishe horsemen after long fightyng tooke thre of the Frenchemen of armes and the other reculed to the toune. By this tyme by reason of the *Alarme* was all the countrey of Pycardye raysed and muche people resorted to Bullein on all sydes, whiche doyng sir Willyam Fitzwillyam wisely perceiuyng, by the sound of a trumpette brought all his menne together in a plumpe, and then sent them hither and thither to fette his driftes of beastes that were nere in the countrey on euery side, whiche was quickely done, for the aduenturers brought Oxen, Kyne, Horses, and many other pillages, and brent the granges and villages, and so mette together, and with their botie returned in sauetie.

The tewesdaie folowyng, beyng the laste daie of Maie, sir Willyam Fitz Willyam, with a. C. and fiftie horsemen, and the auenturers, and a hundred other persones mo, came to a place called Samer de Boys, the saied capitain wisely considered, that in that place the Frenchemen had diuerse times lurked, and taken at auantage the Englishmen, wherfore he laied his horsemen, and his archers on horsebacke in a woodde, in a waite if the Frenchemen folowed the stale: then he sent furth the auenturers, whiche passed farther then ỻ capitain would that thei should haue done, and sodainly they were askried: then on came the Frenchemen, the auenturers sware, that they would not flee, but bent theimselfes to defēd their enemies, which wer. iii. C. horsemen. The Frenchemen knew well their hardines, but yet they called them Crakers, whiche by missoundyng, was commonly called Krekers, for a suretie these men wer hardy, and full of pollecie, and very far would ieoperd, the Frenchemen sent about a valey. i. C. of the best horsemen, and. ii. C. footmen, then were the Krekers betwene two bendes of the Frenchmen: sir Willyam Fitz Willyā, beyng assured of the conduite of the Frenchmen, muche doubted the chaunce of the auenturers, wherefore in greate hast sent for his stale of horsemen, that he had left couered: and the Frenchmen

men that were before the Krekers, came and set on very fast, in hope of their horsemen, that were gone about an hill in the valey. The Englishemen them valiantly defended, then as the horsemen had compassed the hill, the auenturers were come on a plain: then the horsemen that wer come to sir Willia. Fitz *William*, set on the French horsemen, there was a hard and a ferce encounter, for the Frenchmen fought sore, but at length they fled, and in the chace wer taken. lvi. horsmen, and. xliii. slain one and other, & many Englishemen sore hurt and diuerse slain, thus the Krekers scaped a narowe hasarde.

In the same season on the second daie of Maie, sir Thomas Palmer one of the Captains of the frontiers, was ridyng to his frende, master Ierome of Burgon, capitain of Turnahan, and with him. xx. Englishe men on light horse, and as he roade, he sodainly espied. xxx. horsemen, of the garrison of Tirwyn and Bullein, thei were nere together or the Englishe men espied them: then there was no remedy, *but* to encounter, sir Thomas Palmer wel comforted his compaignie, and then the Frenche men set on with great force, and truly they fought long without one hauyng any auauntage of the other, but at last the Frenchemen began to faint, and alitle to withdrawe themselfes, that perceiuyng the Englishe men, set to them coragiously and so they slewe three out of hand, and. vi. men of armes taken prisoners, and eight dimy lances, with whiche prisoners the Englishemen returned to Guysnes, and kept not their purpose to Turnahan for all were hurt or wounded.

In Iune sir William Fitz William, capitain of Guysnes, sir Ihon Walop, and sir Ihon Gage, secretly called to them. ix. C. men of warre such as they trusted, and on Midsomer day, passed the lowe countrey of Picardy, vnto the castle of Hardyngha, or Rigsam and they caried with them but one pece of ordinaunce, called a Curtall, this gonne they bent against the Castle, which was well furnished with harnes, ordinaunce and all other artillerie, and thynges nedefull, and the capitain also was a valiant and hardie gentleman. The Englishemen euer shot that pece and remoued it from place to place with great pain, and in conclusion made a batery of the walles, so that they might assault it, then the trompet blewe to assault, and the capitain with his compaignie stoode at defence: then sir Ihon Wallop, and sir Ihon Gage with the auenturers or krekers entred the diche, and the archers shot at euery loupe arrowes and the Frenchmen likewise shot quarelles: the Englishemen set vp laders to the walles, but the Frenchemen threw the doune, at this assault was slain a gentleman called Butler, and. xv. other Englishmen, but for all that, the assault was not lefte, for some clymed by pikes, and some amended the ladders, and cried again to the assault: but sir William Fitz William chief capitain of this enterprise, perceiued that they lacked engynes and other thynges, for the spedy assault of the castle, and not willing to lose his men without cause, caused them to staye, while he and other capitaines counsailed together, and as they were concluded once again to attempt the assault, they hard newes that two thousande horsemen, and two thousande footmen, wer at hande to fight with the, thei then perceiuyng that. ix. C. men beyng wery, wer no power to encounter with foure thousande Frenchmen, they in good ordre returned to the Englishe fortresses.

Monsire de Bees Capitain of Bullein, well considered all the enterprices, that the Englishmen had done in Picardy and Fraunce, now of late: he determined to requite theim, to his honor and fame, and for that purpose sent for the erle of Dammartyne, the lord Pontremie, and the lorde Chastillion, whiche concluded to entre into the Englishe pale and to shewe themselfes before Calice. Wherefore they assembled all the men of armes and souldiers, of the garrisons aboute, and so they wer. viii. C. good horsemen, and with pikes, gonnes, and crossebowes. viii. C. footemen: and when all this compaignie was assembled Monsire de Bees as capitain of this iorney, with the other lordes, the fourth day of August with banner displaied, came toward Calice in the euenyng: and the next day in the mornyng by sixe of the Clocke, they came to a village within the Englishe pale, called Bonynges. Then the *Alarme* rose through all the English pale, and so came to Calice. These lordes of Fraunce sent out

out their forerideres, to serche and ouer se the coūtrey, and then they laied an embushement of. iii. C. horsemen, at the said toune of Bonynges, and with that bend abode Monsire Pontremie, and Monsire de Bees rode to Kalkewell with. iii. C. horsemen, and there taried with them, the erle of Dammartine with. iii. C. freshe horsemen, and all the footemen with bāer displaied, roade and forraged all the Countrey, of whiche three hundred speres, thei let one. C. go at large, and kept the residue with them.

When the *Alarme* came to Calice, euery man made to horse and harnes. Then sir Robert Iernyngham, with. lxxx. horsemen with all spede, rode out of Calice to behold the compaignie of the Frenchmen. And he sent furth his light horsemen, whiche met with the skourers of the Frēch men, and because the Frenchmen semed a few in nombre, the Englishe forerideres profered toward them, whiche fled toward Sandiffeld, and the Englishemen chased after, not beeyng of knowlege of the embushementes, that laye at Bonynges and Kalkewell.

When sir Robert Iernyngham sawe his light horsemen chace, he folowed after softly, to kepe his horse in brethe. Then sodainly the French men that were in chace returned, for some of there aide was nere theim. When the Englishmen which passed not. xvi. horse, sawe the Frenchmen returne, thei encountered with them manfully, but to the Frenchmen came still mo and mo, so that the Englishemen were constrained to flie another waie, to the hye lande in greate ieoperdy, for the Frenchemen them pursued, but by the helpe of the light geldynges, the Englishemen gat the sea side, or sea sandes beyond Skales: then wer the Englishmen glad and returned, and fought with the Frenchmen hand to hand for the Frenchmen behynde folowed not the chace, but only twenty horse men, and with pure fightyng the Englishemen toke one of the Frenche horsemen, and came with him to Calice, and so wer saued.

When sir Robert Iernyngham sawe his men in chace (as you haue hard) and saw that thei were in great ieoperdy, he auaunsed for their rescue all that he might, whiche was the sauyng of the light horsemen, for the Frenchmen lefte theim, to encounter with sir Robert Iernyngham, and so it was that he went so farre forward, that the Frenchmen were betwene hym and Calice. And when he saw al the bendes, and embushmentes breake out he said to his compaignie: sirs, sainct George to borowe, lette these Frenche galantes knowe what we Englishemen be: Sir saied his compaignie, they shall bye vs dere. Then he marched towarde the high lande: Then approched a great nombre of horsemen of Fraunce, the Englishmen theim valiauntly receiued, and manfully defended, but euer the Frēchmen came freshe and freshe, so that the Englishmen beyng wery, and oppressed with multitude, were faine to flie: and in this chace was taken Thomas Cheiney an Archer, whose horse was tiered, and two other archers on horsebacke, one called George Kar and the other Rowlande Atkynson, and thre other of the English pale, sir Robert and the remnaunt, saued themselfes the best that thei could.

When sir Robert was returned, the Frenchmen souned their trompet, and reculed to Bullein, and sent woorde to Calice, that they would visite thē oftener. Sir Robert Iernyngham remembryng this chaunce, thought to be reuenged of the same, & so addisyng himself, to what place he should repare, he remembred that whensoeuer the Englishmen made any iorney to Margyson, the Frenchmen would flie ouer the water or creke, to a high ground by boates, and there as it wer in an island, saue thēselfes, because on that side thei might euer haue succors, for the creke or water is beyond the toune from Calice. Therfore the saied sir Robert caused fiue great boates to be caried in wagons, and so he with other capitaines, of Calice and Guysnes, to the nombre of. iii. C. fotemen with the Krekers &. lx. horsemen the, xii. daie of August, with baners displayed, toke their way to the toune of Margison, and in the night the ligit horsemen gaue *Alarme* to the toune of Bullein, and toke two souldiers prisoners, and brought with them certain cattaill to their compaignie. Then thenglishemen marched forward, toward Margyson, that seyng the Frenchemen, toke their boates in trust of the water, and passed ouer, the Englishemen perceiued that, and lanched their Boates,

and so like auenturers entered, and by force passed, and so mo and mo, till. C. lx. wer passed ouer: the countrey begun to gather, so that the Frenchmen were thre hundred, which fought with the Englishmen, and would haue letted the boates to land, but the archers on the other side drawe the back, and the Englishemen slew at the first encounter. lx. men, and toke fortie prisoners, yet the Frenchmen that fled met with newe succors, and then began a new battail, and the Frenchmen fought hardely but at thende they fled, the most porest of the people, on the other side of the water, fled to the Churche and abode at their defence, then was there fire set in the church, then the Frenchmen lept out of the church, to their destruccion, for of three hundred there was saued but sixtie on liue.

The whole power of Bullein was come doune, nere to the place: but when they perceiued that it was to late, and that the Englishemen were returned they came no farther. This was sir Robert Iernyngham euen with the Frenchmen, and brought a good botie, and many prisoners to Calice, which sore greued the captain of Bullein.

The Frenchemen perceiuyng, that they gat litle at the Englishemennes handes, thought to take their auauntage of the Flemmynges, wherfore they assembled of the garrisons, of Bullein and Tirwyn. v. C. fotemen, and three hundred horsemen, and so in good ordre marched toward sainct Omers, and thei sent to go aforragyng. i. C. footmen, and as many horsemen, and the rest kepte themselfes in a stale. Those Frenchemen came by Arkus, nigh to sainct Omers, and forraged all the countrey, the *Alarme* sprang all the countrey, to Turnahan, the capitain of Turnahā sent woorde to sir William Fitzwilliam, Capitain of Guysnes, that the Frenchmen were abrode, which made answere, that if the Frenchmen came nere to hym, surely he would speke with them, with which answer the capitain of Turnahan beyng encoraged, sent furth, CC. Flemynges on foote, still the Frenchemen marched toward Turnahā, the Flemmynges that wer sent from Turnahan marched toward the waie, where the Frenchmen should come, thinking that when the capitain of Guysnes had set on them, that then they would haue lien in the chace at the receipt.

The saied capitain of Guisnes valiantly marched forward with a. C. horsemen and. iiii. C. footemen, entendyng to mete with the Frenchmen, and sodainly as he was passing forward, word was brought him that the erle of Damarten, with the garrisons of Mustrel and Abuile, to the nomber of. vi. C. horsemen, were commyng forward towarde Guysnes. This hearyng sir William Fitzwillyam, sware that the erle should not take pain to come to Guisnes, for he would mete hym on the way: by this meane he left his first enterprice, & marched toward therle of Damartin.

The Frenchemen of Tirwyn, beyng therof aduertised by a spy, called all the people together, and with their botie came on forward toward Turnahan, and sodainly they askried the poore Flemynges, whiche wer sent out of the Castle of Turnahan, and when they perceiued the French men commyng toward thē, thei turned their backes and fled like shepe: the Frenchmen folowed a pace, and slewe the moste parte of theim, for fewe escaped.

The capitain of Guysnes came to a faire grene, fiue myle from Guisnes, and there in good ordre of battaill, taried for the Erles commyng, whiche hearing that the capitain of Guysnes, was ready to receiue him, made his returne backeward, without any thing doyng: when the capitain knew the truthe of the erles returne, he then with all hast, sped hym to mete with the Frenchmen, that were commyng to Turnahan, and in the meane waie, he hard tidynges of the chaunce of the Flemynges, and how the Frenchmen wer reculed toward Tirwyn, whiche auenture sore him displeased, but there was no remedy, wherfore he returned to Guisnes again, very sory that the Frenchmen, went away vnfought withall: The Frenchmen litle medled after this time, wherefore let vs now returne and

shew

shewe what warres wer kept on the frontiers, betwene Englande and Scotlande, in this ceason.

The. xxi. day of May beyng Trinite Sondaie. v. C. Scottes in the morning by seueral fordes, entered into Englande, and laye couertly by the high waie, to distresse merchauntes and merket men that should passe to Berwike, that day to the faire: for euery Trinite Sondaie, ther is kept a great faire, whiche the Scottes knewe well, and as they laye thus lurking, thei robbed many merchaunies, and toke rich prisoners, but at the last they were perceiued, then the *Alarme* rose, and people bega to gather, the Scottes drew together toward Branxston, & thenglishmen them assailed, which so manfully them defended, that if the yong lorde of Fulbery, had not come with one. C. light horsmen, the Scottes had gone away with their botie, but then began a sore fight, many were hurt on both sides, and some slain, and at the last the Scottes fled, and in the chace there were two hundred Scottes taken prisoners, and the residue fled and saued themselfes.

After this the. v. daie of Iuly, sir Rhon a Fenwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastard Heron, and diuerse other, gathered together. iv. C. mē and entred into Scotland, in the countrey called the Marche, & robbed and spoyled all the countrey, and by chaunce the same season the Scottes had assembled two thousande men, to inuade England, and none of these knew of other, till they by auenture met together. Then began a strong medley, for the Scottes fought valiauntly a great while, and the Englishemen them hardeli assailed, and at the last by fine force, caused theim to leaue the grounde and flie, and in the flight wer taken. CC. Scottes, and many slain of the which prisoners diuerse wer gentlemē sir Raufe of Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and bastarde Heron with. xxx. other Englishemen wel horssed, folowed so farre the chace, that they were paste rescues of their compaignie, which perceiuyng the Scottes sodainly returned, and set on the Englishemen, whiche oppressed with multitude, were sone ouercome, and there was taken sir Raufe a Fanwicke, Leonard Musgraue, and sixe other, and bastarde Heron, and seuen other slain, the remnant by chaunce escaped: the other Englishmen with their two hundred prisoners, returned sauely into Englande: the slaying of the Bastard Heron, was more pleasure to the Scottes, then the takyng of the two hundred was displeasure, thei hated hym so.

The. vii. daie of Iuly the lorde Maxwell of Scotlande, and sir Alexander Iorden with banners displayed, and Scottes to the nombre of foure thousand, entered into England at the West Marches by Carleile, and began to burne on euery side: then the Englishemen assembled on euery side, and so they were in nombre. ii. M. men, and fiercely set on the Scottes, there was a great fighte, for the space of an houre, at the last the Englishmen brake the army of the Scottes, and them discomfited, and toke. CCC. Scottes prisoners, the Englishmen that had taken prisoners, went away with their prisoners. For sir Alexander Iorden and his sonne and diuerse other were taken prisoners, and by their departyng, the compaignie of the Englishemen was muche minished. The lorde Maxwell beyng a politique man, perceiued that & sodainly called his people together, and them encouraged, and began a new skirmishe, and recouered all the prisoners almost, and toke diuerse English men prisoners, this was the chaunce of warre.

After this iorney, in the Court of Parliament of Scotlande, was much commonyng of the warres, whiche were betwene England and Scotland: some of the nobles saied, that Fraunce neuer did so muche good to Scotlande in. xx. yeres, as Scotlande had lost by Englande, i one yere, for ỹ loue & cause of Fraūce: wherfore they thought it conenient to make a perpetual league of amitie, with ỹ kyng of Englande, and to leaue the French kynges parte. Other nobles whiche had pencions in Fraunce declared the old amitie betwene Fraunce and Scotland, and how the French kyng, brought vp many gentlemen of Scotlande in his Courte geuyng them greate liuynges, whiche the kyng of England would not do: thei also alleged the franches, and priuileges that the Scottes haue in Fraūce, and

specially they shewed, that if the kyng of Scottes should breake with Fraunce, & then if it happened the kyng of Englande, to inuade Scotlande, whiche beeyng without aide of any frend might well by the power of Englande be conquered. After many long reasons it was thought expedient, to sue to the king of England for a truce, which was done, & a truce graunted til. S. Andrewes daie.

This yere the first day of September, was doctor Thomas Hanibal Master of the Rolles, receiued into London, with erles, and bishoppes, and diuerse other nobles and gentlemen as Ambassador from Clement bishop of Rome, whiche brought with him a rose of gold, for a token to the kyng: the people as he passed, thought to haue seen the Rose, but it was not shewed, till he came to the kyng to Wynsore, on the day of the Natiuitie of our Lady, on which daie after a solempne Masse song by the Cardinall of Yorke, thesaid present was deliuered to the kyng, whiche was a tree forged of fine golde, and wrought with branches, leaues and flowers, resemblyng Roses: this tree was set in a pot of gold, which pot had thre fete of antike fashion: the pot was of measure halfe a pinte, in the vpermost Rose, was a faire Saphier loupe perced, the bignes of an Acorne, the tree was of height halfe an English yard, and in bredth it was a foote. Thesaied Ambassador in deliueryng thesame rose, made an oracion, declaryng the good mind, loue, and fauor, that the bishop of Rome bare to the kyng, in token whereof he sent hym that present, which the kyng thankefully receiued, and deliuered it to him again, and so he bare it open before the kyng, from the Colleg̃ to the great chamber, and there deliuered it to the Master of the Iuell house, and so there ended his Legacion.

A Rose brought from Rome.

Before this time in the moneth of Iuly, Lorde Archebalde Douglas erle of Anguisbe, whiche had maried the Quene of Scottes, sister to the kyng of Englande, and was sent into Fraunce by the Duke of Albany, and there kept, contrary to his will and pleasure, and from thence hardely escaped, and came to the kyng of England, to his maner of Grenewiche, and there besought him of his aide & comfort, to whom the king made a gentle answer. This erle was not in the fauor of his wife the Quene of Scottes, wherefore she caused hym to be sent into Fraunce: some saied that she loued the duke of Albany, better then hym, but what soeuer the matter was, she wrote to the Frenche king, that if therle euer came again into Scotlande, that the French kyng should haue no pleasure in Scotlande, that she might let, so that the erle beyng in Fraunce, was in ieopardie of his life. Wherefore secretly he fled and came into Englande, as you haue hard, and one day at the Castle of Wynsore he declared, that in the counsaill of Fraunce, when he was there, they happened in communicacion, to talke of ỹ warres that were then, betwene the Emperor and the French king, and betwene the kyng of England and the French kyng: there was a lorde of the counsaill, that stode vp and saied, it were better that one person suffered, rather then all the Realme should be daily in this mischief. Then was it asked, what he meant by that one persone, he answered, that if the French Quene, whiche was lame and vgly were dedde, that then waies might be founde, that the French kyng should mary themperors sister, and to haue with her the Duchy of Millain, and then with the money of her mariage, the kyng of England should be paied, and so a peace might be concluded: to this no answer was made, but whether this were true or false, for a truth the Frēche quene was ded the, xxvi. daie of Iuly, & was buried at. s. Denise.

The duke of Burbon this Sommer, made sharp war on the Frēche kynges dominions, and did high enterprises: wherefore the kyng of Englande sent his letters, to diuerse lordes, and gentlemen in this seasō the tenor whereof ensueth. Trustie. &c. For asmuche as (our Lord God be thanked) our armie, vnder the leading of our cosyn the duke of Barbon, hath not onely entered the realme of Fraunce, gaining and attaynyng many tounes, citees, Castles, and places, with the whole countrey of Prouince, without any resistence, of our auncient enemie the Frenche kyng, but also goeth daily marching, and continually dooth chace, and driue before them such men of war, as our said enemie hath prepared for his defence, in resistence of our cosyn the duke of Burbon, and oure saied armie.

In such wise that it is thought vndoubtedly, now to bee moste conuenient tyme and season, either in our persone (although the yere be somewhat past) or by a leuetenaunt, with a a puissant army to inuade Fraunce, on the other side, both for the recouerynge of the Croune and to compell our saied enemie, to knowlege his obstinate, wilfull, and eronious demeanure, wherfore we will and commaunde you to be redy with such power as you be able to make, vpon the next Proclamacion to be made, dated the tenth day of September.

After whiche letters sent furthe, euery man made preparacion accordyngly, and the people murmured and saied, that it were much better, that the kyng should maintein his warres, with his awne subiectes, and spend his treasure on them, then to trust the Duke of Burbon, beyng a straungier to spend his money.

The king beyng at Wynsore, to him came sir Anthony Fitz Herbert one of the Iustices of the Cõmon place, a man of excellent lernyng in the law, as appereth by his workes, sir Raufe Egerton knight, doctor Dẽton Deane of Lichfeld, which in the beginning of this yere, wer sent as Commissioners into Irelande, which so wisely endeuored theimselfes, that thei reformed many iniuries doen in the countrey, and brought diuerse of the wilde Irishe, by faire meanes to a submission, and made by the Kynges auctboritie the Erle of Kildare deputie of the lande, before whom the great Oneele bare the sworde: and the Lord Piers Butler, called Erle of Ormound, whiche was deputie of Irelande, was by thesaied Commissioners, made high threasorer of Ireland. And when they had set all thynges in good ordre, in the moneth of September they toke shippyng, and in thesame monethe came to the kyng, whiche gaue theim his hartie thankes, for their good doynges.

In this moneth the king sent Master Ihon Magnus Priest, and Roger Ratcliffe Esquier into Scotlande, for the suretie of his nephew the kyng of Scottes, for diuerse lordes of Scotland, wrote to the kyng that they doubted the suretie of their kyng, because the duke of Albany, whiche was heire apparant to the realme of Scotlande, had the kyng in gouernaunce, & also they thought, he beyng a Frencheman borne, should not rule their realme: wherefore thei emongest theselfes, murmured sore in this matter. The Duke hearyng, that the Lordes of Scotland, had written to the kyng of Englande, and also that they repined and grudged at his doynges, sodainly with all the threasure that he could make, departed from Scotlande, and sailed into Fraunce, with which departyng the commons were nothing sory, and sone after his departing, the Ambassadors of England, were ioyously receiued into Scotland, and there thesaied Ambassadors taried, till Marche twelue monethe, in which tyme, there were many conclusions driuen, betwene the two realmes: now let vs returne to Fraunce.

The. xxiiii. day of September, thre horsemen of the garrison of Bullein, whiche wel knewe the hauen of Calice, came at a nepe tide, and passed ouer Calice hauen, by Rise banke in the night, and went behind the Est Wyndmill, and then tooke lande, and went to a litle village called Middilwaie, and passed the Turne Pikes, and entered into a Wheelers house, and tooke the man and the wife, and. xx. l. in money sterlyng, and went away clere without askrie of perceiuyng of the watch of Calice, and no man wist where they were become, till the trompet of Bullein brought worde and demaunded the ransome.

The last day of September, fiftie light horsemen of Calice, apperteignyng to sir Robert Iernyngham, rode towarde Bullein, and passed the water of Margysõ, and came to the water of Sclakes nere Bullein where sodainly thei encountered. lx. Frenchmen of the garrison of Bullein, there was shotyng with long bowes and crosebowes, on euery side strong was the fight, but at the last the Frenchmen fled, the Englishemen folowed, and toke thre light horsemen, and when they perceiued the *Alarme* on euery side, they put themselfes in array, and with their botie came to Calice.

Thesame daie sir Thomas Palmer, with. lx. horsemen of Guysnes, encountered with the capitain Bertram, leader of the horsemen of therle *Dammartyn*, with. lx. horsemen, there was a strong fight two howers together, but in the ende the Frenchmen fled, and the Englishemen.

lishemen folowed, and toke. xviii. prisoners, and. xvi. good horse, and with this botie they returned to Guysnes.

In this busie season, the auenturers hearing what the horsemen, on their parties had done and inespeciall perceiuyng that thenglishe horsemen had taken good prisoners, commoned emongest theimselfes, what was to be doen, then one of their capitaines said openly sirs you se how long we haue been here, and wages we haue none, our liuyng riseth on the gain of our enemies, and sithe our beginnyng, we haue had good chaunce in all our enterprises, God be thanked: now the Winter draweth nere, let vs now auenture to get some good botie, to make vs mery with, in the cold wether, and if you will, we shall enterprise a thing, that I truste to vs shalbee profitable. Then all the compaignie cried furthe furth. Then with a banner of sainct George, they marched toward a village, liyng toward Mustrell, hauyng onely. xxv. light horsemen to be their skourers, and they were not fully two hundred men. This compaignie folowyng their skourers, went farre on, and had gotten a faire botie of Oxen, Kine, and other bestiall, and were nere at their returne and by chaunce thesame day, was the erle of Dammartyn, and the capitain of Mustrell, with the power of the Duke of Vandosme, going toward sainct Omers, to burne and destroy that countrey, and for that purpose thei had gathered together. xv. C. horsemen, and. viii. C. footmen, howbeit the footmen were a large myle behind the horsemen.

The Frenchmen on horsebacke, espied the English horsmen, which perceiuyng the great nombre fled, and as thesaid Frenchmen marched forward, they espied the auenturers on foote, & made toward them: thenglishmen seyng the great nombre of the horsemen, studied to get some hedge or strong place to fortifie theim, but there was no suche place in sight, and also they had no suche tyme so to do, wherefore the Capitain saied: Good felowes and brethren, we haue of long time been called auenturers, now is the tyme come of our auenture, the Frenchemen will not raūsome vs for nothing, we be emongest thē so feared: if any thing saue our liues, it must be God and our hardines, and therefore saied he, if you se me begin to flie, slaie me out of hande. Then euery man cried God mercie, and kneled doune and kissed the earth, and strake handes eche with other, in token not to depart, and then made themselfes prest to the defence.

The Frenchmen came on, on euery side, thenglishmen shot their arrowes, and defended them aswell as they could: the Frenchmen perceiuyng that the Englishmen, kept thēs elfes so close, caused diuerse of the horsemen to light a fote, and so they did, and fought with their speres against the pikes, and shotte with Crosebowes on euery side. Alas the while, for while the Englishmen had arrowes to shote, they were not broken, but close without perill, but when their arrowes were spent, the Englishmen fought valiauntly, and slew many Frenchmen that lighted on foote, but in the conclusion the horsemen entered, and killed them all in maner, because there were so many of their compaignie slain, and tooke fewe of them prisoners. This was thend of these compaignions, called the krekers or auenturers, which were as hardie men, as euer serued prince or capitain.

The end of the auēturers.

The Duke of Burbon, with the Marques of Picardy, in the moneth of October, with a great puyssaunce, laied siege to the strong toune of Marcell in Prouince, and lay there a greate space. The Frenche kyng reised a greate armie, and sware that he would reise the siege, whereof hearyng the Duke of Burbon, sent for the Marques of Piscare, and his other captains, and declared to them that his intēt was, to geue the French King battaill: the Marques of Piscare saied that the Frenche kynges puyssaunce was greate, and theirs small, and said: although the duke of Burbon, whiche was a banished man from his countrey, had no other remeady to reuenge him, but by battaill, yet he saied he would not put al the Emperours men, of the whiche he had the guide, in such a hasard till the remnant of the Emperours power wer come. Well saied the duke of Burbon, then you do not as you haue written, both to the Emperor and to the king of England, whiche shalbe a reproche to your honor: Nay saied the Marques, I will kepe me from reproche. Then said docter Richard Pace, Ambassador for the kyng of Englande: my lorde you

haue had the King my Masters wages, I would bee glad to heare what way you would take: I woll tell you said the Marques, the Frēch kyng hath a great armie gone into Italy, & he himself foloweth with another, not to come to fight with vs, I dare assure you: but onely to take the Duchie of Millain vnprouided, whiche shall do him more pleasure then he had slain all vs. Also the Emperor shall lese, more then. x. Marcēles be worth, and the French kynges power shalbe more elated, that he will not set by the Emperor, nor the kyng of Englaud. Therefore my aduise is, to breake vp this siege, and with all spede to.preuēt hym in Italy, and if we be entered the tounes, and put munitions in thesame, he shall lye a colde in the feldes, and then you shall se what shall become of hym, when his beastes dye, and his vitaill spent. To this counsaill the duke and all the Capitaines agreed, and so brake vp the siege, and with all hast departed into Italy, and fortefied all the tounes in the Duchie of Millain, with men and other necessaries.

The Frenche kyng hearyng of this, with all his armie passed the Mountaignes, and Camped nere to Millain. It chaunced in this monethe of Nouember the. xiii. day, aboute the toune of Calice, there fell a great mist, in which mist the Frenchmen came to a village called Kause beside Newnā bridge, & tooke. xl. beastes, then the *Alarme* was brought to Calice, whiche hearing the Marshal of Calice, called to hym sir Robert Iernyngham, and they had with them. i. C.xx. horsemen, and sent sir Anthony Broune to tell the capitain of Guysnes, what they intended to do, but they taried not for the company of Guynes, but marched so far forward, that they came to the water of Sclaukes, which is nere Bullein, and there they set their stale. And in the mornyng betime, they sent furthe a gentleman called Richard Lamberd, with. xx. light horsemen on swifte geldynges, and they came by Moone light nere Bullein, and then they saw the men of Bullein and other there about, put out there bestes into the feld. Then the Englishemen with great diligence, brought all the beastes together, and so began to driue theim together, toward their embushement. Then the *Alarme* began at Bullein, and the men of war issued out of the toune, and fought with thenglishemen, their horses wer fresh: wherfore they had a great auantage, but incōclusion three French menne were slain, and their horses taken, and so the light horsemen came with their cattle nere to the embushement, and the Frenchemen folowed, that seyng the Englishemen that kept the stale, came in all hast and rescued their light horsemen, and draue the Frenchemen backe, and then made returne with their beastes, and as they were returnyng they had worde brought to them, how that sir Willyam Fitzwillyam, capitain of Guysnes with his retinue, were besiegyng a pile called the castle of Capell, wherfore they sped them thether in all haste, and when they wer come thether, the capitain of Guysnes them hartely welcomed, and then they concluded to geue an assault to the Castle, and so with good courage set on, the Frenchmen defended it very valiantly a greate while, but at the last the Englishmen gat ouer the diches, and scaled the walles, but the Frenchmen still them defended, till the Englishemen had gotten to the highest of the dongion, and then was there slaiyng a pace. For there wer. iiii. persones slain out of hande, in reuengyng the greate obstinacie of the Frenchmen, and the castle was rased and brent. Then sir William Fitzwilliam with his botie, and sir Ihon Wallop Marshal of Calice and sir Ihon Ieruyngham returned, he to Guysnes, and thei to Calice. Thesame day. xiiii. Burgonions, and. xiiii. Spaniardes, all horsemen of Guysnes, came to the Church of Falske, not farre from Durnam at high Masse tyme, and there drew their swordes, and so much did, that all the men in the churche, to the nomber of fiftie, yelded themselfes prisoners, of the whiche nomber they toke eight persones with them, whiche should be gages for the remnant, & with these. viii. thei came to Guisnes.

The. xix. daie of December wer receiued into London, lorde Gilbert Kenet Erle of Castelles, sir Robert Cockeburne bishop of Dunkel, and the Abbot of Campskenell, Ambassadors from Iames the fifth kyng of Scottes, by the bishop of Lyncolne, the lorde of sainct Ihones, and diuerse other noble men and wer conueighed to their lodgynges at Taylers Haule.

The.

The. xxiii. daie of December, thesaied Ambassadors were conueighed to Grenewiche, accompaignied with thesaied lordes by water, and when they came to the vtte gate, they were receiued of the officers of the house, and so passed through the haule, whiche was well furnished with people, and so through the vttermost chamber, into the great chamber of presence, where they wer receiued and welcomed, of al the prices and nobles of the realme, and within a short space the king came furth, and set him self in a throne of three steppes high, vnder his Clothe of estate, whiche was very rich, but his apparell was exceding rich, both of goldsmithes worke & perle, and stone, which the Scottes well auised, & then they wisely and humbly made their obeisance, and the bishop in good plain latin made a solempne Oracion, in the which he declared, that although the realme of Scotlande and he, had often times hard the renoune and fame of him and his Courte, both for the giftes of grace and nature, whiche were in his persone, yet he saied that his princely countenance, his louely fauor, whiche he hymself did se, did muche surmount the fame & name, whiche he hath hard of reporte. He declared further, that although fortune had hym fauored, in conqueryng of regions, and vanquishyng of battailes, yet that thyng was not so honorable to him, nor profitable to his realme, as was a good peace, whiche pleaseth bothe God and man, and for that cause he shewed, that kyng Iames the fift, his nephew, and fellowe to the kyng of England, had sent them his Ambassadors, to entreate a peace, so that a conuenient marriage might be made, betwene hym and the lady Mary, daughter to the kyng, whiche should be a lincke necessary, to knit together the realme of Scotlande and England, in perpetuall loue and amitie.

To which Oracion, the bishop of London doctor Tunstal answered and saied: that the kyng was at their desire, content to haue peace vpon reasonable condicions, and as touchyng mariage of his daughter, he would so answere theim, that thei should be contented. Then the kyng rose from his place and welcomed theim, and all the honest persones of the train, and after communicacion had, thei tooke their leaue for that tyme, and so toke their barge and came to London.

Before the feast of Christmas, the lorde Leonard Grey, and the lord Thon Grey, brethre to the Marques Dorcet, sir George Cobham sonne to the lorde Cobham, Willyam Cary, sir Thon Dudley, Thomas Wiat, Frances Pointz, Frances Sidney, sir Anthony Broune, sir Edward Seimour, Oliuer Manners, Perciuall Harte, Sebastian Nudigate, and Thomas Calen Esquires of the Kynges Housholde, enterprised a chalenge of feactes of armes, against the feast of Christmas, wherefore they sent Wyndsore herault, on sainct Thomas day before Christmas, into the Quenes great chamber, the kyng being present, which herault had a coate of armes of red silke, beaten with a goodly Castle, of foure Turrettes siluer, and in euery turret a faire lady, standyng gorgiously apparelled: the herault after that the Trumpet had blowen, saied, where the kyng our souereigne Lorde of his bountifull goodnes, hath geuen to foure maidens of his Court, the castle of Loyaltie, to dispose at their pleasure, thesaied maidens haue geuen the custodie therof to a capitain and fiftene gentlemen with hym, whiche capitain sent furthe me his Herault called *Chasteau Blanche*, to declare to all kynges and princes, and other gentlemen of noble corage, that thesaied capitain will nere to his Castle raise a Mount, on whiche shall stande an Vnicorne, supportyng foure faire shildes.

The firste shilde shalbe White, and whosoeuer toucheth that shelde shalbe answered sixe courses at the Tilt, by them of the Castle, with hostyng harnes and double peces.

The second shilde, Red, betokenyng the Turnay, and whosoeuer toucheth that shild, shalbe answered tenne strokes at the Turney, with the sworde, edge and poynt abated.

The third shild yelow, signifiyng the Barriers, and he that toucheth that shilde shalbee answered twelue strokes at the Barriers, with the sworde, edge and poynt abated.

The

The fourth shilde blewe, tokenyng the assaulte, with such wepons as the capitain of the Castle shal occupie, that is, Morrice pike, sworde, target, the poynt and edge abated.

Also thesaied capitain and his compaignie promised, to defend thesaid Castle against all commers, beeyng gentlemen of name and armes, and the assaulters to deuise all maner of engynes for the assaultyng, edge tole to break the house and ground onely except, and also that no other weapon shalbe vsed, but suche as the patron shalbe sette vp, by thesaied Vnicorne, and that no manne medle with fire within or without, but the matches for gonnes, and euery prisoner taken on either partie, to pay for his raunsom. iiii. yardes of right satten, & euery capitain. xiii. yardes.

Accordyng to this Proclamacion was the Mounte, and all thynges deuised sumpteously, with a great craggy braunche, on which wer hāged the shildes of the armes of the capitain, and all other of the Castle. For this enterprise there was set vp, in the Tilte yard at Grenewiche a castle square euery waie. xx. foote, and fiftie foote on heigh, very strong and of great timber, well fastened with yron, the embatelmentes, loupes and euery place where men should entre, wer set with greate rolles, and turned assone as thei wer touched, so that to semyng no man could entre the towers, nor embatilmentes. On the North and South sides, were two greate diches. xv. foote depe, from the brynke to the botome, & thei were very stepe, and betwene the diche and Castle, was set a pale, whiche was rampaired with yearth so stepe and thicke, that it was not likely to be gotten. On these diches were twoo drawe bridges, on the West side was a great rampire or banke, very stepe without and within, and like to a vamure of a fortresse, by the vamure the diches wer. xxiiii. fote depe. When the strength of this castle was wel beholden, many made dangerous to assault it, and some saied it could not be wonne by sporte, but by ernest. The kyng mynded to haue it assaulted, and deuised engins therfore, but the Carpenters wer so dull, that thei vnderstode not his entent, and wrought all thyng contrary, and so for that tyme the assaulte was prolonged, and all the other poyntes of the chalenge held, for the morow after sainct Ihon the Euangelistes daie in Christmas, came out of the castle, sixe men of armes of the castle on horsebacke armed at al poyntes with their speres redy to discharge, and so came to the ende of the Tilt, abidyng all commers. Then sodainly entered into the feld, twoo ladies on twoo palfries, in greate robes of purple damaske, leadyng twoo ancient knightes, with beardes of siluer, in thesame apparell, and when they came before the Quene, thei put vp a bill to her, the effect whereof was, that although youth had left them, and age was come, and would lette theim to do feactes of armes: Yet courage, desire, and good will abode with theim, and bad theim to take vpon theim to breake speres, whiche they would gladly do, if it pleased her to geue theim license. When the Quene and the Ladies had seen the bill, thei praised their corage, and gaue theim license.

Then the knightes threw awaie their robes, and then it was knowen that it was the Kyng, and the Duke of Suffolk, whose bardes and bases were golde, embraudered with purple, siluer, and Blacke, very curiously. After them folowed the Erle of Deuonshire, the Lorde Montacute, the lorde Roos, sir Nicholas Carewe, sir Frances Brian, Henry Norreis, Anthony Kneuet, and fiue other, euery man ran eight courses, in which courses the kyng brake seuen speres. Euery man that day did well, so that the Scottes much praised the men of armes of Englande, but moste of all thei preised and marueiled at the kynges strength, for thei saw his speres were broke with more force, then the other speres wer.

When all the courses wer ronne, the kyng and all the other disarmed them, and went to supper, and after supper the kyng hauyng with him, the Ambassadors of Scotland, came into the Quenes chamber, where after that the Lordes and diuerse Ladies had daunced, there came in a Maske of xvi. all appareled in clothe of Golde, riche tynsell and crimosyn veluet, cut, slit, and tied very curiously, their buskins and shoen wer guld, cappes and whoddes all gold, riche and not counterfeted: of this nomber the Kyng and the Duke of Suffolk

wer twoo, then the Maskers toke Ladies, & daunsed a greate season, and that doen was brought in wyne and spices, and the straungiers well cherished, & after that conueighed toward their lodgyng. And as thei went thei asked a gentlemā which accompaignied them, if all the warre tyme the kyng and the lordes wer so mery, or had had suche ioyous pastyme, or kepte suche royall housholde, or were so well appareled: for in their countrey they saied, in tyme of warre, was nothyng but wailyng and mournyng, and also thei thought that the realme of Fraunce, is not a realme to sport with, nor to Maske with. The gentlemen answered, that the kyng and his courte, vsed them still all the warre tyme, as thei dooe now, for thei set not by the French kyng one bene. For the kyng of England maie sit in his chaire and dammage the French kyng for the Lordes and cominaltie of England, praie for the continuance of warre, for by the warres of Fraunce they wynne, and lese not, at whiche saiyng the Scottes muche mused.

Fridaie the. xxx. daie of December, therle of Castels one of the Scottishe Ambassadors toke his leaue and departed toward Scotlande: for to commōn with the Counsaill of Scotland, for thynges whiche were not in their commission, and left behynd hym the Bishoppe of Dunkell, and the Abbot of Campskenell: some saied thartiele was, that the Scottes should forsake the French kyng, & that the kyng of Scottes should come into Englande, but whatsoeuer it was, euery man knewe it not.

The second daie of Ianuary, there was muche talkyng of the assault of the Castle, and so after long debate, sir Frances Brian, and Frances Poyntz, enterprised to defende the Weste braie of the Castle, with Pike Target, and Sworde, poynt and edge abated, against sir George Cobham, George Harbert, Ihon Poyntz, and Willyam Kneuet, and when thei were all armed, the Trumpettes blewe, then toward the braie marched the foure gentlemen, with pikes and swordes, and cried *harr, harr,* ther was foynyng, lasshyng, and strikyng, they within fought mightely and when any without clymed vp the banke, thei within bet them doune thei within were sometyme beten doune almoste: but surely thei fought valiantly, and then they seased for a while.

Then began the assaulte again, and George Harbert and Willyam Kneuet, helde them twoo within so hard, that thei could scant put their heddes ouer the braye, or bulwerke. While they two thus still fought, their two felowes, sir George Cobham, and Ihon Poyntz, with their swordes digged holes in the banke to clyme vp, but or they had dooen, their twoo compaignions were fought out of brethe, then sir Frances Brian and Frances Poyntz, fought with the other two that digged, and then on came thother two, that had brethed themselfes, then fierce was the fight, and Ihon Poyntz gat footyng in the bancke aboue, and toke holde of the pale, and fought hande to hande, with Frances Poyntz his brother, and euer George Harbert susteined him, at the banke with his pike, sir Edward Cobham gat the banke, and fought hardely, but at the last he was ouerthrowen, but vp he gat again, and coragiously gat the pale: they two within fought valiauntly, but they wer ouer matched, for they that fought at the pale without, by aide of their felowes gatte ouer the pale, and then was the battail ended. I thynke that there was neuer battaill of pleasure, better fought then this was.

The next day after was another fight, of foure and eight, which was sore foughten, and at last the bray taken, and when the combates were disarmed, sodainly all the young persones without, threwe stones at the within the castle, and they at theim, and many honest men whiche threwe not wer hurt, and with muche pein thei without wer apeised, and no mā knewe how nor why, this hurlyng began.

The fifth daie of Ianuary, all the knightes of the castle, came to the barriers to abide all men, thether came the kyng, and many other lordes and gentlemen, and that daie by them of the castle, were deliuered. lviii. gentlemen, &. lviii. *battailes fought* valiantly, the kyng hymself fought coragiously, and so did all the other. The eight daie of February, the gētlemen of the castle folowyng their chalenge, came into the feld, ready to answere all commers. To this turnay came the kyng, his base and bard wer cloth of siluer, and blacke

veluet ruffed and not plain, and ouer that was a worke of purple veluet, embraudered richely with gold, cutte in knottes or foldes fastened, so that it bossed out and frounced very stately to behold, after the Kyng came. xix. other richely appareled, the Kyng and Sir Anthony Broune Turnaied together, and the Kyng with his sword, poynt and edge abated, had almoste cut his poldron, his strokes were so greate. Then euery man turnaied as his course came, and many a sworde was broken, and many a good stripe geuen, and when euery man had striken the full nomber of twelue strokes, thei wer seuered and then they disarmed.

In this monethe the Cardinall as Legate, by his power Legantyne, would haue visited the Friers Obseruauntes, but they in nowise would therein condiscende, wherefore. xix. of thesame religion, were accursed at Paules Crosse, by one of thesame religion, called Frier Forest. *Of this Frier Forest ye shall here more here after, in the thirtie yere of this Kyng.* The Obseruaun t friers would not bey Cardinall.

In this season the French kyng was in Italy, with all his nobilitie, and to hym was Millain yelded, but because of pestilence he would not entre, but departed and laied siege to the strong toune of Pauia, wherof was capitain a valiat Spanyard, called Anthony de Leua. The Frēche kynges mother beyng Regent of Fraunce, perceiuyng that the king her soonne, with all his good Capitaines were in Italy, doubted that the kyng of Englande, in the nexte Spryng tyme would inuade Fraunce. Wherfore she by the auice of the counsaill of Fraūce, did so much with the kyng of England, that her Stuard of houshold called Ihon Iokin, had a saueconduit to come into Englande, whiche was kept close in the house of docter Larke, a Prebendary of sainct Steuens, and euery daie priuely spake with the Cardinall, and so secretly he remained, till the. xxiiii. daie of Ianuary, at whiche day came to London, the president of Roan called Monsire Brynyon, as an Ambassador from Frances the French kyng, and was lodged with Ihon Iokyn: this Ihon Iokyn was kept priuie, because that no man should knowe, that there was any man of Fraunce, here to sollicite any cause for the Frenche Kyng, whiche after grewe to greate trouble. For he shewed hymself to straungiers, whiche fauored the Frenche partie, and so at last it was openly knowen, to the kynges counsaill, and almoste to all men: but when the Emperors Ambassador knewe this darke dealyng, he mused not a litle, and saied that the Cardinall did driue priuie driftes, & that by his meanes onely, Ihon Iokyn was come into England, to entreate a peace in secret maner, or the kynges frendes might knowe it, and all people saied that Ihon Iokyn was but a cast awaie of Ieane, and had no liuyng to liue on, but of the lady Regent, and marueiled why he should be kept close, & so muche cherished of the Cardinall. For this kepyng close of this Iokyn, Englishemen wer rebuked at the Marte in Flaunders, and Brabant. The Emperors Ambassador and the bishop of Romes Ambassador also sore murmured, why this Ihon Iokyn should bee kept as a spirite in close, consideryng that there was open warre betwene the twoo kynges, and feared that the kynges counsaill should be corrupt. This Ihon Iokyn was muche with the Cardinall, but neuer was seen with the Kyng nor his counsaill, but for all the secretnes, Monsire Pratt themperors Ambassadour, knewe all the offers that he made for peace (whiche in deede wer very greate) and how he had offered pencions, to diuerse young mē aboute the kyng, of the which some were very glad, & so the noyse by reson of suche offers ran, that a peace was likely to ensue in shorte space.

Monsire Pratt wrote of this matter, in all hast to the Emperor, in the which letters he highly commended the kyng of England, for his stedfastnes: but he said some of the kynges counsaill, loued neither the Emperour nor the kyng of Englande, and wrote to hym farther, all the maner of ỹ secret kepyng of Ihō Iokyn. These letters at last wer brought to the Cardinall, by what chaunce it was not openly knowen, and so he sent for Monsire Pratt, and declared to hym the matter, which answered him, that he was counsailer and Ambassador to the Emperour, and that it was his parte, to assertein the Emperor of euery thyng, that was or might sound preiudicial to his maiestie, but howsoeuer that his answere

was taken, he was not fauored with the Cardinall, but he saied openly, that it was not well ment to the Emperor, to stop his packet with letters and to open them, and the Spanyardes saied, that the Emperor sent them not into England to slepe, but to do him seruice. The bishop of Romes Ambassador wrote to his master, that peace was likely to be concluded, betwene Englande and Fraunce, and willed hym to be the firste frende to the Frenche kyng, rather the the seconde. Of whiche writyng came harme after, as you shall heare.

In this moneth tidynges came to the Kyng, howe the Marques of Piscaire in Italy, had gotten from the Frenche kyng, a castle called the castle s. Angell, which was a greate fortificacion, of his siege at Pauie.

Treason at Heddyng castle.

There was in this monethe a Flemyng in Heddyng Castle, whiche came often tymes to sainct Omers, & promised them if they would come to Heddyng, he would deliuer the Castle: vpon his worde thei of saincte Omers, gathered together seuen hundred footemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, and poynted with the spie, that the fourthe day of February, thei would come thether, and whē the false knaue knewe the daie, he told Monsire Pontdormie, Capitain of Heddyng, whiche incontinent filled the castle with men of warre, and laied busshementes on euery side, and had laied the ordinaunce, all on the one side of the Castle, that way that the Flemynges should come. The men of warre of sainct Omers, were conueighed by their spie, mistrustyng nothyng, to a posterne, which was litle vsed, and when there were as many in, as the Frenchemen thought sufficient, thei let fall the Portcolis: Then Monsire Pontdromie cried, slaie, slaie, then the Flemynges wist that they wer betraied, and put themselfes to fight for their liues, that seyng Monsire Pontdromie, cōmaūded to fire the ordinaunce in suche haste and fury, that the flame was so greate and fierce, that it brent thesaied Lorde Pontdromie, and xxvii. of his compaignions all gentlemen, the trayne was so hastely fiered, that thei had no leasure to auoyde. In the fight tenne of the Flemynges wer slain, and thirtie kept theselfes so hardely together, that thei liues were graunted them, and so was taken as prisoners, the remnant that entred lept ouer the castle wal, and so saued themselfes, and told newes to their horsmen, which wer without, whiche hearyng the mischaunce, returned toward sainct Omers.

Ambassadors of Flaunders.

Sundaie the fifth daye of Marche, wer receiued into London, Monsire de Beuer lorde of Camphere, Admirall of Flaunders, & the President of Malynes, called Master Ihon de la Coos, and Master Ihon de la Gache, as Ambassadors from the lady Margaret, in the name of the Emperor, for causes of the lowe countreis, of Brabant, Flaunders, and Zelande: and on Tewesdaie thei wer brought to the kyng to Bridewell, whiche nobely theim enterteined, and then thei shewed how themperors maiestie, had commaunded theim to obey the kyng of England, as protector and gouernor, wherfore thei and all theirs, wer at his cōmaundement, & if thei had doen other wise, and not obeyed hym as their gouernor, thei asked him mercy, then the kyng and thei talked together secretly, and then they departed. These Ambassadours demaūded thre thynges.

1. First, thei demaunded the ladie Mary the kynges onely daughter, to be deliuered to theim out of hande, and she to be named Emprise, and to take possession of all the lowe countreis, and to be gouernour of thesame, this article was not agreed to, for causes.
2. Also that all suche sommes of money, as the Kyng should gene with her in mariage, for a dower to be made to her, should be paied incontinēt this article was also denied.
3. Thirdly, that the kyng of Englande hymself should passe the sea and make warre in Fraunce, the nexte Sommer, to this the kyng saied he would take aduisement.

Thursday the. ix. daie of Marche, at. vii. of the clocke in the mornyng there came a gentleman in poste from the lady Margaret gouernesse of Flaūders, and brought letters, shewyng how that the xxiiii. daie of February, the siege of Pauia, where the Frenche kyng had lien long, was raised by force of battaill, and the Frenche kyng hymself take prisoner, and how by the Duke of Burbon, the viceroy of Naples called Myngnouale, and the Marques of Piscaire, and other of the Emperors capitaines, the whole power of Fraunce was discomfited, & how the duke of Albany with seuen thousande men, was goyng to Naples,

Naples, and how the bishop of Rome was become French, against the Emperor, and had sent his cosyn in aide of the Frēche kyng, with a great power. Thesame daie the president of Roan & Iohn Iokyn, wer goyng to the Court (for they had not yet spoke with the kyng) and in Holburne in their way was tidynges brought them, of the takyng of the kyng their Master, and of the losse of the feld, whiche hearyng this misauenture, returned to their lodgyng sorowfull, and within shorte space, returned to the Regent of Fraūce. It was thought surely that the kyng of England, would haue had peace with the French kyng, if this chaunce had not happened, for all the people of Englande, grudged against Flaunders, for their euill entreatyng, in the tyme of warre, and also the kyng was displeased with theim, for enhaunsyng his coyne there, which was a cause that money was daily conueighed out of the Realme, and many other causes there were of grudge.

A triumph for the takyng of the Frenche kyng.

Saterdaie the. xi. daie of Marche, in the citee of London for these tydynges, wer made greate fiers and triumph, and the Maior and Aldermen road about the citee with Trumpettes, and much wyne was laied in diuerse places of the citee, that euery man might dryuke, and on Tower hill the Ambassadours of Rome, of Flaunders, and Venice, had a greate banket made in a goodly tent, whiche pleased theim well, and as thei returned homewarde, all the stretes were full of harnessed men and Cressettes, attendyng on the Constables, whiche they preised muche.

Sondaie the. xii. of Marche, the kyng accompaignied with the Ambassadors, of Rome, of the Emperor, of Scotland, of Venice, of Millain and Florence, road in his estate to Paules churche, and there the Cardinall sang Masse, and a. xi. prelates waited on hym in pontificalles, and after Masse was doen, the quere sang *Te deum*, and the mynstrelles plaied on euery side, and when all was doen, the kyng returned to Bridewell, and there kept a solempne dinner. The bishop of Scotland was muche marked this day, for whensoeuer he came to the Court, before this time his apparell was sumpteous, his whodde was euer veluet or crimosyn Satyn: but after the takyng of the French kyng, he ware onely blacke Chamlet, by whiche token men iudged his Frenche harte.

From the. ix. day of Marche to the. xvi. day, the kyng had no mo letters, of the maner of battaill of Pauie, and that day he receiued a letter from the Duke of Burbon, by a gentleman named Gropayne: when the kyng had redde the letter, he came into the Quenes Chamber and there thesaied Grepayne declared the maner of the siege, and how wel it was planted, and how themperors men entered the French campe by force, and threwe doune their bastides and fought with the Frenchemen within their Campe, and tooke their kyng prisoner in thesame, and many other whiche was marueil. For when the French kyng entered Italy, he had in his gard. xi. C. men, and of speres furnished twoo M. iii. C. l. and of light horsemen eight hundred and. xx. and of footemen. lvii. M. and of these the Duke of Albany had but eight thousande, so that there remayned with the Frenche kyng. xlix. M. ix. C. and fiftie men, wherof was taken. xiiii. M. and mo, beside the great riches, and the goodly ordinance whiche were. xii. greate Bombardes of brasse, and. xxiiii. greate Canon peces. xxiiii. double Curtalles, foure double Canon peces, two middle Canon peces, and eight other peces. After the feld was doen, the French kyng was put in the custodie of the Viceroy of Naples, whiche muche comforted hym, and preised his valiauntnes, and praied hym to be content, for he should haue a gentle ende, then he desired to write to his mother, whiche was to hym graunted, the very wordes wer these.

The true report of the takyng of the Frenche kyng.

"To aduertise you of my infortunate chaunce: Nothyng is lefte but the honor and the life that is saued, and because some other newes shall recomforte you, I haue desired to write to you this letter, the which liberally hath been graunted to me: besechyng you to regard the extremitie of your self, in ensuyng your accustomed wisedome. For I hope that at length God will not forget me, to you recommendyng your litle enfantes and myne, supplying you to geue sauecondute, to passe and returne from Spain, to this berar that goeth toward the Emperor, to knowe in what wise I shalbe intreated, and thus right hubly to

your

your good grace, I haue me recommended: this subscribed by your humble and obedient sonne Frances.

The Cardinal first begā to suppresse Abbeis.

This season the Cardinal beyng in the kynges fauor, obteined licēce to make a College at Oxford, and another at Ipswyche, and because he would geue no landes to the said Colleges, he obteined of the bishop of Rome, licēse to suppresse and put doune diuerse Abbayes, Priories, and Monasteries to the nomber of wherfore sodainly he entered by his Cōmissioners, into the saied houses, and put out the Religious, and tooke all their goodes, moueables, and scarcely gaue to the poore wretches any thyng except it wer to the heddes of the house, and then he caused thexcheter to sit and to finde the houses voyde, as relynquished, and founde the kyng founder, where other men wer founders, and with these landes he endewed with all his Colleges, which he begā so sumpteous and the Scholers were so proude that euery persone iudged, that thende would not be good, as you shall heare fiue yeres hereafter.

The Scottes returned into Scotlande.

The Erle of Castelles whiche was sent into Scotlande, returned into England, the. xix. daie of Marche, but because the Frenche kyng was taken his commission for the moste parte was determined, and so he and all his compaignie toke their leaue of the kyng, and without any reward returned into Scotlande, the fourth daie of Aprill.

In this monethe of Marche, the kyng sent Cutberd Tunstall Bishop of London, and sir Richard Wyngfeld, Chanceller of the Duchy of Lancastre, and knight of the Gartier, into Spain to the Emperour, for greate causes concernyng the takyng of the Frenche kyng and in especiall for warres to be made on Fraūce, on euery side. For so the kyng of England and his counsaill, wer agreed and determined: and the same moneth the Ambassadors, departed again into Flaunders.

The counsaill remembryng that it was determined, that the kyng in proper persone should passe the sea, they considered that aboue all thynges, greate threasure and plentie of money, must nedes be had in a readines: wherefore by the Cardinall were deuised strange Commissions, and sent in thende of Marche to euery shire, and Commissioners appoynted, whiche wer the greatest men of euery shire: and priuie instruccions sent to them, to saie and ordre the people, and the tenor was, that the sixt part of euery mannes substaunce, should without delaie bee payed in money or plate, to the kyng for the furniture of his warre: wherefore the Cardinall, as chief Coamissioner for London, sent for sir Willyam Bayly knight, then Maior of the citee, and the Aldermen, and diuerse hedde Comminers and saied to them in maner folowyng. You the kynges welbeloued frendes and subiectes, of the citee of Lōdon, I must declare to you, how the kyng contrary to his awne mynd and will, but compelled of verie force, is determined to entre into a new war, & for the more explanacion of the truthe, you shall vnderstande, that after that Frances the Frenche kyng that now is, had obteigned the Croune, and scepter of the realme of Fraunce, he moste humbly sued to the kyng our Master, for peace, loue, and amitie, promisyng vpon the Euangelistes, to kepe the league then concluded, and also to paie to lady Mary quene dowager of Fraunce, her due pencion and doware, to her graunted by kyng Lewes her husbande. After this he by his Ambassadors, humbly desired the citee of Turnay, which kyng Lewes before tyme had loste: the kyng whiche would that the citee of Turnay, should be no cause of grudge, betwene hym and the Frenche kyng, consented that for certaine sommes of money, it should be deliuered. And farther the more to bynd amitie betwene theim, the kyng was content, that a communicacion of mariage should be had, betwene the Dolphyn of Fraunce, and the ladie Marie Princes of England, yet for to entreate more loue, familiaritie, and acquaintance, the king to his greate cost and charge passed the sea, and met in persone with the Frenche kyng, thynkyng that by reason of personall sight and actual communicacion, that more stable and ferme loue, should growe betwene them, then by writyng, at which time it was vndoubtedly thought, that there could be no more loue be knit, betwene two persones. There were couenauntes made and sworne, and the kyng

Commissiō.

The propoſicio of the Cardinall.

our

our Master saied to the French kyng: Brother, now that you and I be this knit, I require you to kepe ferme peace, & amitie, with my nephew themperor: and also suffre not Duke Ihon of Albany, to go into Scotlande, for puttyng the young king my nephewe, in ieoperdie of his persone, wherefore if you loue me, in especiall kepe these two articles: if you obserue these articles, and all other couenauntes betwene vs agreed, I assure you there had neuer prince a surer frende, then you shall haue of me. Then the French kyng laied his hand in mine (said the Cardinal) and sware by the othe of a kyng, he would obserue & kepe fermely, these poyntes with many mo, and after the Kynges were departed, and that the Emperoure was come to the kyng to Calice: the French kyng sent Monsire de la Roche baron with letters, declaryng that he was in perfecte league and amitie with the Emperor, and this notwithstandyng, he within lesse space then halfe a yere, sent Robert de la Marche to inuade the Emperors lande, and made warre in Nauerr & other places. The kyng our Master hearyng this, of his mere charitie sent me and other nobles with a greate trayne to Calice, to knowe by whom the war began, for he promised to be enemie to hym that brake firste. To whiche place came from the Frenche kyng, his Chanceller, and Monsire de la Palice, and many other noble men. And from the Emperor came his Chanceller, and the lorde Cheuers, and there in open counsaill, the Emperors Ambassadors, did shewe the French kynges letters, signed and sealed, by the which he enforced and began the warre: to which poynte the Frenche Ambassadours could not answere. What should I saie, the warre was open on bothe parties, I sent to the French kyng Ambassadors, to entreate peace, but in nowise he would conceit: wherfore I with my compaignie returned. In the meane season (although I doubted nothyng the Frenche kynges faithe toward our Master) yet for a more suertie, I obteigned a saue conduite for the Englishe Merchauntes, that thei should go to Burdeaux, and vpon suertie of that our Merchantes passed, yet he contrary to his saueconduit, toke the Merchantes goodes, and put their bodies in prison, whiche the Turke would not haue doen. The kyng sent gentely to him his herault Clarenseux, desiryng him to redresse all these enormities, and to paie hym his sommes of mony, due to hym and to the Quene his sister, for her dower, which to do he refused and denied, whiche thynges you knowe, the kyng of his honor might not suffre. Wherfore mightely he hath these three yeres, kept warre continually bothe on lande and sea, and inuaded Fraunce with two armies royall, and bet their townes, castles, and fortresses, destroyed the people, and passed the water of Somme, and proffered battaill to the Frenchmen, in their awne countrey, and hath brought the countrey in such penury and wretchednes, that in many yeres it will not be recouered.

The saiyng of the kyng of England.

The othe of the Frenche Kyng.

And the more to hurt and damage the French kyng, the kyng hath in wages the Duke of Burbon, whiche was the greatest strengthe on the Frenche part: by whose power and aide of other, which had great sommes of money, of the kyng our Master, the Frenche kyng in persone is now taken, and all his nobles in effect, before Pauia, and kept as prisoner to the Emperor and the kyng our Master, and that for great reasō: for our master sent sir Gregory de Cassado his Ambassador, to the Viceroy of Naples, and to the Duke of Burbon, and the Marques of Piscaire, with a hundred thousand Crounes, so that thei would fight with the Frenche kyng: for the which money they assented, and so gaue battaill, in the which they slewe. xii. thousand men, and drouned. vii. thousande, and. xiii. thousande taken prisoners, and now sithe God hath geuē vs victory, the kyng remembryng the saiyng of the Poet that saieth: It is more mastery to vse victorie gotten, then to get it, thynketh it necessarie now in all hast, to make an armie royall, and he in person to passe the seas, and to recouer his right inheritance, bothe of the Croune of Fraūce as of Normandie, Guyen, Gascone, Aniowe and Mayne, the writynges whereof comprehendyng the very title, you maie se here present if ye list, but I doubt not but you knowe them well inough. And now I aske you this questiō, whether that you thynke it couenient, that the kyng should passe with an armie or not, for the kyng will do by thauise of his subiectes: to the whiche many saied yea,

Wel-

The Cardinals demaūde. Wel said the Cardinal, then must he be made able to go like a prince, which cannot be without your aides, & for to shewe you what the Archbishoppe of Cantorbury and I, which bee primates of the realme haue doen, we haue geuen of our landes, and all landes appertaignyng to the churche, the third parte, and the temporall lordes, haue geuen of landes and goodes, the sixt parte, and to ieopard, their bodies in pain and trauaill, and now sithe they which shall auēture their lifes, doth profer the sixt part, what should thei geue which abide at home? For soth I thinke that halfe your substaunce were too litle, not meanyng that the Kyng so asketh. For he demaundeth onely no more, of fiftie. *l.* the sixt part, and so vpon euery. *l.* aboue fiftie. *l.* to what some soeuer it amounte to, the sixt part that is. iii. *s.* iiii. *d.* of the. *l.* and from. xx. *l.* to fiftie pounde, and so vpward. ii. *s.* and. viii. *d.* of the pounde, and from. xx. pounde to. xx. *s.* xii. *d.* of the pounde, and this to be leuied accordyng to the first valuacion, as appereth by your awne valuacion, whiche is but a small matter, to the thing that is meant. Then they beyng astonied, at last ỹ one said, my lord sithe the last valuacion diuerse Merchantes be decaied by the seas, and suretiship, and other waies, so that valuacion cannot bee had. Then answered the Cardinall, sers, speake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for some shall not paie the tenth parte, and some more, it were better that some should suffre indigence, then the kyng at this time should lacke, and therefore beware and resist not, nor ruffill not in this case, for it maie fortune to cost some their heddes: but I will speke to the kyng, to bee good to you, so that if he go not ouer the sea in persone, then you shall haue your money redeliuered, but firste let the money bee gathered, and laie it where you will, and if the kyng nede it not, you maie take it again.

The Cardinalles threate enyngea.

When the Cardinall had thus perswaded the Maior, and his brethrē and other hedde comiuers, thei toke their leaue, and euery day after by the space of fortenight, he sent for a certain nomber of Comyners, and told them like tale, but some spake suche woordes to him, and some going from hym, that they were sent to ward.

The enyng of the clergie. Now were Commissioners sent to the clergie, for the fourth part of their landes and moueables, and in euery assembly the priestes answered, that thei would pay nothyng, except it were graunted by Conuocacion, otherwise not: for thei saied, that neuer kyng of England did aske any mannes goodes, but by an ordre of the lawe, and this Commission is not by the ordre of the lawe: wherefore they saied, that the Cardinall and all the doers thereof were enemies to the kyng, and to the common wealthe. This infamie was spoken in preachynges, and euery where.

The grudge of the cōmō people. When this matter was opened through Englande, howe the greate men toke it was maruell, the poore curssed, ỹ riche repugned, the light wittes railed, but in conclusion, all people curssed the Cardinal, and his coadherentes as subuersor of the Lawes and libertie of Englande. For thei saied, if men should geue their goodes by a Commission, then wer it worse then the taxes of Fraunce, and so England should be bond and not free.

It happened at Redyng in Barkeshire, that the Commissioners satte for this money to be graunted, and the people in no wise would consent to the sixt parte: but of their awne mere mynde, for the loue they bare to the kyng, they graunted the twelueth parte, that is. xx. *d.* of the pounde, the Commissioners hearing this, said they would sende to the Cardinal, desiryng hym to be content with this offre, and so the Lorde Lisle wrote the letter, so that sir Richard Weston would beare it, the which letter at the request of the gentlemen of the cōuntrey, the said sir Richard toke vpō him to cary & roade to the Cardinall: whiche therewith was sore greued, and said, but because that the lorde Lisle wrote, that the matter was but communed of and not concluded, it should cost the lorde Lisle his hedde and his landes should be solde to paie the kyng the values, that by him and you folishe commissioners he had lost, and all your liues at the kynges will: these words sore astonied Sir Richard Westō, but he said litle.

Then

Then the Cardinall wrote letters, to all Commissioners of the realme that they should kepe their first instrucciō, and in no wise to swarue one iote, vpon pain of their liues, and euery man to be valued according to the valuacion taken in the. xiiii. yere. This laste poynte sore touched the citee of London, for the Cardinall in the. xiiii. yere, sent one Doctor Tunes his secret Chapelein, to the Chapter house of Paules, promisyng to the Londoners, that whatsoeuer they valued themselfes at, that no man should knowe it, but the kyng the Cardinall, and he, vpon whiche promesse many persones for their more credite, and to be the higher estemed valued theimselfes at a greater substaunce then they were worthe: thynkyng neuer to lende or paie by that confession, for the loane and the subsidie were paied accordyng as men were sessed, and not by Master Tunes boke, whē men valued thēselfes, not knowing what should succede.

Now in this tyme was that subtile valuacion, laied to their charge, which when they perceiued, they murmuredmuche, and said they would paie nothyng, except the kynges lawes, vnder whiche they were borne, so determined it: But this notwithstanding, Commissioners went out to euery shire, for the leuie of the saied money, but for all that could be perswaded, saied, lied, and flatered, the demaunde could not bee assented to, saiyng, that they that sent furthe suche Commissioners, were subuerters of the lawe, and worthy to be punished as traytors. So that in all the realme were billes set vp, in all places: Some billes saied, that the kyng had not paied that he borowed: Some saied that the Subsedy amounted treble more then he had bestowed: other saied whatsoeuer was graūted, no good came of it: and other saied that the Cardinall, sent al the money to Rome, thus was the mutteryng through all the realme with curses and wepynges, that pitie it was to beholde. The mutteryng of the people.

Durying this season that the Commissioners sat, and that the bishop of London, and other the kynges Ambassadors, were abidyng wynde to saile into Spain to the Emperor (as you haue hard rehersed) Monsire Pratt, the Emperours Ambassadour, whiche was sore angrie for Ihon Iokyns commyng into Englande, as you haue heard before, departed priuely out of the Realme of Englande, the. ix. day of Aprill, without speakyng with the kyng, or the Cardinall, and so muche did by saueconduite, that he passed through Fraunce in poste, and came to the Emperor before the Ambassadours of Englande came thether, and whether it was by his report or otherwise, the accustomed fauor that themperor and his counsaill shewed to the Englishemen, began then to decaie, and to shewe theimselfes vnkynde to the Englishe nacion, without cause, as you shall here after perceiue.

In this yere the kyng folowing of his bauke lept ouer a diche beside Hychyn, with a polle and the polle brake, so that if one Edmond Mody, a foteman, had not lept into the water, & lift vp his hed, whiche was fast in the clay he had been drouned: but God of his goodnes preserued him. The keper dy the kyng was in.

This yere at Whitsontyde, died Thomas duke of Norffolke, and was honorably buried at Thetford in Norffolke.

¶ THE. XVII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this. xvii. Yere, the Commissioners in all shires sat, for the leuie of the sixt parte of euery mannes goodes, but the burden was so greuous, that it was denied, and the commōs in euery place were so moued, that it was like to haue growen to a rebellion. When this mischief was shewed to the kyng, he saied that he neuer knewe of that demaunde, and therefore with greate diligence, he sent his letters to the citee of London, and to all other places, in the which the kyng gemely wrote, that he would demaūde no some certain, but suche as his louyng subiectes would graunt to hym of their good mindes toward the maintenaunce of his warres: wherfore the Cardinal, the twentie & six daie of The. xvii. yere.

Aprill, sent for the Maior of London, the Aldermen and counsail of the same, with the moste substanciall persones, of the common counsail, and when they were come to his place at Westminster, he saied: the kyng our souereigne lorde, moste graciously considereth the greate loue, zeale, and obedience, which you beare vnto hym, and where like louyng subiectes, without any grudge or againsaie, of your louyng myndes you haue graunted the sixt parte, of all your goodes and substaunce, frely to bee paied, accordyng to the firste valuacion, the whiche louyng graunt and good mynde, he so kindly accepted, that it was maruell to se. But I my self do cōsider the great losses, and other charges that daily bath, & doth to you grow, and that notwithstandyng, any losse or charge that happeneth to you, yet you neuer withstoode nor againsaied, any of the kynges demaundes or Commissions, as it appereth now of late, of whiche dooynges, I haue highly the kyng enformed, for ỹ whiche he gaue you hartie thākes. Then I kneled doune to his grace, shewyng hym both your good myndes towarde hym, and also the charges, that you continually sustein, the whiche at my desire and petici-on, was content to call in and abrogate the same commission, & where he by reason of your owne graūtes, might haue demaunded the saied somme as a verie debte, yet he is content to release and pardon the same, and wil nothyng take of you, but of your beneuolence: wherfore take here with you the kynges letter, and let it be redde to the commons, and I doubt not but you will gladly do, as louyng subiectes should do.

The saiyng of the Cardinal to the Lōdoners.

Here note, that if the Cardinall had not said, that the kyng had released and pardoned the first demaunde, the citezens would haue answered the Cardinall that they neuer made no suche graunt, and for a suretie no more they did not: and so they helde their peace, & departed toward London, sore grudgyng at the liyng of the Cardinal, and openly saiyng that he was the verie cause, and occasiō of this demaunde, and would plucke the peoples hartes from the kyng.

The. xxviii. daie of Aprill, in the Common counsaill of the citee, was redde the kynges letter, accordyng to the effect aboue rehersed, wherfore the citizens sent foure Aldermen, and. xii. Cominers to Hampton courte to geue thankes to the lorde Cardinall, whiche for busines as was saied could not speake with hym, wherefore they returned not content. Then euery Alderman assembled his ward, in their places accustomed, & gentely moued them of a beneuolence, to be graunted to the kyng, the which they openly denied, saiyng: that they had paied inough before, with many euill wordes.

The common counsaill.

The. viii. daie of Maie, the Cardinall again sent for the Maior and his brethren, whiche shewed thē what they had done: then saied the Cardinall, you haue no suche commission to examyn any man, I am youre Commissioner, I will examyne you one by one my self, and then I shall knowe the good will that you bear to your prince, for I will aske of you a beneuolence in his name. Then was it answered to the Cardinall, by a counsailer of the citee, that by the lawe there might no suche beneuolēce be asked, nor men so examined, for it was contrary to the statute made the first yere of kyng Richarde the thirde, also some persones commyng before your grace, maie for feare graunt that, that all daies of their life they shall repent, and some to wynne your fauor, will graunt more then they bee able to paie of their awne, and so ronne in other mennes debtes, so that by dredfull gladnes, and fearefull boldnes, men shall not be masters of themselfes, but as menne dismaied, shall graunt that that their wifes and children shall sore rewe. The Cardinall hard this saiyng verie paciently, and answered: Sir I maruell that you speak of Richard the third, which was a vsurper and a murtherer of his awne nephewes, then of so euill a man, how can the actes be good, make no suche allegacions, his actes be not honorable. And it please your grace said the cōsailer, although he did euill, yet in his tyme wer many good actes made not by hym onely, but by the consent of the body of the whole realme, whiche is the parliament. Then sir Willyam Bayly lorde Maior, kneled doune and besought his grace, that sithe it was enacted, by the common Counsaill of London, that euery Alderman should sit in his awne ward, for a beneuolence to be graūted, whiche he perceiued to be against the lawe, that the same

acte

ecte by the same common counsall, might be reuoked and no otherwise: well saied the Cardinall, I am content. But now will I entre into the kynges Commission: You Maior and you Master Aldermen, what will you geue? my lorde saied the Maior, I praie you pardō me, for if I should entre into any graunt it might fortune to cost me my life: your life saied the Cardinall, that is a maruelous worde, for your will toward the kyng, will the citezens put you in ieoperdy of your life, that were straunge: For if they would that waie, then must the kyng come with strōg power them to oppresse, wherfore speake no more suche wordes, and with that he studied a litle and saied: My lorde Mayor, let you and your citizens, if you be greued with any thyng, in this demaunde, humbly and after a good fashiō come to me and I shall so entreate you that you shalbe content and no displeasure arise, & so I praie you shew your neighbors, and so the Maior for that daie departed. The gatter-ryng of the Cardinall.

The Maior did wisely not to assent to graunt to any thyng for although he and the Aldermen had assented, the common counsaill would neuer haue assented. So on the next morowe, it was declared to the common coūsaill, that their act that was made that euery Alderman should sit for a beneuolence to be graunted, was against a statute lawe: wherevpon the said act was anulled: and then was it declared, that euery man should come to the Cardinall, and to graūt priuily what he would, with this saiyng the citezens wer sore greued, then the Maior gentely shewed them how he durst warrant, that they should bee entreated gentely, and exhorted theim to go thether when they were sent for, whiche saiyng nothyng pleased theim: and then in a furie they would haue had Richarde Gresham, and Ihon Hewster Mercers, and Richarde Gibson Seriant at armes and Merchant Tailor, banished out of the common counsail, and so without answere made, what they would do, they departed home.

In the same season through all the realme, this demaunde was vtterly denied so that the Commissioners cōuld bryng nothyng to passe, and yet they assaied bothe by faire waies and foule: some spake faire and flatered, other spake cruell and threatened, and yet could not bryng their purpose aboute. For in Kent the lorde Cobham was commissioner, and handled men roughly, and by reason one Ihō Skudder, answered hym clubbishly, he sent hym to the tower of London: for whiche dooyng the people muttered and grudged against the lorde Cobham, and saied expresly, that they would paie no money, and then they began to accōpt the loanes and subsedies graunted, so that thei rekened the kynges Tresure innumerable, for they accompted that the kyng had takē of this realme, twentie fiftenes, sithe the. xiiij. yere of his reigne, and in this grudge, thei euill entreated sir Thomas Bullein at Maidestone.

In Essex the people would not assemble before the commissioners in no houses, but in open places: and in Huntyngdon shire, diuerse resisted the commissioners to sit, whiche were apprehended, and sent to the Flete.

The Duke of Suffolke sat in Suffolke, this season in like commission, and by gentle handlyng, he caused the riche Clothiers to assent and graunt to geue the sixt parte, and when thei came home to their houses, they called to them their Spinners, Carders, Fullers, Weuers, & other artificers, whiche were wont to be set a woorke and haue their liuynges by cloth makyng, and saied, sirs we be not able to set you a woorke, our goodes be taken from vs, wherefore trust to your selfes, and not to vs, for otherwise it will not be. Then began women to wepe and young folkes to crie, and men that had no woorke began to rage, and assemble theimselfes in compaignies. The Duke of Suffolke hearyng of this, commaunded the Constables, that euery mannes harnes, should be taken from them, but when that was knowen, then the rumour waxed more greater, and the people railed openly on the Duke of Suffolke, and sir Robert Drurie, and threatened them with death, and the Cardinall also, and so of Lanam, Sudbery, Hadley, and other tounes aboute, there rebelled foure thousande men, and put theimselfes in harnes, and rang the belles *Alarme*, and began togather still more: then the duke of Suffolke perceiuyng this, began to raise men, but he could get but a small nombre, and they that came to hym saied, that they would defende Insurreccion in Suffolke.

hym from all perilles, if he hurte not their neighbors, but against their neighbors they would not fight: Yet the gentlemen that were with the duke did so muche that all the bridges wer broken, so that their assemble was somewhat letted.

The duke of Norffolke *high* Threasorer and *Admirall* of Englande hearyng of this, gathered a greate power in Norffolke, & came towarde the commons, and of his noblenes he sent to the cõmons, to knowe their intent, *which* answered: that they would liue and dye in the kynges causes, and to the kyng to be obedient: when the duke wist that he came to thẽ, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they meant. Then he asked who was their Capitain, and bad that he should speke: then a well aged manne of fiftie yeres and aboue, asked licence of the Duke to speake, which grauted with good will. My lorde saied this man, whose name was Thon Grene, sithe you aske who is our capitain, for soth his name is Pouertie, for he and his cosyn Necessitie, *hath* brought vs to this dooyng, *for all* these persones and many mo, whiche I would were not here, liue not of ourselfes, but all we liue, by the substanciall occupiers of this countrey, and yet they geue vs so litle *wages for* our workmãship, that scacely we be able to liue, and thus in penurie we passe the tyme, we our wifes and childrẽ, and if they by whom we liue, be brought in that case that they of their litle, cannot helpe vs to earne our liuyng, then must we perishe and dye miserably. I speke this my lorde, the cloth makers haue put all these people, and a farre greater nomber frõ worke the husbande men haue put away their seruauntes, and geuen vp houshold, they say, the kyng asketh so much, that thei be not able to do as thei haue done before this tyme, & then of necessitie, must we dye wretchedly: wherfore my lorde now accordyng to your wisedom, consider our necessitie. The Duke was sory to heare their complaint, and well he knewe that it was true: then he saied, neighbors, seuer your selfes asonder, let euery man depart to *his home*, and chose furthe foure, that *shall answer for* the remnant, and ou my honor I will send to the kyng and make hũble intercession for your pardon, whiche I trust to obtein, so that *you will* depart, then al they answered they would, and so they departed home.

At the twoo dukes requestes, commissioners of great auctheritie wer sent to theim, then the Duke of Norffolke, and the Duke of Suffolke came to Bery, and thether came many people *of* the country in their shirtes and halters about their neckes, mekely desiryng pardon for their offences, the Dukes so wisely handeled themselfes, that the commons wer appeised, & in especiall one Master Iermyn, toke muche pain in ridyng and goyng betwene the lordes and commons: then the demaunde of money seased in all the realme, for well it was perceiued, that the commons would none paie.

After this the twoo dukes came to London, and brought with theim the chief capitaines of the rebelliõ, which were put in the *Flete*, and then the kyng came to Westminster, to the Cardinals place: Wherupon this matter, he assembled a great counsaill, and openly he said, that his mynd was neuer, to aske any thyng of his commons, whiche might sounde to his dishonor, or to the breche of his lawes, wherfore he would know of whom it was long, that the commissions were so straight to demaunde the sixt parte of euery mannes substaunce: the Cardinall excused hymself & said, that when it was moued in counsaill, how to make the kyng riche, the Kynges Counsaill, and especially the Iudges saied, he might lawfully demaunde any some by Commission, and that by the assent of the whole counsaill it was done, and toke God to witnes, that he neuer maligned nor desired, the hynderance of the Commons, but like a true counsailer, deuised to enriche the kyng: And the spirituall men saie, that it standeth with Goddes lawe, for Ioseph caused the kyng of Egipte, to take the fifth parte of euery mannes goodes, but because euery manne laieth the burden from hym, I am cõtent to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noyes of the people for my good will toward the kyng, and comfort of you my lordes, and other the kynges counsailers, but the eternall God knoweth all. Well said the kyng *some haue enformed* me that my realme was neuer so riche, and that there should neuer trouble haue risen of that demaunde,

The sore wordes of ye kyng.

The excuse of the Cardinal.

maunde, and that men would pay at the first request, but now I finde all contrary, then euery man held his peace.

The kyng was sore moued, that his subiectes were thus stirred, and also he was enformed of the demaill, that the spirituall men had made, and of their saiynges, wherefore he thought it touched his honoure, that his counsaill should attempt suche a doubtfull matter in his name, and to bee denied bothe of the spiritualtie and temporaltie, for although some graunted for feare, before the commissioners, yet when they wer departed, they denied it again. Then the kyng saied, I will no more of this trouble: Let letters be sent to all shires, that this matter maie no more be spoken of, I will pardon all theim that haue denied the demaunde, openly or secretly: Then all the lordes kneled doune, and hartely thanked the kyng. Then letters were sent to all commissioners to cease, with instructions how to declare the kynges pardon. In whiche declaracion, was shewed, that the Cardinal neuer assented to the first demaunde, and in the instruccions, was comprehended, that the lordes and the Iudges, and other of the kynges counsaill, diuised the same demaunde, and that the Cardinall folowed the mynd of the whole counsaill, these two poynctes were contrary one to another, whiche were well marked. And farther the instruccions were, that at the humble peticion, and supplicacion of the Cardinall, thesaied greate sommes, whiche were demaunded, by the kynges auctoritie royall, wer clerely pardoned and remitted, wherefore the Commissioners willed the people to praie for the Cardinall: but the people toke all this for a mocke, and saied God saue the kyng, for the Cardinall is knowen well inough, the commons would heare no praise spoken of the Cardinall, they hated hym so muche.

The kyng sore moued.

The Pardon of the greate demaunde.

The. xix. daie of Maie, the Cardinall sent for the Maior and his brethren, and certain comminers, and made the Maior to sit doune by hym, and then declared, that where the kyng was determined, in proper persō to passe the sea into Fraunce, for whiche cause he asked of the citizens of London, and his other subiectes, an aide toward his charges, to whiche request (he saied) that the Londoners were at all tymes conformable, like louyng subiectes, but sithe the kyng considereth the greate fall of the Frenche Kyng, whiche is yet prisoner, and that daily he hath suite made to hym for peace, greatly to his honor and profite, for I trust that all his right and title, shalbe to hym dcliuered, which thyng once agreed I truste you shall haue peace, and therefore at my humble request, the kyng hath pardoned you of all the sommes of money, that of you were demaunded: and if his grace had not passed the seas, although the money had been gathered, surely it should haue been restored again, and cōsequently the kyng thanketh you as hartely, as any prince may thanke his subiectes: and for asmuche as peace, is not yet concluded, I counsaill you to shewe yourselfes, enemies to the Frenchmen, and to say that you be the kynges, bodie and goodes at his will and pleasure, so that your louyng myndes towardes hym, maie to the Frenchmen appere, you wot well what I meane saied the Cardinall. Then the Maior and his compaignie kneled doune, and moste hartely thāked the kyng and hym, and so departed. The next daie, all this was rehersed to the cōmon counsail, whiche humbly thanked the kyng for the pardon: but twoo thynges thē sore displeased, one was that the Cardinall bad theim saie, they were the kynges, body and goodes, they saied that they vsed no dissimulacion, for they would not saie they were the kynges, but they thought and were the kynges in deede, and not in saiyng: the seconde was, that the Cardinall excused hymself, that he was ignorant of the first cōmission: For all they knew and were present, when he himself made to them the first mocion, & whatsoeuer was saied by the Recorder, in his excuse was takē as a cloke for the rain, & a dissimulacion or a mocke. For wisemen perceiued all the handelyng of the matter: after the kyng had pardoned euery offendour.

The saiynge to the Maior of London.

The prestie feate of the Cardinall.

The. xxix. daie of Maie the lordes sat in the Starre chamber, and the ther were brought one Deuereux, a gentleman of Huntyngdō shire (whiche would not suffre the commissioners to sit, as you naue hard) and thon Scudder of Kent, these twoo were brought from the Tower, bare footed in their shirtes through London to the Starre Chamber, and

there

there the Cardinall shewed them their offences, with terrible woordes: and after that he shewed the kynges mercie, extended to thē and declared their pardon, and so they were deliuered.

The morowe after beyng the. xxx. daie, wer the chief of the rebelles of Suffolke brought to the Starre chamber barre, and there the Kynges counsaill learned, laied sore to theim their offence, but the Cardinall declared for thē the kynges pardon: then the kynges Attorney, asked suertie for they good aberyng, their answered that they could finde none, then saied the Cardinall I will be one, because you be my countrey men, and my lorde of Norffolke will be another, and so they were discharged, and had money to bryng them home: Now here is an ende of this commissiō, but not an ende of inward grudge and hatered, that the commons bare to the Cardinall, and to all gentlemen, whiche vehemetly set furth that Commission and demaunde.

In this trobelous season the vplandishe men of Germany, called the bowres, rose in a great nomber, almoste an hundred thousande, and rebelled against the princes of Germany, of whiche a great nomber wer slain and destroyed.

In Aprill last past, the Tyndale men, with the aide of the Scottes, to the nōber of eight hundred, did daily greate roberies in Englande. For to represse this nest of theues wer sent sir Richard Bulmer, and sir Cristopher Dacres, with a greate compaignie of Englishmen, and to them diuerse men came, and submitted themselfes, but the great theues kept them in the moūtaignes of Cheuiot, and daily skirmished with the Englishemen, and could not sone be taken: but after long liyng abrode, they seuered and many of them wer taken.

In this verie season the Frenchemen, kept a greate nomber of men of warre, at Bullein and there aboute, and the. v. daie of Maie foure hundred horsemen, embushed theimselfes in the Forest of Guysnes, and the same daie. lxxx. horsemen of the Crewe of Guysnes, roade furthe sekyng auentures, the Frenchemen let theim passe, till they had theim at auauntage, then they issued out and cried, kill, kill, then Englishemen them valiauntly defended, almoste twoo houres, but at the last the Frenchemen, oppressed theim with multitude, and brake their arraye, and slewe fiftie of them, the remnant saued themselfes: this chaunce was nothyng pleasant to the Englishe capitaines. But the Frenchemen were so surmounted by this iorney, that the. xx. daie of Maie, the men of warre of all the garrisons in Picardy, assembled together, and came within the English pale to Aunderne, and so to Calice: the Frenchmen were of suche nombre that all the Englishe pale was spred ouer: At Balyngham the Frenchemen draue awaie the cattell: the Englishmen thought thēselfes to weke to encounter with them, whiche were the whole strength of all Picardy. And so on the Assension daie, there came to Newnam bridge, three hundred horsemen, and there set a stale, but with ordinaunce they were made to go backe. Then came foure hundred Frenchemen to the Turne pike, and they had gotten all the cattell together. The bend of sir Robert Iernyngham, seyng the Frenchemen so nere Calice, set forward not past. lx. horsemen and they fiersly set on the Frenchemen, whiche fledde, and they chased them, and reskued all the cattell, that the Frenchemen had taken, and with greate difficultie, brought them to the Marshe beside Calice.

The. xxviii. daie of Maie. v. C. horsemen, and. xvi. C. footemen, came to a village called Froyton, within the Englishe pale, and many auentured ouer the Water to haue taken all the cattell in the Marrishes, of Hammes, Guysnes, and Calice, whiche wer of greate nomber, but the Frenchemen that made the auenture in the night, wer askried and slain all saue two. Then the Frenchemen returned in a great furie, and sware that they would once robbe the Marrisses or els they would dye for it, and so returned to Bullein, whether were come of newe, fiue. C. horsmen called Stradiats, whiche fortefied wel the Frenche parties, in so muche that they passed in nomber fiue tymes the Englishemen.

Riot at Beggam. You haue haue hard before, how the Cardinall suppressed many monasteries, of the whiche one was called Beggam in Sussex, the whiche was very commodious to the countrey: but

but so befell the cause, that a ryoteous compaignie, disguysed and vnknowen, with painted faces and visures, came to thesame Monasterie, and brought with them the Chanons, and put them in their place again, and promised theim that whensoeuer they rang the bell, that they would come with a great power, and defende thē. This doyng came to the eare of the kynges counsail, whiche caused the Chanons to be taken, and they confessed the capitaines, whiche wer emprisoned, and sore punished.

The Cardinall aboute this season, by his power Legantyne, sent a Chappelein of his, called Doctor Ihon Alein, a man of more learnyng then vertue, or good conscience, to visite all places religious: this priest roade in his goune of veluet, with a greate trayne, and was receiued into euery Religion with Procession, as though the legate had been there, and toke suche greate sommes for his visitacion, that the religious sore were greued, and murmured muche against it, and in especiall, for they were charged with greate sommes of money to the kyng, and now this sodain visitacion or ‡ predacion, cleane shaued them. The common people spake muche against this, and also they saied, that the Cardinall by Visitacions, makyng of Abbottes, probates of testamentes, grauntyng of faculties, licēses, and other pollynges in his Courtes legantines, had made his threasore egall with the kynges, & yet euery yere he sent greate sommes to Rome: this was their communicacion, euer against the Cardinall, and his high auctoritie, & the spirituall men moste disdained it. ‡ Predacion, that is a robbery.

You shall vnderstande, the kyng in his freshe youth, was in the chaynes of loue, with a faire damosell called Elizabeth Blount, daughter to sir Ihon Blunt knight, whiche damosell in syngyng, daunsyng, and in all goodly pastymes, exceded all other, by the whiche goodly pastymes, she wan the kynges harte: and she again shewed hym suche fauor, that by hym she bare a goodly manne child, of beutie like to the father and mother. This child was well brought vp, like a Princes child, and whē he was. vi. yere of age, the kyng made hym knight, and called hym lorde Henry Fitz Roy, and on Sondaie beyng the. xviii. daie of Iune, at the Manor or place of Bridewell, thesaied Lorde ledde by twoo Erles, was created Erle of Notynghā, and, then he was brought backe again by the saied twoo Erles: then the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolk, led hym into the great chamber again, and the kyng created hym, Duke of Richemond and Somerset: & thesame daie was the lorde Henry Courtenay Erle of Deuonshire, and cosyn germain to the kyng, was created Marques of Excester, and the lorde Henry Brandon, sonne to the duke of Suffolke and the Frenche Quene the kynges sister, a childe of twoo yere old, was greated Erle of Lincolne, and sir Thomas Manners lord Roos, was created Erle of Rutlande, and sir Henry Clifford, was created Erle of Cumberlande, and the lorde Fitz Water sir Robert Radclif was created Viscount Fitz Water, and sir Thomas Bullein, threasorer of the kynges houshold, was created Viscounte Rocheforde, and at those creacions, were kept greate feastes and disguisynges. The creacion of the duke of Richemond.

After this the Cardinall toke vpon him, as the kynges chief counsailer to se a reformacion in the ordre of the kynges housholde, wherein he made certain ordinaunces. He also made all newe officers in the house of the Duke of Richemond, whiche was then newly begon: Also at that tyme he ordeined a counsaill, and stablished another housholde, for the ladie Mary, then beyng Princes of the realme, so that all thyng that was done, was done by hym, and without his assent, nothyng was done: he tooke so muche vpon hym, and made the Kyng beleue, that all thynges should be to his honor, and that he neded not to take any pain, so that to hym was the charge of all thynges committed, at the whiche wise menne becked, and light men laughed, thynkyng great foly in his high presūpcion. And at this tyme, thesaied Cardinall gaue to the kyng, the lease of the Manor of Hampton Court, whiche he had of the lease of the lord of Sainct Ihones, and on whiche he had done greate coste. Therefore the kyng of his gētle nature, licensed hym to lie in his Manor of Richemōd at his pleasure, and so he laie there at certain tymes: but when the common people, and in especiall suche, as had been kyng Henry the seuēthes seruauntes, sawe the

Cardinal

Cardinal kepe house in the Manor royall of Richmond, whiche kyng Henry the seuenth, so highly estemed it, was a *marueil* to here, how thei grudged and said, see a Bochers dogge lye in the Manor of Richemond: these with many approbrious wordes, were spoken against the Cardinal, whose pride was so high that he nothyng regarded, and yet was he hated of moste men.

In this season the Frenche kynges mother, Regent of Fraunce and the three estates of the realme, assembled together, concernyng the estate of their realme: First, they sent a solēpne Ambassador to themperor, with articles (as they thought resonable) for ỹ deliuerāūce of the Frēch king and also for a peace, they sent also a *messenger to the kyng of* Englande, for a sauecondute for an Ambassadour, to be sent into Englande, for a treatie of peace, whiche to the messenger, was graunted and diliuered.

Then came ouer as Ambassadour from Fraunce, Ihon Iokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche as you haue hard in the last yere, was kept secret in Master Larkes house, and when he came into Englande, he was welcomed of the Cardinall, and there betwene theim were suche communicacions, that at the sute of thesaied Ihon Iokyn, a truce was concluded, from the. xiii. daie of Iuly, for fortie daies, betwene England and Fraunce, bothe on the sea and beyonde the sea. Full well wist Ihon Iokyn, what he meant when he desired peace for fortie daies, for in that season the Pikardes, might haue a quiet haruest, to cary in their Corne, whiche they should not haue, if the garrisōs of Calice and Guynes: and other within the Englishe pale, had not been restreined from warre, and also the Fishermen of Depe, Bullein, and Traiport, had quiete fishyng, by this truce, for the nauie of Englāde, was come home to harborough, this truce greued the menne of warre on bothe parties, it was so sodain that they wist not well what to do.

When the Flemynges *hard tell of truce*, and that they were not *comprehended in* thesame, they began to rayle and said, that the kyng of Englande, had not done truly with thē, to take a truce without their knowlege: the Englishemen answered that they had no *Ambassadour* in England, and if that they had had any, they should haue been made priuie, but the kyng would sende theim no worde of his affaires, if they would not sende to knowe, for he *ought their* master, nor yet them suche seruice.

The Frenchemen in this season enterprised to enter into Flaunders, by Newe dike, but they were manfully defended by the Flemynges, and because the Frenchemen passed by the Englishe pale, and had nothyng done to them the Flemynges wer sore displeased, with the Englishmen of Calice.

In the latter ende of *Iuly* came into Englande, Monsire Bryond chief President of Roan, and was brought to the Cardinalles presence, at the Manor of Richemond, and when his Commission was shewed, *it was doubted whether the auctoritie wer sufficiēt*, because the kyng his Master was prisoner in Spain: but then he shewed auctoritie, geuen to the Lady Regent, and certain nobles of the realme of Fraunce, by the Frenche kyng in open Parliament, before his goyng into Italy for all thynges that did or mighte concerne his Realme, duryng his absence. When the Commission was thought reasonable, then was rehersed to the Frenchemen their doublenes, their vnstedfastnes, and how they had behaued theimselfes toward the kyng of England: then they answered if wee haue offended, you haue vs punished, for you haue brent our tounes, slain our people, destroyed our countrey, so that you haue brought the lowe parties, to a long miserie without recouery, and therefore sithe we be the lesers for our offence, yet we sue for peace, least we be more punished. After long consultacion, they offered many offers: first to pay all suche sommes of money as wer due, both for the *yerely tribute*, and also for the *citee of Turnay*, and the Frenche Quenes dowar, and farther to recompence the kyng of Englande his expences done in the warres.

Duryng this treatie, woorde was brought to the kyng of Englande, that there was a truce sodainly concluded, betwene the realme of Fraūce and the ladie Margaret, Duches of Sauoy, and Gouerner of Flaunders and the lowe countreis, for the space of. v. monethes,

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so that no entercourse should be betwene them for merchantes, but by saueconduite, and that this Proclamacion was proclamed at sainct Omers, the firste daie of August, whereupon the kyng was contented, that a peace should bee taken from the. xiiii. daie of August, to the firste daie of December, whiche was proclamed in London: and by this truce euery Englishemā without saueconduite, might passe into Fraunce, & thei likewise into England. When this truce was proclaimed, the people murmured & said, now hath the Frenchemen gotten their fisbyng quietly, and if they had been kept from that, they had been vndoen, and so with faire wordes thei helpe themselfes, whiche if we haue warre again, shall hurte vs, for this Herryng shall vitaill their townes the next yere. This the common people talked, but it was to no purpose.

This yere the kyng sent Doctor Henry Standishe, bishop of saint Asse, & sir Ihon Baker knight into the realme of Denmarke, to comen and entreate with the nobles of the Countery for the reduccion of kyng Christierne, to his realme, Croune, and dignitie, but all that could be said or perswaded, could not bryng the Danes to any reson, they hated hym so for his greate cruelties, and in especiall for the greate tiranny that he committed at Stokeholme in Swethen, where he desired a greate nomber of his nobles to a banket, and after the bāket strake of their heddes. When the Ambassadours of Englande sawe that they could not bryng hym in again: they then began to require, that his sonne might haue the croune and dominion, whiche neuer them offended, and was of progeny borne of lady Isabell, sister to the Emperor Charles the. v. which also made great labor and instaunce for thesame: but the Danes answered they would none of his procreacion, for they said, the sonne would folow the father, or els at the least he would reuenge his fathers wrong, and so with this answere they departed. Ambassadors into Denmark.

So muche did the Ambassadors of Fraunce, bothe by offers and entreatyes, that the king of England and his counsaill, did condiscende to a peace, and the more soner because thei sawe if warre should continue, money must be demaunded of the comons, whiche had leuer rebell then pay any more money, as you haue hard in the last yere. Whē peace was concluded, then were Proclamacions of thesame, sent to euery citee and good toune, and the viii. daye of September, thys peace was proclaymed solemply with a Trumpet through the citee of London, the effecte wherof was, that vpon humble suite and large profers, made by the lady Regent of Fraunce, & the three estatēs of thesame, a peace, league, & amitie was concluded, betwene bothe the kynges of England & Fraūce, and their countries and subiectes, so that the subiectes, of either realme maie lawfully passe and repasse, into the others realme and dominions, to bye and sell frankely and frely, without let or interrupcion, and that this league in no wise, was a breche of the league taken wyth the Emperor and the lady Margaret, gouernesse of Flaunders in no point, but that thesaied Emperour and lady Margaret, and all other the kynges old and auncient confederates and alies, wer comprehended in thesame, and for due restitucion to be made to the Frēchmen, there was appoyncted the reuerende father, Cutberd bishop of Lōdon, and for restitucion to be made to the Englishemā, was appoynted the chief Presidēt of Roan.

And on the. xi. daie of September, was a truce proclamed in Spain, in the toune of Vale Dolito, betwene themperor and the Frenche kyng, from that daie to the ende of December next ensuyng, at which time the Emperor had not seen the Frenche kyng, whiche was conueighed by sea out of Italy into Spain, to a Castle called Madrill, and there remaygned: and shortly after fell sore sicke, and was in greate ieoperdy, for the whiche the Frēchmen cared litle, for thei saied that if he died, thei should paie no raunsome, and then their realme shoulde be quiet.

This peace betwene England and Fraunce, nothing pleased the Flemynges, wherefore when they had dronke well, thei spake largely, and bosted how they had victailed the English armies, and found them cartes and cariages, and thought it not kyndly doen, to refuse them as old frendes & make peace wyth old enemies, but they did not considre what money

the Englishemen left in their countrey, nor how the Frenchmen for dred of the Englishe men, would not inuade Flaunders, so that thei lyued quietly, all this they considered not.

In thesame moneth this peace was proclamed, in Paris, Liõs, Roan and Amias: by this peace the kyng of Englande, should receiue at certain daies. xx. hundred thousande Crounes, whiche then was foure hundred thousand pound sterlyng, of the whiche one paiment of fiftie thousande pounde was paied in hande. After this peace taken, all the men of warre, that were aboute the retinue of Calice, Hammes, and Guysnes wer called home, and the shippes brought into the hauens, and many a Kreker wist not how to lyue.

In the moneth of October wer sent into Fraunce, sir Willyam Fitzwillyam Threasorer of the kynges house, and doctor Tayllor, as ambassadors from the kyng of England, & wer receiued through Fraunce very honorably, and by long iornies at the last, came to the citie of Liõs the. xxiiii. daie of Nouember, where to them wer presented, Wine, Fishe, Fleshe, and Waxe, and thei wer visited with diuerse noble men. And on the. xxvi. daie they were conueighed to the Courte by twoo Erles, and at the gate receiued with two Cardinalles, and so brought to the lady regent, whiche with muche honor theim receiued, and then they deliuered the kynges letters, whiche she tooke in great reuerence, and so with her counsaill, departed into her priuie chamber, and there taried almost two houres, and then came out again, to whom Doctor Tailor made an eloquent Oracion in Latin, of the commodities of peace, and declared that the kyng his Master for very loue, and not for no dred nor nede did cõdiscend to peace. To whom the bishop of Besanson, Chaunceller to the Lady Regent, made answere, and that doen, the Ambassadors were feasted, and serued with men of greate estate, and after that thei wer conueighed to their lodgynges.

And on Sondaie next ensuyng, the Ambassadors wer conueighed to the Courte, and from thence the lady Regent and all the Court, rode solemply to the Cathedrall churche of Lions, and there a Cardinall sang a solempne Masse, and after that Masse was dooen, the Lady Regent toke the twoo Ambassadors, the one on the right hande, and the other on the left hande, and so went vp to the high aultar, and there she laied her hande on the Canon and Crucifix of the Masse boke, and there sware to obserue, fulfill and kepe, all the articles and agrementes, concluded in the league and treatie of peace, by her commissioners. And whē this was doen, the bishop of Bisanson made an eloquent sermon, takyng for his antitheme. *Quis est homo qui vult vitam, diligit dies videre bonos, Inquire pacem. &c.* In this sermon he muche praised the kyng of Englãde, whiche assented to peace and lauded the Cardinall whom he called the Legate of God, for counsailyng hym to peace: for now was Fraũce free, and all hostilitie seased, and when this sermon was doen, *Te deum* was song, and then the Trumpettes blewe, and all other instrumentes Musaicall, and then the Lady Regent, with all her trayne returned to the palace, & there were the Ambassadors highly feasted, and then sir Willyam Fitz William toke his leaue, and came shortly into Englande, leauyng behynde hym Doctor Tayler whiche taried there till the Frenche kyng was deliuered.

The league sworne.

When the articles of peace, wer knowen to themperor and his counsaill, full well wist they that the kyng of Englande now would be frend to the French kyng wherfore he and his subiectes, shewed themselfes more straunge and vnkynde to the Englishemen, then they had been accustomed. In so muche that the Englishe merchauntes, put vp a supplicacion to the Emperor, shewyng hym how their goodes wer taken, by letters of Marke, their shippes restrained, newe imposicions taken of them, and most of all thei complained, that by an acte made in Spain called *Premetica* whiche ordeineth that euery cloth, should be of a certain nomber of thredes, the clothes of Englande there could not bee solde, to the great hynderaunce of the Englishe Merchauntes: For the clothiers of England knowe not the nomber appoynted by the statute, and when thei make cloth, thei knowe not to what countrey that cloth shalbe sold, of these thynges the Englishe Merchauntes desired a redresse.

E. At a daie appoynted the Englishmen had an answere deliuered them in writyng, conteignyng certain articles. The firste, if any wronges bee dooen vnto you, our Iustice is

open

open in euery place. The second, as touchyng letters of Marke, we will be aduised by our counsaill. The third as touchyng your shippes, we frely graunt that you shall haue our frēdship liberally, so that with your awne shippes and goodes, you maie go at youre pleasure, passing or makyng abode. And as touchyng customes, or Imposicions of newe: The accident maie cause vs so to doo, but that shalbee in suspence. And finally as touchyng our *Premetica*, made by the lordes of our counsaill, and by vs affirmed, wee will not breake, but wee will suffre to the intent that you Englishe Merchauntes, maie bring true and well made clothe, for the whiche you shall bee the better welcome: this was the very answere that the Englishe Merchauntes had, of the Emperor and his counsaill. 2. 3. 4. 5.

In this Wynter was greate death in London, wherefore the Terme was adiorned, and the king for to eschew the plague, kept his Christmas at Eltham with a small nomber, for no manne might come thether, but suche as wer appoynted by name: this Christmas in the kynges house, was called the still Christmas. But the Cardinall in this season, laye at the Manor of Richemond, and there kept open housholde, to lordes, ladies, and all other that would come, with plaies and disguisyng in most royall maner: whiche sore greued the people, and in especial the kynges seruauntes, to se hym kepe an open Court, and the kyng a secret Court.

The Cardinall came to Eltham the. viii. daie of Ianuary, and taried there till the. xxii. daie. In whiche season the Cardinall, and other of the kynges cōsaill, sat for a direccion to be taken in the kynges house, and first it was considered, that the greate nomber of the yomen of the gard were very chargeable, and that there were many officers farre striken in age: whiche had seruauntes in the Courte, and so the kyng was serued with their seruauntes, and not with his awne seruauntes, whiche was thought not conuenient. Wherfore first the officers seruauntes, wer put out of the Courte, and many old officers were put to liue in their countreys, but the kyng of his bountie enhaunsed their liuynges, for he that had three pound wages, had sixe pound annuitie, without attendaunce, and he that had. xl.s. had foure pound, and so euery man after that rate, and young men were put in their romes. Then was there. lxiiii. of the gard, whiche had. xii.d. the daie checked, put out of that wages, and they had. vi.d. a daie vnchecked, and should dwell in their countreys & come not at the court, til thei wer sent for, except it wer for suites: in the which the Cardinall promised thē, to be their helper: Alas what sorowe, & what lamentacion was made, when all these persones should depart the court. Some saied that poore seruauntes wer vndoen and must steale: Some saied that thei wer found of the reuercions of the officers seruice, so that for them was nothyng more set out at the dresser, and it was greate charitie to fynde them. Other saied that the yomen of the gard, whiche were put out wer now not able to fynde themselfes and their horse, to doo the King seruice. Other saied, that now they would polle and pill in their countreys, & oppresse the poore people, thus euery man had his saiyng.

At this season the Cardinall made many ordinances, concerning the kynges house, whiche bee at this daie called the statutes of Eltham, the whiche some saied wer more profitable then honorable.

This monethe of Ianuary was a peace concluded, betwene the realmes of Englande and Scotlande, for three yeres and sixe monethes, of the whiche the Scottes wer very glad, and especially the borderers, for they wer sore hurt by this warre.

This yere the kyng on Shrouetewesdaie, kept a solempne Iustes at his Manour of Grenewiche, he hymself and. xi. wer on the one part, and the Marques of Excester with. xi. were on the other parte: the Kynges barde and base and all his bende, wer of cloth of gold and siluer, richely embraudered, with a mannes harte in a presse, with flames about it, and in letters were written, *Declare ie nose*, in Englishe, Declare I dare not, the Marques and his bend wer in Grene Veluet, & crimosyn sattyn embrodered with hartes burnyng, and ouer euery harte a Ladies hand commyng out of a cloude, holdyng a garden water pot, which dropped siluer droppes on the harte: At this Iustes was many a spere broken, and by

Sir Frances Briā lost one of his yes.

chaunce of shiueryng of the spere, sir Frances Brian lost one of his yes. After these Iustes, the king made to the Quene, and lordes and ladies a costly banket, and did seruice to the Quene and ladies hymself.

In the monethe of February the. xi. daie beyng Sondaie, the Cardinall with greate pompe, came to the Cathedrall Churche of Paules, on whom bishoppes, Abbottes, and a great nomber of doctors, gaue their attendaunce, and there he sat in pontificalibus, vnder his cloth of estate of riche clothe of Golde: and there one Frier Barnes a Frier Augustine bare a fagot, for certain poyntes of heresie, as the Bishoppes saied: and two Merchauntes of the Stilierd bare fagottes, for eatyng fleshe on a Fridaie, and there the bishop of Rochester Doctor Fisher, made a sermon, reprouyng Martin Luthers opiniō, a Frier of Germany, whiche wrote against the power of the Bishoppe of Rome, and in his sermon he spake so muche honor of the Pope and his Cardinalles, and of their dignitie and preheminence, that he forgat to speake any thyng of the Gospell, whiche he toke in hande to declare, which sermō was muche praised of the Cardinall and bishoppes, wherfore the Cardinall gaue to all the people his benediccion, and then departed.

The shiuracion of doctor Barnes, whom ye shal heare more in the. xxvii. yere. of this Kyng.

All this yere was continuall suite made to the Emperor and his coūsail, by the Lady Regent of Fraunce, and all the realme there, for the deliueraunce of Frances the Frenche kyng, and after many communicacions whiche toke none effect, was sent into Spain of Ambassade, the noble lady Margaret, late duches of Alaunson, sister to the French kyng, with a greate compaignie of nobles and honorable personages. Themperor Charles met thesaied lady in the Market place of the cite of Toleto, and her right hartely welcomed, and after that the Duches and her compaignie, had refused to agree to certain articles, whiche the Frenche kyng had offered hymself, thesaied Duches had license of the Emperor, to go to Madrill, where the Frenche kyng was kepte as prisoner, and there to knowe his mynd. When she was there, she & other diuised suche a waie, that the Frenche kyng should haue scaped, and poste horses wer laied euery where: this were not so secrete, but the Emperor was therof enformed, and toke certain Frenchemen, whiche confessed how all thynges should haue been brought to passe. The Duches of Alaunson hearyng that this priuitie was opened, on post horses with all spede returned into Fraunce, leuyng the whole matter at large.

Lady Margaret Duches of Alaunson deuysed wayes for the Frēch kig to escape.

But for all this the lordes of Fraunce, ceased not daily to sue, for the deliueraunce of their souereigne lorde, and at last to the Emperor was deliuered a boke for the Frenche kynges deliueraunce, for the Emperor saied he would nothyng demaund of hym, for hauyng hym he had more then he could geue hym. Then the Frenche kyng and his counsaill, offered a boke conteignyng many articles to the Emperoure: and when the Emperor had well vnderstande the contentes of thesame, he saied to the Frenche Ambassadors, is this the full will and agrement of your Master, they answered yea: well saied the Emperor, if this be his awne offre, I truste that he will kepe it. Then themperor thought best to bryng the Frenche kyng to more libertie, and to visite hym hymself, whiche he had not doen but in the tyme of his sickenes. Where the. xiiii. daie of February, the Emperor accompaignied with the greate Constable of Frāce, the Duke of Enphantaso, the Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nasso, the Duke of Aluoy, the duke of Alberkirke, the Duke of Medena, the Duke of Massedonia, the Marques of Aguler, the Marques Villafrāca, the Marques of Sturgus, the Erle of Barselona, the erle of Boniuent, the Erle of Ieniuer, the Erle of Salenas, the Erle of Arrowffe, the erle of Saluator, and. xii. Bishoppes, and a greate nomber of nobles, came to the castle of Madrill, to whom was the Frenche kyng brought with a noble repaire, to whom the Emperor made lo reuerence, and declared to hym how all victories, consist in the hande of God, and where greate debate, warre, and strief, had long continued betwene thē, he said it was the very hādy worke of God, to deliuer hym to captiuitie, so that by his restraint of libertie, a generall peace should be cōcluded through all Christendome, and now sithe you haue offered vs reasonable condicions, we entendyng not your punishement,

nor

nor restraint of your libertie haue gently receiued your offers, signed with your awne hande whiche all your nobles shalt heare redde.

In primis, the Frenche kyng sware to kepe peace, bothe by land and by water with the Emperor and his subiectes, of all landes, territories, or dominions, belongyng to the Emperor or the Empire. 1.

Item, thesaied Frenche Kyng clerely renounced, all the right, title, or interest whiche he had or pretended, to the realme of Naples, or the kyngdome of Scicile. 2.

Item, thesaied Frenche kyng clerely renounced his right and title, to the Duchie of Millain, and the Countie of Ast. 3.

Item, thesame kyng surrendered into themperors handes the whole Duchie of Burgoyn, the Countie Charoloys, with all castles and lordshippes appertinyng to thesame, with all maner of souereigntie, apperteignyng to the croune of Fraunce by reason of thesame. 4.

Item, thesaied kyng surrendered & relased, all the souereignetie whiche he claimed of the Counties of Flaunders and Arthoys, and thother lowe countreis, so that they from thence furthe, should neuer sue to any Parliament of Fraunce by appele, or resorte, the Counties of Guysnes, Arde and Bullonoys aiwaie except. 5.

Itē, he released all the right & title, that he had to the citee of Tournay and Turnesyns and to the tounes of Hedyng and Arras, with all Castles and dominions apperteignyng to thesame, with the title of the souereignetie and resort of thesame, to the Parliamentes of Fraunce. 6.

Item, he sware and promised, neuer to helpe or aide the Lorde Dalbrethe, called the kyng of Nauerr by couyn or other wise, against themperor or his heires nor successors. 7.

Item, that he nor none other by his assent: should maintein, aide or cōfort Charles Duke of Geldres, nor maintein sir Robert de la Marche, by no meanes against the Emperor, or his countreys, or dominions. 8.

Item, he promised at his awne costes and charges, to finde fiue hundred men of armes, and tenne thousande fōtemen, to do the Emperour seruice, whensoeuer that he toke his iorney toward Rome, for the obteignyng of his croune and scepter Imperiall, and to paie their wages for sixe monethes. 9.

Itē, he promised to be enemie to all persones, whiche would go about or entend in any wise, to let or disturbe thesaied iorney to Rome. 10.

Item, he promised to discharge the Emperor against the kyng of Englande, for the somme of twoo hundred thousande Crounes, whiche he ought then to the kyng of Englande, and to deliuer the Emperor a sure acquitaunce for thesame, whiche amounteth in sterlyng money xl.M.l. 11.

Item, he released all the pencions, whiche he claimed of the realmes of Naples & Sicile, whiche was yerely a hundred thousand dukattes. 12.

Item, for the surer performaunce of all these articles, it was agreed that the Frenche kyng should at his departyng, deliuer into the Emperors handes, the Dolphin of Vien and Henry Duke of Orleaunce, his twoo elder sonnes, which should remain in Spain, till that all these articles wer performed: and if after he came into his realme, the three estates of Fraunce, would not condiscend and agree to these articles, whiche he had offered and swōrne, then he should shortly come again into Spain, and yeld hymself prisoner again, and his children then to be redeliuered into Fraunce. 13.

Item, for the more fortificacion of this concorde, and for the more amitie to be had betwene the two princes and their realmes, the Emperor offered in mariage to the Frenche kyng, the noble princes lady Elinor late Quene of Portyngall, with a greate dowar, and offered to hym with her in mariage three faire lordeshippes, called Ansames, Macomoyes, and Barsur, the whiche the Frenche kyng ioyfully accepted: But this offre was condicionally, so that the whole agrement toke effecte, or els not. Some saied as you heard before, that the Frenche Quene was poysoned for this intent: but euill tongues neuer saied well. To al 14.

these

these articles and many mo, the Frenche kyng sware before the Emperor, and all his nobles the. xiiii. daie of February.

In the tyme of this enfreatie came into Spayne, Charles Duke of Burbon whiche appeled the Frenche kyng, that he contrary to al right and Iustice, had procured and imagened, the death and destruccion of thesaied Duke without any cause, but onely to possede his soueraignetie and Dominions, by reason whereof, thesaied Duke was compelled to liue in exile, out of his countrey, and that the Regent of Fraunce, contrary to Iustice had proclaimed hym a traitor, and seazed all his goods and landes, wherefore he desired that the Frenche kyng, might to hym make a condigne recompence: to whom the Emperour answered, that a prisoner might not bee appeled: but yet for his good seruice, the Emperor did so muche, that an article was concluded, that the duke of Burbō should bee restored to his firste title, state, honor, and dignitie, and to all his other Duches, Counties, seignories, and Dominions, and there the Frenche kyng frely pardoned to hym al offences, and sware that al proces, proclamacions, impeticions, had or dooen against hym should bee voyde, annulled and repeled, and farther the Frenche kyng, in recōpence of al wronges doen to him, and for the restitucion of his goodes, promised and sware to paie thesame duke. CC. thousande crounes, with al the rentes, and profites receiued of the landes of thesaied duke, in the tyme of his exile. When all these articles wer concluded, sworne, and appoynted, the Emperour iudged that the Frenche kyng, would neuer loue the Duke of Burbon, and that by some newe found faute, or by some priuy enemie, he might bee brought to confusion: wherfore of his noble liberalitie, considerynge the good seruice that the duke had doen to hym, and might do if he were of possessions and dominions, gaue vnto the Duke the whole Duchie of Millain, so that thesaied duke should finde yerely foure thousande footemen, and fiue hundred men of armes, and paie to the Emperor yerely foure thousande Ducates, but he neuer obteigned the possession, for lacke of the inuesture or creacion: Also the Emperoure gaue to the Viceroy of Naples, the Duchie of Boysce, and the Countie of Ast, and many greate rewardes for his good seruice.

This peace thus concluded betwene the Emperour and the Frenche kyng, was openly proclaimed through all Spain, Fraunce, Flaunders and the Emperours dominions, whereof their subiectes were glad, and made fiers & triumphes through all their countreys. The kyng of Englande like wise, whiche was included in thesame League, was very glad of the peace, and caused the Cardinall and all the nobles and prelates to assemble at the Cathedrall Churche of saincte Paule, and there was *Te deum* song, and the Cardinall gaue benediccion to all the people, and that night fires was made through all London. The common people said as thei thought: some saied the peace was honorable to the Emperoure, and other saied, the Frenche kyng would not kepe his promise, when he was once deliuered, and so it proued.

The kyng of England hearing that ỹ Frenche kyng was at a poynt to be deliuered, sēt a knight of his chamber, called sir Thomas Cheyney to the French kyng, certefiyng him of the great gladnes ỹ he had of his deliuery, & also the cōfort that he had for the conclusion of peace: of whiche kynd remembraunce, the French kyng muche reioysed. The French kyng toke his leaue of themperor, & toke his iorney into Fraunce ward, and came to Victoria, in whiche season the fame went, that the Dolphin whiche should haue been deliuered, as one of the hostages for the Frēch Kyng his father, was diseased, and so the Frenche Kyng was staied for xv. daies, till the truth was knowen: other saied that the cause was that there wer betwene Fontrabie and Bayon. xxx. M. men, and doubted lest if he had been brought doune to Foūtraby, he might haue been rescued: but whatsoeuer the cause was, he was restraigned as you haue harde.

The deliuerie of the French Kyng.

And at the last when the daie came of his diliuery, and he was discretely moued, that he should not speake to his children, for feare that lamentacion and sorowe might in suche wise rise, that hurte might ensue of it. Whē the daie was come that he should be deliuered, there was betwene the borders of Fraunce and Spain, a Lake of no great depenes, in the

the middes whereof was laied a greate emptie boate at an anker, and at euery shore was another boate, and when the French kyng was come to the banke, he entered the boate on the Spanishe side, and sixe Spaniardes with hym, and like wise on the Frenche part, the twoo Princes sonnes to the Frenche kyng, entered the other boate and sixe Frenchmen with them, and so bothe the boates come to the boat lyng in the middes, the Frenche kyng entered at the one ende, and his children at the other, and passed through the great boate, and euen in the middest of the boate thei met, and he with his hande blessed theim, without speakyng of any wordes, but sadly regarded theim, and so he entered into the boate with the Frenchemen, and his children into the boate with Spaniardes, and eche of them were shortly at the shore, and mounted on horsebacke, and the Frenche king rode to Bayon, where he was nobely receiued, almost of all the nobles in the realme, and in especial of his mother: and his. ii. children were conueighed to Fountraby and so vpward, and were well cherished in all thynges, by the great Constable of Spain and his wife.

Thus was Frances the Frenche kyng, conueighed into his realme the xxi. daie of Marche, whiche was taken the. xxiiii. daie of February, the yere last past.

After that themperor had concluded, & taken his leaue of the Frenche kyng, he rode to the faire citee of Ciuill, and there he with greate triuph maried lady Isabell, daughter to kyng Emanuel, of Portyngall, with whom he had greate threasures and sommes of money, and great freindship of the Portyngalles, for he had. xi. hundred thousande Ducates with her mariage. When this mariage was knowen in Englande, the Englishemen sore murmured, that the Emperor beyng at Wynsore, in the. xiiii. yere of the king, had faithfully promised to mary the lady Mary, daughter to the Kyng of Englande. But for a verie truthe the Emperoures counsaill was not content with the answere made to Monsire de Beuers the last yere, and so counsailed the Emperour, not to tary for the lady Mary whiche was young: and also thei saied that she was begotten of the kyng of Englande by his brothers wife. And also an acte was made in Spain, that he should not depart the countrey, till he had issue. All these thynges were laied to hym, whiche caused him to encline to mariage, and seyng the great offer that the kyng of Portyngal made to hym, he was there to agreyng, and so maried the lady Isabell, sister to kyng Ihon of Portyngall. The mariage of themperor.

¶ THE. XVIII. YERE.

THE. xxviii. daie of Aprill, in the beginnyng of this. xviii. yere, came to the Court to Greuewiche, Monsire Brenion chief president of Roan, & Ihon Iokyn now called Monsire de Vaux, whiche President of Roan, before the Kyng sette in a Throne, and accompaignied with all his nobles, and the Ambassadors of Rome, of the Emperor, of Venice, and Florẽce, beyng there present, made in the Latyn toungue a solempne oracion, the effect wherof was that he shewed, how dreadfull the warres had been betwene the realmes of Englande & Fraunce, what greate losse the realme of Fraunce, had susteigned by thesaied warres: He declared farther of what power the kyng of Englande was of and what conquest he might haue made in Fraunce, the kyng beyng prisoner, & knowleged the kyng of Englandes right in the warres, and their wronges, where he humbly thanked hym, of his pitie and cõpassion that he had on them in their necessitie and affliccion, that he would concent to peace. To this Oracion the Chanceller of the Duchie of Lancastre, by name sir Thomas More made answere saiyng; that it muche reioysed the kyng, that thei first cõsidered, how by his power he might haue oppressed, and how by his pitie he had releued them: wherefore he would here after that for kindnes, they should shewe hym none vnkindnes, but inuiolatly to kepe that league whiche was concluded. The. xviii. yere. The oracion of the President of Roan.

The next daie after beeyng Sondaie, the Cardinall song a solempne Masse, in the kynges chapell of Grenewiche, and after Masse the kyng sware before the Frenche Ambassadors, the foure Ambassadors aboue rehersed being present, that he should kepe the peace and league concluded. The peace sworne.

concluded, betwene hym and his brother and perpetuall alie the French kyng, durynge his life and a yere after, and after Masse to all Ambassadoures was made a greate feast.

In the moneth of Maie was a proclamaciō made, against al vnlawfull games, accordyng to the statutes made in this behalf & commissiōs awarded into euery shire, for the execucion of thesame, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cardes, and Boules, wer taken and brent. Wherfore the people murmured against the Cardinall, saiyng: that he grudged at euery mannes pleasure, saiyng his awne, but this Proclamacion small tyme endured: and when young men were forbidden Boules, and suche other games: some fell to drinkyng, and some to ferettyng of other mennes Conies, and stealyng of Dere in Parkes, and other vnthriftines.

Because all this Sommer the Kyng tooke his pastyme in huntyng, and nothyng happened worthye to bee written of: I will returne to the Frenche kyng, now come again into his realme.

When he was at Paris he saied and wrote to the Emperour, that he would obserue & kepe his promises in euery point, but what he thought I will not iudge: For shortly after he set furth a boke, called the appollogie or defence against the conuencion or agrement made betwene the Emperor and hym at Madrill, allegyng that he was cōpelled to make that agrement, or els he should neuer haue been diliuered: He alleged farther that the Lawyers of his realme clerely determined all promises and couenauntes made by any persone to his awne hurt, with hym that is more of power then he, to be made by compulsiō, and so of none effect and not to be performed. He also saied that the gouernors of the Lawe, determined that no othe or promise is of any effecte, where a manne is in ieoperdie of life, or of perpetuall imprisonement or bondage, and moste in especiall when it is doen by compulsion or thretenyng. Moreouer he saied that he might geue awaie nothyng apperteignyng to his Croune, without thassent of his peeres and the three estates of his realme (to the whiche he was sworne at the time of his Coronaciō,) whiche would therto in no wise assent, and therfore he saied that his othe and promes was voyd, and so he declared to the Viceroy of Naples, beyng then with him as Ambassadour for the Emperor, and offered for his raunsome to paye asmuche money as euer Frenche kyng paied, with diuerse other articles of newe diuised.

When these articles came to the Emperor, he them refused and saied, that he had desired nothyng impossible of the Frenche Kyng, and if he might not or would not kepe the appoyntemēt betwene theim made, yet he had hym kepe that poynt of couenaunt, whiche onely depended in his will, that was that he should yelde hymself prisoner againe, and so he should haue his children deliuered: and then he would reasonably commen with hym, of newe articles of agrement, and as to the appollegie set furthe by the Frenche kyng, that his othe and promesse was voyde, and made by compulsion and threatenyng, it was answered by another boke called the Refutacion or Ouercommyng of the appollogie, of the conuēcion of Madrill. Whiche twoo workes were so eloquently set furth, with suche and so many perswacions and allegacions, bothe on the one part and the other, that it would comber a wise man (except he were perfectly indifferent) to iudge to whiche parte he should moste encline, and geue credence, therefore I leaue it at large.

After that the Frenche kyng was deliuered, and the peace concluded, the Emperor was fully determined to passe the seas into Italy, and so to Rome, and there to be crouned Emperor, wherof hearyng the bishop of Rome, called Pope Clement the seuenth, a man of great wit and vice, and of litle vertue or learnyng: much doubted in hymself what damage might come to hym, if the Emperor had bothe Naples, Scicill, and the Duchie of Millain, and also wer crouned Emperor. Wherefore he sent to the Venicians, and to the Florētines, and to Fraunces Sforce duke of Millain, whiche had committed treason against themperor, and was depriued by iudgement of his name & dignitie, and thesame geuen to the Duke of Burbon, but yet by power he kept muche of the possession: and declared to them, by what puyssaunce the Emperor would come into Italy, and what greate possessions he had there.

there, at euery ende of Italy, so that if he wer once crouned Emperor, he would loke to haue the seigniorie of all Italy: wherefore they consulted and debated for their awne suretie, how to banishe him and his all Italy by power: and as thei wer debatyng of this matter, thei hard worde how the French kyng was returned into Fraunce, and sought all waies and meanes, how to breake with the Emperour. When they sawe so open an accion offered to them, with al diligence thei sent their seuerall Ambassadors, that is to saie, the Pope twain, the duke of Venice called Andrew Gritty, one (whiche was his secretorie) and the Florentynes one, and the Duke of Millaine one, these fiue Ambassadours came to the Frenche Kyng, and declared what ioye and gladnes their masters had of his safe returne into his realme, and then thei shewed to him how thei by the Bishop of Romes exhortacion had diuised a league, whiche should set a perpetuall peace betwene all princes Christen, and for the more expedicion, thei had set furth and agreed vpō articles, for the whole league. When the Frenche kyng saw the articles it was as he would haue it, for he thought by the whole power of the confederates, his children should be deliuered, & he yet again once to haue a medelyng in Italy: wherefore with greate gladnes and solempnitie, he entered into the league, and sware to kepe it, and gaue to the Ambassadors greate rewardes.

The first article of this league was that themperor, the kyng of Englande, and all other kynges and princes, might entre into thesame, and if the kyng of Englande would, he should bee admitted as protector of thesame league. 1

But yet the Emperour should not bee admitted, till he had deliuered the Frenche kynges children, hauyng a reasonable somme of money for thesame, nor before he had restored the Duke of Millain to his whole Duchie, franckly and frely, and all other persones of Italy, in like maner as thei wer before the last warres began: Nor he shal not once come into Italy for his Coronacion or other wise, but with suche a traine as the Pope & the Duke of Venice shall thynke conuenient, and that within three monethes after he hath entered into this league, he shall paie to the kyng of Englande, all suche sommes as he ought hym before ỳ time.

Item, if themperor would not entre, then thesaid cōfederates should assemble a greate armie in Italy, accordyng as euery one should bee assessed, and this armie to be mainteigned, till the Emperors power were driuen out of Italy. 2

Item, that the Emperor shalbe warned, to deliuer the Frēche kynges children, and to fall to a reasonable poynt with hym, whiche thynges if he deny to dooe, then the confederates certifie hym, that they shall neuer cease till he be brought to reason. 3

Item, that a greate nauie should be prepared on all the coastes of Italy, at the common costes of the confederates. 4

Item, that Fraunces Sforce shall enioy the Duchie of Millain, payng yerely to the Frenche kyng fiftie thousande Ducattes, & the French kyng neuer to claime the same. 5

Item, the Frenche Kyng or the Duke of Orleaunce hys sonne, shall haue the Countie of Ast. 6

Item, if the Emperour bee expelled oute of Naples and Scicil, then the realmes to be at the gift of the Pope, paiyng yerely to the French kyng lxxv. thousande Ducattes. 7

Item, if the kyng of Englande wyll take vpon hym as Protector of this league, then he or his sonne (the Duke of Richemond) to haue a duchie or a principalitie in the realme of Naples, to hym & to his heires, to the somme of thirtie thousande Ducattes at the least, and the Cardinal of Yorke to haue a yerely pencion of. x. thousand Ducates. This league was concluded at Cogmace or the. xxii. daie of Maie, in this yere. 8

When this League was thus concluded, it was sent to the Kyng of Englande, whiche with greate deliberacion like a wise prince, consulted muche with his counsail of this waightie matter, & whē al thinges wer fully perceiued, he answered to thambassadours, that he thanked muche the confederates of their good will, but he would not entre into the league, because he would be an indifferent entreator betwene bothe parties and a meane

for a peace: and so he wrote to the Emperor, whiche hartely thanked him, and toke it for greate kyndnes: this league was called the holy league of Clement. When the Bishop of Rome sawe that this league was concluded, because he would shewe that he and the confederates, had iust cause of warre against the Emperor, for thynges done in Italy, he sent to hym a letter, dated at Rome the. xxiii. daie of Iune: in the whiche letter he most craftely laied to the Emperours charge, what he had done for hym before he was Pope, & sithe he was promoted to that dignitie, he left nothyng vnremembred, that either he had frendly meant or actualy done to the Emperor: and accused him of muche vnkyndnes, and in especiall that he would not pardō Frances Sforce duke of Millain, at his request. He accused hym also of the couetous desire which he had, to haue or obtein the whole Monarchie of Italy, with many other pretie inuencions: for whiche causes he saied he was compelled, for the suretie of all Italy, & in especiall for the churche of Rome, to ioyne hymself with greate Princes, and to make warre for the defence of thesame. This letter was deliuered to the Emperour with all spede, to whom the Emperour answered by a letter, dated the. xiiii. daie of September, conteinyng. xxiiii. shetes of paper, in suche wise that all wise men maie se by thesame, that the Romishe bishop accused themperour, where he should haue blamed hymself, for the Emperor laied a greate nomber of ingratitudes and vntrutesto hym, and clerely auoyded all thynges, that he laied to his charge. The Pope sent his Ambassador another letter, that if the first letter were not deliuered, then he should retain it, but as God would, for manifestyng of the truthe, the letter was deliuered tenne dayes before.

After the first letters writtē, the holy father of Rome raised in all hast an armie of eight thousande footemen, with a valiaunt compaignie of horsmen, whiche passed the riuer of Poo, and ioyned themselfes with the power of the Venecians, wherof was capitain Frances duke of Vrbine, and so they all together marched toward Millain: and in the meane season they had sent Octauian Sforcia Bishop of Aretyne, whiche for the Frenche kyng should retain. xiiii. M. Swysses, and they were commyng out of Swyserlande, to ioyne with the armie of Italy. Thintent of this armie was to driue al the Emperors power, out of the Duchie of Millain, but all their deuises proued cōtrary, as you shall after plainly perceiue. For you shall vnderstande, that although the Frenche kyng was taken before Pauia, a yere & more before this tyme, and all the Frenche men driuen out of the Duchie of Millain, yet the Emperour left not the duchie without an armie, for he left there Anthony de Leua, whiche was capitain of Pauia, at the siege laied by the Frenche Kyng, and Fernando Daual and Alphons his brethren, two valiant capitaines, but Fernando died, the more pitie: these capitaines had with them Spaniardes and Almaines and other to the nomber of eight or tenne thousande, and laie still till the newe confederacie set forwarde, and especially they were sore moued with Frances Sforce duke of Millain, whiche had the possession of the moste part of all the fortresses of the duchie, that he would be one of the cōfederates: wherfore they thought best to begin with him and to get the possession out of his hand. Wherefore Alphons Daual sent for all themperors army together, & they came al together to warre, & whē he was there, he sent for Moron chief counsailer with the duke of Millain, whiche mistrustyng nothing came to him, and there he laied to him how the Duke his Master was false to the Emperor, and Moron it denied, then he was kept there as a prisoner, whether it were by cautele or no I cannot tel, but he wrote to the Duke, that he perceiued that the Emperoure was like to preuaile, and aduised him for auoydyng of all mistrust, and also to shewe him self the very frend of the Emperor, and his obedient subiect, to deliuer all the strong holdes into his captaines handes: the Duke hearyng this counsaill, and willyng not to haue the enmitie of the Emperiall capitaines, assented and deliuered to Dauall all the fortresses that he had except the castelles of Millain & Cremona, which he saied he kepte onely for the healthe of his body, because he had ben long sicke.

Then Dauall with his powre of Almains & Spaniardes came to ỹ citie of Milaine & lodged his people in euery house, & fearing ỹ the duke imagened some thing by kepyng of the two strongest

strongest castels, for if he delyuered those two castelles to the army of the confederates the Emperours capitaynes & people should be in greate daūger, wherfore he gentlye with greate perswasiō desired to haue the kepyng of the castell of Millayn, whiche the duke would in nowise assent, mistrusting, that then he shoulde lese the duchie & all, wherefore Dauat with all spede layed sege to the castell the duke being with in. During the time of this sege, the capitaynes euer toke money & other thinges frō the Citezyns which sore therat grudged and saied that they wold soffer it no more, and so as an almaine came to a smith for a docate, the smith cried helpe & with that the toune rose: then the capitaynes came into the citie to se what was done, the souldiers that kept the sege seyng that ranne into the citie and there was much entreting on both parties.

The duke hering the noies in the citie & seing the besegers gone, came out of the castel, thinking that his frendes had come to his reskue, but when he sawe no succour, and harde the noyes seased, he ētred the castell agayne. When the Capitaines had long intreated the people were ons cōtēted, but by meanes of one sedicious felowe they began again, & there was a sore fight but the night cam so faste on that both the parties seuered them selues.

The citizens sore greued with the spaniardes saied opēly that shortly they trusted to se all themperours frendes driuē out of *Italie*, & with many yll woordes rebuked the souldiars: and when they came into the citie they hurt them.

Anthony deleua and Dauall, perceiuyng this deuysed how to be revēged, wherfore in the euenyng they entred with a thousād spaniards & other, & slewe one citizē & set his hed on a polle & caused it to be borne afore thē & set. iii. or. iiii. houses a fire, which whē the citizēs perceiued they were greatly aferd and ran to harnesse, and cast doune stones and barres, but the hand gonnes shot so fast at them that thei durst not loke out: the Almaines set fire in many houses, least they should haue leyser to fight, and some of the Spaniardes that kept the towers, slew the citezens. Alas the citee was in greate perill, and that wel perceiued Leua and Dauall, for if the remnant of the Spaniardes had come in the whole citee had been burned or vtterly destroyed, wherfore they caused the souldiers to cease, whiche were content, for they had been in harnes from the sunne set, till nyne of the clocke the next daie.

In this seasō tharmy of the cōfederates, made hast to help the duke of Millain, & in the meane waie the citee of Lawde was yelded to the duke of Vrbin: Dauall wēt thether with a small cōpaignie to reskew the citee and when he sawe that it was past reskew he returned saiyng: it wer better to lese Lawde, then Millain, & so brought al his people to Millain.

The Emperoure from tyme to tyme was aduertised, of all thynges done in Italy, wherfore with great diligence he sent the duke of Burbon thether with ten saile, and landed at Sauona, & brought with him. x. M. men, wherof the Milaners wer very glad, & besought him to be good to thē, to whome he gaue many good wordes & sware, & praied God that his braynes might be striken out with a gonne, except he did deliuer thē shortly of their great burden, and oppression of the Spaniardes, so they would deliuer hym. xxx. M. ducates, for the wages of the souldiers that he had brought with hym, whiche wishe was thought to haue happened to hym at Rome, for breakyng of his promes: for after he had receiued the money for a litle space the Millainers wer in good quiet, but shortly after, they wer worse then afore, in so muche as some substanciall men for feare of their liues, hanged themselfes.

Whe the Millaners hard how the citee of Lawde was taken, and the Spaniardes put out, they thought that. v. M. Spaniardes and. iii. M. Almaines, and no great nomber of horsemen, beyng without wages and vitaile, could not defende so greate a citee long, against the whole power of the princes confederate. While the power of ỹ confederates, were slowly commyng to Millain ward, the duke and his compaignie lacked victaile, wherfore of necessitie, when they sawe the watche negligently kept, they sent out of thec astle. CC. men, whiche

with strength passed the siege, and came to the armie of the confederates, and shewed them in what case the castle was in, whiche bad theim bee of a good chere, and so they marched forwarde towarde a gate of Millain, called Rome gate, and Ihon de Medices whiche led the forward, shot sixe gonnes at a tower to haue ouerthrowen the same, and so to haue entered in by that waie. The Emperors men came to the place, and not onely defended the same, but valiantly set forward to fight with their enemies, and skirmished with them very sore. The Italians seyng that the Spaniardes wer so fierce, thought it not best to fight with them, but to tary till the Swysses were come, and then they thought theselfes sure of victorie: and so with shame inough, they returned to Meligia.

After this returne the imperialles fortified the citee in many places. The duke of Millein seyng that he lacked victaile, and that his succors bad failed him, sent to the duke of Burbon worde that he would deliuer the castle so that he should be bound to no farther inconuenience: so thei agreed that he and his, should haue their bagge and baggage, and should haue the citee of Come for his abode till he wer tried of themperor of the accusacions against hym alleged: vpon whiche condicion he yelded the castle, & went directly to tharmy of the confederates. And after ỹ he went to Come, accordyng to his appoyntment: but the Spaniardes whiche kepte the toune, would not suffre hym to entre, wherefore of necessitie he was compelled to returne, to tharmy of the confederates, & there became enemie to themperors meny. Al this Sommer tharmie of Italy gat nothyng, but the citee of Lawde, and thei durste not fight with the Spanyardes, wherfore they went & besieged Cremona, int he whiche wer. i. M. Almaines, and. v. C. Spanyardes. All the Swisshes and. viii. M. of the Popes men & all the horsemen of Malatesta, wer sent to the siege, wherof was capitain ỹ said Malatesta Ballio Perusine, whiche as he would haue entered the castle was slain, and. i. M. men and more of his bende: wherfore the duke of Vrbyne, and the whole army of the Venecians wer sent for, whiche made so greate a nomber, and had suche ordinance that they within began to treate, and by appoyntment deliuered the citee.

The castle of Millain yelded to themperours vse.

After this the whole army of the Italians or confederates, determined clerely to besiege Millain, but sodainly the bishop of Rome sent for his army (for what cause you shal here after) and also they hard say, that George Frousberge a valiant capitain an Almain, which serued thẽperor in his last warres: was cõmyng with. xiiii. M. Lanceknightes, which wer paied their wages afore hand, for. iiii. monethes to aide themperors part. When the confederate army hard this, thei wer astonied, and durst not enterprise the siege, but at a certain Abbay, two mile frõ the citee of Millain they made a fortificacion for. iii. M. fotemen, and fiue hundred horsemen, to lye surely all wynter, to suffre no recourse to come to the citee, which citee was all this Sõmer season well fortified and victailed.

After the Popes army was departed at Cremona, as you haue hard, there came to tharmy of the confederates, Michael Anthonio Marques of Saluce, as capitain generall for the Frẽche kyng, and brought with hym. iiii. M. Gascons, and. v. C. men of armes, and. xv. C. light horses, according to the league. Then this whole army hearyng that ỹ Almaines were commyng forward with great ordinance, and a greate nomber of horsmen and had passed the straightes of the mountaignes maugre the Venecians, and that Conradine Lepontine, whiche had deliuered vp Cremona with. i. M. Almaines, was ioyned with capitain George. Whẽ tharmy of the confederates wer well informed of this greate armie, that was cõmyng toward Millain, the capitaines clerely determined to mete with thẽ, and by battaill or otherwise, to let them from passyng the riuer of Poo, or to ioyne with themperors armie, wherefore they marched forwarde, and founde that the Almaynes were come into the territories of Mantua: then the duke of Vrbyn, & Ihon de Medics cosin to the Pope thought to wery the Almaines with light skirmishes, but Ihon de Medices skirmished so nere tharmie, to get hima name aboue other, that he was hit with a gonne, and so shortely died. Then the Almaines came to Florenciola and there toke counsaill, & thought it not best to soiorne all wynter in the Duchie of Millain, because all thyng there was scace, by reason of the continuall warres: wherefore they determined

mined to take the Popes townes, as aucthor of all the mischief and warre, and surely they had taken the toune of Plesance, if tharmie of the confederates had not strongly, bothe with men and artilery, fortified the toune.

While all these thynges were a doyng, there continued a greate hatered betwene the bishop of Rome, & the noble famely of Colume in Rome all whiche famely was Imperiall, in so muche that the bishop saied to Pompey Cardinal of Colume, that he would take awaie his Cardinalles hat, and thother answered if he did so, that he would put on a helmet to ouerthrowe his thre crounes. When this malice had long continued, the bishop of Rome began to lacke money, to maintein his warres, and sore he fered the Columes his domesticall enemies, & so of his awne mocion began to breake the matter with Ascayn Colume, sonne to Prosper de Columna, in name of the whole bloud of the Columes, saiyng: that it were more conuenient for both parties to agree, then to abide the chaūce of battaill, to the whiche they bothe were parties (for the Columes had men of warre in themperors battaill, as the bishop had in tharmy of the confederates) then euery daie to retain souldiers at home eche for feare of other to their great charges and losse. Ascaine hearyng this saied he would speke with his kynred, and so did: and this communicacion had takē effect, and Hugo de Moncado had not been. For this Hugo was a litle before sent from themperor to the Pope, with certain articles to cōclude a peace, to the whiche the Pope would not agre, saiyng he came to late, & when he sawe the bishops proude answer, & perceiued him enemie to his master, he then sought an occasion to oppresse the bishop & his power, and so moued the Cardinall of Colume, and Ascain Colume, to inuade Rome with a sodain fraie, & to take Pope Clement or he wer ware.

An answer of a Cardinal to the Bishop of Rome.

They beyng glad to please themperor, gathered secretly. ii. M. souldiers, and entered Rome with suche spede, that they wer at *s.* Ihon Laterēce nere to the Popes Palace, or any man spied theim, then began a crie, the Cardinall of Colume cōmeth with a great power. The Pope thynkyng it to late to sende for aide, fled by a secret vawte to the castle Angell, and with hym fled Cardinalles, Bishoppes, & other of his palace to a great nomber, so that there was not victaile inough, for theim all. The bishop Clement sawe that shortly he and they, should be famished in the castle, sent to Hugo de Moncado, whiche had declared that he was thauctor of this act, not mindyng to hurt the Pope, but to make hym themperors frend, or els to cause hym to surcesse, for doyng themperor any damage, and to the said Hugo he offered, to kepe peace with the Emperor and his confederates for foure monethes, & in the meane season to treat a peace, and also to call his armie again ouer the Poo, and for the performance of this he deliuered to the Columes good hostage, and returned his armie from Cremona, as you haue hard before, and so he was deliuered at large: Now will I leaue the Emperors armie liyng in Italy, and speake of a greate mischief that fell in Hungary.

The greate Turke Sultan Soliman Pac, hearyng of the strief and warre that was betwene Christen princes, imagened that his tyme was come to do some great act in Christendō, wherfore he assembled a puissant armie of. C. xx. M. men, and entered into Hungary, sore destroiyng the countrey. Wherof hearyng Lewes kyng of Hongary, a couragious knight of. xxvi. yere of age, with a small nomber marched forwarde in Iune, and was on the great army of the Turkes or he wist, and so with good corage ioyned battaill, but he was oppressed with multitude, and was compelled to flie into a marreis, where he horse & man were drouned and many other with hym, his body was found after & buried. The saiyng was that he was betraied, by an Erle of his awne, called Ihon de Voada, & so it was likely, for the Turke afterwarde made hym kyng of Hongary, but he enioyed but one part of it called Trāsiluania: for Fernando themperors brother, whiche had maried the sister & heire of kyng Lewes ỹ was slain, kept the chief part of Hongary. The greate Turke hymself was not at the fight, but when he hard that the kyng was slain, he reioysed muche, & spoyled the countrey & brought many a Chri-tian soule into captiuitie to Turkey. Of this victory he wrote to the Venicians, as to his frendes, whiche letter was red openly in Venice, before Doctor Pace

The Kyng of Hōgary drounted.

Ambassàdor there for the kyng of England, but whether they were ioyous or sorowfull of the tidynges, I cannot well tell you.

This sõmer was great grudge against merchant strangers in Lõdõ in somuch ẏ if ẏ matter had not been well pacified, much business might haue folowed, the cause of the grudge was this, ther was an act made in the. iiii. yere of king Henry, ẏ no stranger should bring in no wine nor woade in an aliens ship: so that thenglishmen after ẏ went to Tholose, and brought much woade to London, & serued all the clothiers repairyng to London: & now in this yere by meanes of gentlemen about the king, the strangers had license to bring in woade in strãgers bottomes, so that all Lõdon was ful of their woade, & also they sent their woade into the coũtrey, so ẏ thenglishmens woade in Londõ lay vnbought: wherfore sir Thõ Alen knight beyng Maior, sent for a great sort of strangers, which were the chief merchantes of all, & shewed vnto thẽ what gaines they had gotten in the citee, by reason wherof they should anaunce the citee, & not hurt it, wherfore he willed thẽ to sel their woade to the merchãtes of Lõdon, & they should be paied in continent, & not to resort to other places in the countrey with their woade, to the hinderance of the Londoners. The strangers proudely answered the Maior, ẏ thei would seke euery place for their auãtage, & so in mocksyng maner departed. The Maior perceiuyng ẏ called a cõmen counsaill in the moneth of August, and there were many billes laied against the strangers, & at last it was enacted, that no citezen nor freman, should bye nor sell in no place, nor exchãge nor meddle with certain strangers called Anthony Bonuice, Laurence Bõuice, Anthony Viuald, Anthony Caueler, Frãces de Bard, Thomas Calnecant, and a great sort mo whose names I let passe, and if any person did meddle or occupie with them, contrary to this acte he should lese his fredome, and libertie in the citee of London: by whiche acte the strangers wer so brideled, that they came to a reasonable poynt and conclusion.

The first enhaunсyng of the Angell. In this season the angel noble was iust the sixt part of an oũce Troy so ẏ six angels were iust an ounce, which was xl. *s.* sterlyng, & the Angel was worth. ii. ounces of siluer, so ẏ sixe Angels were. xii. ounces, whiche was *but* xl. *s.* in siluer: but in Flaunders, Braband, and Zeland, the Angel was worth. vii. *s.* iiii. *d.* so ẏ merchants daily caried ouer much money, to the great hinderance of the merchandise of this realme, for moste men caried gold, & when it was there, it was losse in euery noble. viii. *d.* to bryng it hether again: & when thenglishmen spake to the rulers there, to leaue thenhaũcyng of the kynges coyne, thei laughed thẽ to skorne. The kyng & his counsaill perceiued to what end this enhaunсement in Flaũders, if wer not met with shortly, would bryng ẏ riches of this realme: wherfore in the moneth of September, he by Proclamacion, enhaunced the Angell to. vii. *s.* iiii. *d.* and the Royal to. xi. *s.* and the croune to. iiii. *s.* and. iiii. *d.* and this Proclamacion was made through all England: and to bryng out of Flaunders the great nõber of Englishe golde

The second enhaunсyng. whiche was there, the kyng by Proclamacion again the fift day of Nouember, enhaunced the Angell to. vii. *s.* vi. *d.* and so euery ounce of gold should be. xlv. *s.* and that an ounce of siluer should be. iii. *s.* ix. *d.* in value.

This yere on Michaelmas euen, Thomas Hynd whiche was chosen shrife before, was called to take his oth, but he made defaute, wherefore one Simõ Rice was chosẽ which refused, then was one George Robinson Mercer chosen, whiche toke his oth not to be able. The cõmons wer in such a fury ẏ they sware ẏ thei would haue a Mercer. Master Nicholas Lãbert an Alderman & Grocer, which had a dispensacion for ẏ shriualtie for ẏ yere seyng this discord, said to the cõmõs, masters, although my tyme bee not come, yet to appease your strief, if you will chose me, I will take it, & so he was chosen with great thankes. In this season a sodain rumer begã in Spain, ẏ themperor would haue war with kyng of England, wherof hearyng thenglishe merchantes, whiche lay in Spain at diuerse portes, cõcluded to sende to doctor Edward Lee Ambassador for the kyng of England in thẽperors court to knowe ẏ certentie, which gently answered thẽ, that he trusted ẏ there was no such cause, of ẏ which they should be aferd, for the kyng his master & themperor, wer yet in perfite loue & amitie, and farther he

sent

sent them worde, ẏ the kyng of Englād was not entered into the league of Italy with the confederates, as they would haue hym, for he laboreth to make a vniuersall peace, whiche he could not conueniently do, if he were protector or a cōtractor in ẏ league, this answere he sent to theim from Granado, the. v. daie of September.

In the moneth of December, the kyng kept a solempne Christmas, at his manor of Grenewiche with greate plētie of victaile, Reuels, Maskes, disguysynges, and bankettes: and the. xxx. daie of December, was an enterprise of Iustes made at the tilt by sixe gentlemen, against all cōmers, whiche valiantly furnished the same, bothe with spere and sworde, and like Iustes were kept the third daie of Ianuary, where were. CCC. speres broken. That same night, the kyng and many young gentlemen with hym came to Bridewell, & there put hym, and. xv. other, all in Maskyng apparell, and then toke his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinalles place, where wer at supper a great compaignie of lordes and ladies, and then the Maskers daūced, & made goodly pastyme, and whē they had well danced, the Ladies plucked away their visors, & so they were all knowen, and to the kyng was made a great banket.

The. xiii. daie of Ianuary came to the court, Don Hugo de Mendosa, a great man borne in Spain, of a noble famely, this persone was sēt as Ambassador from the Emperor, to the kyng of England with large commission, for themperor put it to the kyng of Englandes determinacion, whether his demaundes whiche he required of the Frenche Kyng, were reasonable or not, and for the declaracion thereof, and for to knowe the kyng of Englandes request and entreatie concerning the peace, was this noble man sent into Englande, whiche many tymes consulted with the kyng and his counsaill, and he taried here two yeres full.

This Christmas was a goodly disguisyng plaied at Greis inne, whiche was compiled for the moste part, by master Ihon Roo seriant at the law. xx. yere past, and long before the Cardinall had any aucthoritie, the effecte of the plaie was, that lord gouernance was ruled by dissipacion and negligence, by whose misgouernance and euill order, lady Publike wele was put from gouernance: which caused Rumor Populi, Inward grudge and disdain of wanton souereignetie, to rise with a greate multitude, to expell negligence and dissipacion, and to restore Publik welth again to her estate, which was so done. This plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparel, with straunge diuises of Maskes & Morrishes that it was highly praised of all menne, sauyng of the Cardinall, whiche imagined that the plaie had been diuised of hym, & in a greate furie sent for the said master Roo, and toke from hym his Coyfe, and sent hym to the Flete, & after he sent for the yong gentlemen, that plaied in the plaie, and them highly rebuked and thretened, & sent one of them called Thomas Moyle of Kent to the Flete, but by the meanes of frendes Master Roo and he wer deliuered at last. This plaie sore displeased the Cardinall, and yet it was neuer meante to hym as you haue harde, wherfore many wisemen grudged to see hym take it so hartely, and euer the Cardinall saied that the kyng was highly displeased with it, and spake nothyng of hymself. A plaie at Grayes Inn.

In this yere the second day of Marche wer receiued to London, with a great compaignie of noble men, the bishop of Tarbe, Frances viscoūt of Toraine, & master Anthony Vescy, secōd president of Paris, as Ambassadors from the Frenche kyng, & so brought through London to the Tailers hall and there lodged, and afterward wer cōueighed to Grenewiche to the kyng, where thei were right hartely enterteined, & after their letters red & their requestes hard, they departed for a season to London. Ambassadors frō the Frenche Kyng.

On shrouetewesdaie, the kyng hymself, in a newe harnes all gilte, of a strange fashion that had not been seen, and with hym. viii. gentlemen all in cloth of golde of one suite, embrodered with knottes of siluer, and the Marques of Excester, and. viii. with hym in blewe veluet and white saten, like the waues of the sea, these men of armes came to the tilte, & there ran many freshe courses, till. cc. lxxxvi. speres wer broken, and then they disarmed and wēt to the quenes chamber, where for them was prouided a costly banket. A Iustes.

The Frēche Ambassadors hauyng their recourse to the kyng and his counsaill, muche labored to haue in mariage the Lady Mary daughter to the kyng, and after long counsailyng,

that matter was put in suspēce because the President of Paris, doubted whether the mariage betwene the kyng & her mother, beyng his brothers wife, were good or no: of this first mocion grewe muche busines or it were ended, as you shall here, afterward. The common people repugned sore against that demaund, for they said that she was heire apparant to her father, and if he should dye, they would haue no Frenchemen to be kyng of Englande, and thus the common people spake, as their myndes serued them.

While the Frenche Ambassadours laie thus in London, it happened one euenyng as they wer commyng from the blacke Friers, from supper to the Tailers hall, two boyes were in a gutter castyng doune rubbishe, whiche the raine had driuen there, and vnware bit a lackay belonging to the viscount of Tourain, and hurt hym nothyng, for scantly touched it his cote, but the Frenche lordes tooke the matter highly, as a thyng done in dispite, and sent worde to the Cardinal, whiche beyng to hastie of credence, sent for sir Thomas Seimer knight, lord Maior of the citee, and in all hast commaunded hym vpon his allegeance, to take the husband, wife, children and seruauntes of the house, and theim to emprison, till he knewe farther of the kynges pleasure, and that the. ii. boyes apprentices should be sent to the Tower, whiche cōmaundement was accomplished without any fauor: For the man and his wife, and seruauntes, wer kept in the Counter till the sixt daie of Maie, whiche was six wekes ful, and their neighbours of gentlenes kepte their house in the meane tyme, and one of the apprētices died in the Tower, and the other was almoste lame: of the cruēltie of the Cardinall, & of the pride of the Frenchemen, muche people spake, and would haue been reuenged on the Frenchemen, if wisemen in the citee had not appeased it with faire wordes.

Ambassadors frō the Kyng of Hongerie.

On the. xiiii. daie of Marche wer conueighed from Lōdon to Grenewiche, by therle of Rutlande and other, the lorde Gabliel de Salamanka Erle of Ottonbrough, Ihon Burgraue of Siluerberge, and Ihon Faber a famous clerke after bishop of Vien, as Ambassadors frō Don Fernando, brother to the Emperor, newly elected kyng of Hungary and Beame, after the death of his brother in lawe kyng Lewes, whiche was slain by the Turke the last Sommer, as you haue hard before: this compaignie was welcomed of the high Officers, and after brought into the kynges presence, all the nobilitie beyng present, and there after great reuerence made, thesaied Clerke Master Faber made a notable Oracion, takyng his ground of the Gospell, *Exiit seminare semen suum*, and of that he declared how Christe and his disciples went furthe to sowe, and how their sede was good that fell into the good ground, and brought furth good fruite, whiche was the Christen faithe: and then he declared how contrary to that sowyng, Machomete had sowen seede, whiche brought furthe the euil sede, and shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue encresed in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that daye: he declared farther what actes § great Turk then liuyng had done, and in especial he noted the gettyng of Belgrade, and of the Rhodes, and of the slaiyng of the kyng of Hungary, to the great rebuke (as he said) of al the kynges christened: he set furth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of cōpaignies, what armure, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without a marueilous great nomber of people, he could not be ouerthrowē. Wherfore he moste humbly besecched the kyng, as sainct Georges knight and defender of the faithe, to assist the kyng his Master, in that Godly warre and verteous purpose. To this oracion the kyng, by the mouthe of sir Thomas More answered that muche he lamented the losse that happened in Hongarie, and if it were not for the warres, whiche were betwene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that acte, wherfore he with all his studie would take pain, first, to set an vnitie and peace throughout all Christendom, and after that he bothe with money and men, would be ready to helpe toward that glorious warre, asmuche as any other prince in Christendom. After this done the Ambassadours were well cherished, and diuerse tymes resorted to the Courte, and had greate chere and good rewardes, and so the third daie of Maie next ensuyng, they toke their leaue and departed homeward.

An Oracion made by Master Faber.

The answere.

This

This season the fame went, that themperor had written to the French kyng admonishyng hym to regarde his othe and promes toward God, and his honor and fame toward the worlde, allegyng that if he kept his promise towarde hym, that he shoulde finde hym suche a frende, that all Fraunce should reioyse of it, & if he would not kepe his former promes, whiche he made and sware at Madrill, he toke God to witnesse, that he would neuer leaue the warre, til fire and sworde had brought hym to accomplishe his promes, or els to driue hym out of his realme & dominiõs with strength and puissaunce, which letter the French kyng nothyng regarded saiyng that the Emperoure the nexte yere should haue warre inough. Themperors letter to the Frēche kyng.

The fame went and letters came to London, that the Emperoures army in Italy the. xii. day of Aprill had met with the Venicians as they were goyng homeward, and that betwene them there was a cruell fyght & by fyne force the Venecians were put to flyght, & no maruell as the Venicyans answere, for they say that by cause ther was a peace concluded for six monethes betwene the byshop of Rome, and Hugo Demountcado, and that the viceroy of Naples was come to Rome to cõferme the same truce, therfore they sent their ordinaūce and harnes and loked for no war, but onely taried together till they were payed there wages and so vnprouided they were set on and ouercome.

In the end of this yere the people were sore troubled with pouertye for the great paymentes of money that were past, and also in wynter in the seade season fell such abondans of rayne in Septēbre, Nouembre & Decembre, and on the xvi. daie of Ianuer fell suche a great rayne that there of ensued greate fludes whiche distroyed corne, feldes, and pastures: and drouned many shepe and beastes: then was it dry tyll the. xii. day of Aprill and from thence it rayned euery day or nyght tyll the third day of Iune, and in May it rayned. xxx. houres contynually with out ceasyng whiche caused great fludes and did muche harme, so that corne sore fayled the next yere as you shall perceiue hereafter.

THE. XIX. YERE.

THis time a bill was set vp in Londō muche contrary to the honor of the Cardinall, in the whiche the Cardinall was warned that he should not counsaile the king to mary his daughter into Fraunce, for if he did he should shewe hym selfe enemy to the kyng and the Realme, with many threatenyng wordes: this bill was deliuered to the Cardinal by sir Thomas Seimer Maior of the citie, which thanked him for thesame, & made much serche for the author of that bill, but he coulde not be founde, whiche sore displeased the Cardinal, & vpō this occasiō the last day of Aprill at night he caused a great watch to be kept at Westminster & had there cart gonnes ready charged & caused diuerse watches to be kept about Londō in Newington. S. Iones strete, Westminster. S. Giles, Iseldon, & other places nere Lōdon, which watches were kept by gentelmē & their seruaūtes, with householders & all for feare of ỹ Lōdoners bicause of this bil. Whē ỹ citizēs knew of this, they saied that they marueiled why the Cardinal hated thē so for they saied that if he mistrusted thē, he loued not them, & where loue is not, there is hatred, & they affirmed that they neuer entēded no harme toward him. & mused of this chaūce, for if. v. or. vi. lewde persones had made *Alarme* in the citie, thē had ēred all these watche mē with there trayne which might haue spoiled the citie without cause, wherfore they much murmured against the Cardinall & his vndiscrete doinges.

Sonday the fift daye of Maye was a solempne Masse song at Grenewiche the Cardinall and the Archebishop of Canterbury with. x. prelates mitered beyng present, and there the Frenche Ambassadors, in the name of the Frēche kyng there Master, sware to obserue the peace & league concluded betwene thē for the terme of two princes liues, & there opēly the bishop of Terby gaue to the kyng hartie thākes for the great fauor he shewed to the kyng his master, in the tyme of his visitacion (as he called it) that is to wete when he was in

prisō, for he said the kyng by his mercy had conquered the whole hartes of the realme which he could not do by stregth. Thēbassadors also desired as you haue harde, the mariage of the lady Mary for the duke of Orleance. ii. sonne to the French Kyng. Some said she was mete for him self: but many a man marueled why she was denayed for the secōd sonne, seyng that in the. x. yere of this kyng it was cōcluded that she should mary the Dolphin beyng the first sonne: but this demaund was not concluded nor answered but deferred because of her tendre age, tyll another time. For the more enterteinyng of the French ambassadors the king caused a solēpne Iustes to be done by sir Nicholas Carew, sir Robert Iernyngham, sir Anthony Broune, and Nicholas Haruy, the valiaunt esquier as chalengers: whiche were appareled in bases and bardes all of one suite, the right side was ryche tyssue embraudered with a compasse or roundell of blacke velues and in the compas a right hand holding a sworde, and about the sword were pennes and peces of money of diuerse coynes, all embrawdered, vnder the hand was embraudered *Loialte*, and on that side of the bard was written in embraudery, *Bi pen, pain nor treasure, truth shall not be violated.* The otherside of the bases and bardes were of cloth of gold and clotn of siluer. When these foure chalengars were come to the tilt, then entered the Marques of Excester and. xiii. with hym all armed and barded and based of one suit: that is to saie, the right sides cloth of golde cut in cloudes engrayled with Damaske golde, the otherside cloth of syluer set with mountaynes full of Oliue braunches, made of gold all mouyng. These men of armes ranne many a faire course with *little* missyng, for with in twoo houres and a half, notwithstandyng that yt rained apace, they brake. iii. hundreth speres at the least, and when nyght approched they disarmed and went to the courte.

The kyng agaynst that night had caused a banket house to bee made on the one syde of the tylt yarde at Grenewyche of an hundreth foote of length and. xxx. foote bredth, the roofe was purple cloth ful of roses and Pomgarnettes, the wyndowes, wer all clere stories with curious monneles strangely wrought, the Iawe peces and crestes were karued wyth Vinettes and trailes of sauage worke, and richely gilted with gold and Bise, thys woorke corbolyng bare the candelstykes of antyke woorke whiche bare *litle* torchettes of white waxe, these candelstickes were polished lyke Aumbre: at the one syde was a haute place for herawldes and minstrelles: this house was richely hanged and therin was raised a cupbord of seuen stages high and. xiii. foote long, set with standyng cuppes Bolles, Flaggons and greate pottes all of fyne golde: some garnyshed with one stone and some with other stones and perles, on the other side was another Cupbord of. ix. stages high, set full of high pottes, flagons and bolles, all was massy plate of siluer and gilte, so high and so brode that it was maruaile to beholde: at the nether ende were two broade arches vpon thre Antike pillers all of gold, burnished swaged and grauen full of Gargills and Serpentes, supportyng the edifices the Arches were vawted with Armorie, all of Bice and golde, & aboue the Arches were made many sondri Antikes & diuises: In this chamber, was three ewry bordes, one for the kyng, another for the quene, & the third for the princes: the first bourde had. ix. greate ewers, and basins all gilt, and playne, the seconde bourde had seauen greate gilt basins chased, & thre paire of couered basyns, chasid all gilt with Cuppes of assaie, they were so great that euery Lorde grudged to beare theim: the third ewery had. ix. basyns and two payre of coueryd Basines, and cuppes of assaie, this ewery was all of gold, & the Basins were so massye that thei troubled sore the bearers: The hole supper was serued in vessel of gold: to reherse the fare, the straūgenes of dishes, with deuises of beastes & fowles it were to long, wherefore I will let passe ouer the supper with songes & minstrelsie. Whē supper was done, the kyng, the quene and the ambassadors washed, and after talked at their pleasure and then thei rose and went out of the banket chambre by the forsaied Arches & when they were betwene the vttermoste dore and the Arches the kyng caused them to turne backe & loke on that syde of the Arches, and there they sawe how Tyrwyn was beseged, and the very maner of euery mans camp, very connyngly wrought, whiche woorke more pleased them thē the remembring of the thing in dede. From thens they passed by a long galerie richely

hanged into a chambre faire & large the dore whereof was made with masonrie, embatayled with Iasper, and within that a porche with a tipe, and crokettes gilt, this chambre was raised with stages. v. degrees on euery syde, & rayled & cõtrera led borne by pillars of Azure, full of starres & flower delice of gold, euery pillar had at the toppe a basin siluer, wherein stode greate braũches of white waxe, the degrees were all of Marble color, and the railes like white marble: in the middest of this Chamber, was a gate, the Arches whereof stretched from side to side, this Arche was figured masonrie on water tables with haunses receiuyng pillers wrapped, beyng Dormants Antike, & ouer the gate stode the pictures of Hercules, Scipio, Iulius, Pompei & such other cõquerours, the ventes and embowes were of very strange worke, with leaues, balles, & other garnishinges, all gold, and in the hole arche was nothing but fine Bice & golde, the rofe of this chambre was conninglie made by the kynges Astronimer, for on the grounde of the rofe, was made the hole earth enuironed with the Sea, like a very Mappe or Carte, and by a conning makyng of another cloth, the zodiacke with the. xii. Signes, and the fiue circles or girdelles and the two poles apered on the earth and water compassing the same, and in the zodiak were the twelue signes, curiously made, and aboue this were made the seuen planettes, as Mars, Iupiter, Sol, Mercurius, Venus, Saturnus, and Luna, euery one in their proper houses made according to their properties, that it was a connyng thing and a pleasant syght to beholde.

When the kyng and the quene, were set vnder their clothes of estate which were rich and goodly, and the ambassadours set on the righte side of the chambre, then entred a person clothed in cloth of golde, and ouer that a mantell of blew silke, full of eyes of golde, and ouer his hed a cap of gold, with a garland of Laurell set with beries of fyne gold, this person made a solempne Oraciõ, in the Latin tongue, declaryng what loye was to the peo- An Oration.
ple of both the realmes of England and Fraunce, to here and knowe the great loue, league, and amitie, that was betwene the two kynges of the same Realmes ceuyng greate praise to the kyng of England for graunting of peace, and also to the Frenche kyng for suyng for thesame, and also to the Cardinal for beyng a mediator in thesame: and when he had doen, then entred eight of the kynges Chappel with a song and brought with theim one richly apareled: and in likewise at the other side, entred eight other of the saied Chappel bryngyng with them another persone, likewise appareled, these two persones plaied a dialog theffect A dialogue.
wherof was whether riches were better thẽ loue, and when they could not agre vpon a conclusion, eche called in thre knightes, all armed, thre of them woulde haue entred the gate of the Arche in the middel of the chambre, & the other iii. resisted, & sodẽly betwene the six knightes, out of the Arche fell doune a bar all gilte, at the whiche barre the six knightes The fight at barriers.
fought a fair battail, and then thei were departed, and so went out of the place: then came in an olde man with a siluer berd, and he concluded that loue & riches, both be necessarie for princes (that is to saie) by loue to be obeied and serued, and with riches to rewarde his louers and frendes, and with this conclusion the dialogue ended.

Thẽ at ỹ nether ende, by lettyng doune of a courtaine, apered a goodly moũt, walled A rich
with towers and vamures al gilt, with all thinges necessarie for a fortresse, & all the mount mount.
was set ful of Christal coralles, & rich rockes of rubie cureously conterfaited & full of roses & pomgranates as though they grewe: on this rocke sat eight Lordes appareled in cloth of Tissue & siluer cut in quater foyles, the gold engrailed with siluer, and the siluer with Maskers.
gold, al loose on white satin, and on ther heddes cappes of blake veluet set with perle and stone, they had also mantelles of blake saten: and then they sodenly descended from the mounte and toke ladyes, and daũced diuers daunces.

Thẽ out of a caue issued out the ladie Mary doughter to the kyng & with her seuen ladies, all appareled after the romayne fashion in riche cloth of gold of tissue & Crimosin tinsel bendy & their heres wrapped in calles of golde with bonetes of Crimosin veluet on their heddes, set full of pearle and stone: these eight Ladies daunced with the eight Lordes of the mount, and as thei daunced, sodenly entred sixe personages, appareled in cloth of siluer and blacke tinsell satin, and whodes on their heddes with tippetes of cloth of gold,

there garmentes were long after the fashion of Iscland, and these persones had visers with sylver berdes, so that they were not knowne: these Maskers tooke Ladies and daunsed lustely about the place.

Then sodenly the kyng and the viscount of Torayne were conueighed out of the place into a chambre thereby, & there quicklie they. ii. and six other in maskyng apparel of cloth of gold and purple tinsell sattin, greate, lōg, & large, after the Venicians fashiō & ouer them great robes, & there faces were visard w beardes of gold: then with minstrelsie these. viii. noble personages entred and daunsed long with the ladies, and when they had daunsed there fill, then the quene plucked of the kynges visar, & so did the Ladies the visars of the other Lordes, & then all were knowē: thē the kyng gaue to the viscoūt of Torayn, the maskyng apparel that the kyng hym self ware & also the apparel that the viscount hym self masked in, which were very riche, for the whiche he thanked hym.

Then the kyng, quene and the ambassadours, returned to the banket chamber, where thei found a banket ready set on the borde, of so many & marueilous dishes, that it was wonder to se, then the kyng sat doune and there was ioy, myrth and melody: and after that all was doen the kyng and all other went to rest, for the night was spent, and the day euen at the breakyng.

The morowe after the ambassadours toke there leaue of the kyng, and had greate rewardes geuen them and so came to London, and there rested two dayes and so departed in hast homeward.

These two houses with Cupbordes, hāgynges, and all other thinges the kyng commaunded should stand still, for thre or foure daies, that al honest persones might see and beholde the houses & riches, and thether came a great nombre of people, to see & behold ỹ riches & costely deuices.

After that the ambassadours of Fraunce were departed the kyng sēt an other ambassade into Fraūce (that is to say) Sir Thomas Boleyne knight, viscoūt of Rochforth, and Sir Anthony Broune knight, which came to Paris to the bishop of Bathe, whiche lay in Fraunce as ambassadour for the kyng of Englād, and then these thre went to the court and saw the Frenche kyng in persone swere to kepe the league & amitie concluded betwene hym and the kyng of Englande, and there they had greate chere and maskes shewed vnto them, but litle rewardes were geuen, & so ỹ viscount Rochforth retorned into Englād & so did the bishop of Bathe shortly after, leauyng sir Anthony Broūe behind for a ligier.

An ambassad sent to thempe. rour.

In this moueth of Maie ỹ. x. day the kyng sent sir Fraūces Poynes knight, as ābassadour frō ỹ kyng of Englād, to Charles themperor & with him he sēt Clarenseaux, king of armes, to demaūd the one halfe of the treasure & ordinaūce which was takē at Pauia, for somuch as that war, was made as well at the kynges charge, as themperors charge: he demaunded also the duke of Orleaūce, to be deliuered to him, & also it was demaūded that themperour shuld deliuer ỹ bishop of Rome which was takē this moneth as you shall here, and also should bring his armie out of Italy, and if he refused to do any of these poinctes, then Clarēseaux in the kynges name of Englande should make to him defiaunce.

When it was knowen that warr was like to be betwene the Emperour and the kyng of England, the commons of England sore lamentyd the chaūce, for all marchandise were restrayned to passe in to any of themperours dominiōs, & the marchaūtes wer desired by the Cardinal to kepe ther martes at Caleis, to the which in no wise thei would assent.

Shippes sēt to seke straūg Regions.

This same moneth the kyng sent two fayre shippes, well manned, and vitailed, hauing in them diuers connyng men, to seke strange regions: and so furth thei set, out of the Thamis, the twentie day of May, if they sped well you shall here at their retorne.

The. xxii. day of May cam in post to the kyng out of Fraunce the bishop of Tarbie, whiche was here in the beginnyng of this moneth, this bishop brought to the kyng of England, the articles which the Frenche kyng now offered to the Emperour, which wer contrarie to the articles sworne at Madryll in the. xvii. yere of the kyng, and farther he moued the kyng of Englande to be enemy to themperour, which request (as all men say) was

muche furthered by the Cardinall, because of the warre in Italie, betwene the Pope & the-perour: this bishop made short tariyng with the kyng, for in post againe he returned to Paris, to sir Frances Poynes, & Clarēceaux, whiche taried ther for him, & so they all toke ther iournay toward Spayne.

Now will I retorne to the duke of Burbō, and themperours armie, which all ỹ last winter liued ingreat pouertie, with out clothes, victaile or wages, so that they wer in maner desperat. & so went toward Parme & Bononie, belongyng to the Sea of Rome. The bishop of Rome hearyng this sēt a messenger to the duke to redeme the Popes townes, so that they shoulde not be spoyled nor hurte: the duke and the capitaine axed thre hundreth & fiftie thowsād Ducates, for sanyng of the Popes lād, & if thei might haue so much money, thei would depart to Naples: but when thei sawe that thei coulde haue no money, they with all spede turned toward Florence the. xxii. of Aprill, whereof hearyng the Romaines thei wer glad, for thei thought that the Florentines wold hold good war with them, & thā the Pope & the Romaines woulde geue the lokyng on: but the chause turned, as you shall here after.

For a suertie the duke of Burbon thought to haue gon to Florence for this cause, for ther was a gentleman in Florence called Peter de saluiata which had a brother that serued themperor in his warres, which promised to deliuer ỹ citie, for he determined to cause the commons to rebell in ỹ citie against the heddes, & in the meane seasō ỹ dukes cōpany shulde scale ỹ walles: whē this Peter knew ỹ themperours army was come to a place called Le Chase, within twelue myle of the Citie to bryng his purpose to a conclusyon, he with suche as he had trayned to him, cryed in the Citie: *Libertate de populo*, that is in English Lybertie of the people: with which voyce the people styrred and came to the Palace in great nombre, and where they tooke the. vi. Lordes of the counsell which had the rule of the Publyke welthe of the Citie (as they call it) and slew one of them: The Familie of Medices, whiche were the Popes kynred, were at this tyme sore afraied. Thus this *Peter de Saluiata*, with the Commons gate the Palace and rang the cōmen bell. In this season was in Florence a Capitayn of the Frenche kynges called *Frederico de Lodsoo*, he had with hym. iii. C. men: and when he saw this rebellyon, he came to the Commons and sayde: Syrs, if you continew in this case, your fayre Citie is lyke to be subuerted, for your enemyes be at hande: which notwithstandynge that you beare some fauoure to themperour as appeareth, yet their nedinesse and pouertie is such, that without mercy thei wyll robbe, murder and sley you, your wyfes & chyldren, and sette fyer on your beautifull Citie.

This Capitayne moche steyed the Citie, notwithstandyng that. xx. or more persones were sleyne in the ruffle, yet they were well auoyded, and sodeynly entered into the Citie the Duke of Vrbyne, which lay but. vi. myle from Florence, and. xviii. myle from themperours armye whom he had coasted, but he thought no aduauntage to medle. This Duke brought with hym. v. M. footemen, and. vi. C. horsemen, and when he was entered the Citie, a crye was made that all thynges was pardoned, so that euery man departed home and delyuered his weapon, whiche was dooen: and thus the Citie was appeased, the. xxviii. day of Apryll.

All this doyng within the Citie was vnknowne to themperours armye, for it was begonne and ended in. iiii. or. v. houres, and so for lacke of knowledge, this enterprise was lost, which was happye for the Florentynes. Sore displeased were themperours Capitaynes when they knew of this chaunce, and also how the Duke of Vrbyne was entered into the Citie of Florence for their defence, but they coulde not dōo with all. And so shortly thei departed and came to the Citie of Seynes. xxx. myle of, and there they lost their great ordynaunce, and tooke counsell to go to Rome (notwithstandyng the trewce concluded betwene the Pope and the Viceroy of Naples, & Hugo de Moncada, as you haue hearde) and so moche they traueyled by nyghtes and dayes, commonly passyng. xl. myle, day and nyght. (Their good wyll was suche) that the vi. daye of Maie, with banners displaied, they came before the Citie of Rome beynge saturdaye the same day: and sonday the Romaynes made Bulwarkes,

warkes, Rampiers, and other defences, and layde ordynaūce on the walles, and shot at them without fearcely.

Rome assaulted. The Duke of Burbon determyned that it were not best to lye styll without, and be slayne with ordinaunce, considerynge that they were all naked people, and without great ordinaunce: wherfore he determined to take the chaunce & to geue the assaute, & so manfully they approched the walles betwene the Burgo nouo & olde Rome. But the Romayns valiauntly defended them with handgūnes, pykes, stones, & other weapons, so that the enemyes were fayne to retreyte. Then the Romaynes were glad, & sette many faire banners on their Towers & Bulwarkes, and made great showtes: Which seeynge the Duke of Burbon cryed to a new assaute. Then the Drumslades blew, & euery mā with a ladder mounted: & at the fyrst encoūter, agayn the Romayns put them a lytel backe: Which perceiuīg, the duke of Burbō cryed: God & themperour. Then euery man manfully sette on, there was a sore fyght, many an arrow shot, & many a man felled: but at the last the Emperours men gotte the wall: & betwene euery assaute fell a myst, so that they within coulde not see what parte they without would assayle, which was profitable to themperours partie: At the three assautes were sleyne. iii. C. Swyshes of the Popes Garde. In this last assaute was the Duke of Burbon stryken in the thygh with a handgōne, of the which he shortly dyed in a chapell of s. Syst, whyther his Souldiers had brought him, And this chaunce notwithstandynge the Armye entered into Rome, & toke the Popes Palace & set vp themperours Armes. The same day that these three assautes were made, Pope Clement passed lytell on the Emperours Armye: for he had accursed theim on the saturday before, and in his curse he called the Almaynes Lutheranes, & the Spaniards Murreynes or mores: and when he was hearyng of masse, sodeinly the Almaynes entered the Churche, & slew his Garde & dyuerse other. He seeyng that, fled in all haste by a preuye way to the Castell s. Angell: & al they that followed hym that way & coulde not entre, were sleyne, and if he in that fury had ben taken, he had ben sleine. The Cardinals & other prelates fled to the castel of s. Angel, ouer the bridge, where many of the commen people were ouerpressed and drowned as they gaue way to the Cardinalles & other estates that passed towarde the castell for succour.

The Duke of Burbon.

Curse of the Pope.

The Cardinall of Scnes, of Sesaryne, of Tudertine, of Iacobace & of the Valle, taryed so long, that they coulde not get to the castell for multitude of people: wherefore they were compelled to take another house, called the Palace of s. George, where they kepte theym selfe for a whyle, as secretely as they myght. You must vnderstand, that thorough the Citie of Rome, ronneth a famouse Ryuer, called Tyber: and on the one syde of the Ryuer standeth the Castell s. Angell, or the Borough of s. Angell: & the other side is called Burgo Nouo, or the New Borough. This Bridge is called, the Brdge of Syxte, which lyeth directly before the Castell. At the ende of this Brydge was a wonderous strong Bulwarke, well Ordinaunced & well manned. The Emperours men saw that they coulde doo nothynge to the Pope nor to that porte of the Citie but by the bridge, determyned to assaute the Bulwarke: & so as men without feare, came on the bridge: & the Romayns so well defended them, that they slew almost. iiii. M. men. That seeyng the Prince of Orenge & the Marques of Gnasto, with all spede gaue assaute, and notwithstandyng that the Romaynes shot great ordinaūces, handgonnes quarrels, & all that myght be shot: yet the Imperiall personnes neuer shranke, but manly entered the Bulwarke & slew & threw downe out at the loupes all the Romains that they found, & after rased the bulwarke to the grounde. The Pope was in the Castell Angell and beheldе this fyght, & with him were. xxiii. Cardinalles, of which one called the Cardinall Sanctorum quatuor, or the Cardinall of Pouche was slayne, & with hym were a. M. Prelates & Priestes. v. C. Gentlemen. v. C. souldyers: wherefore immediatly the Capitayns determined to ley Siege to the Castell of s. Angell, lest they within myght issue out & turne theym to dāmage: wherfore sodeinly a Siege was planted rounde about the Castell. In the meane season the souldyers fell to spoyle, neuer was Rome so pylled neither of the Gothes, nor Vandales, for the souldiers were not content with the spoyle of the Citizens, but they robbed the Churches, brake vp the houses of close religious

Rome spoiled.

religious persons, & ouerthrew the cloysters & spoyled virgins, & rauyshed maryed women: Men wer tormented if they had not to geue euery new asker or demaunder: some wer strangeled, some wer punyshed by the priuey mẽbres, to cause them to confesse their treasure. This woodnesse continued a great whyle, & some man myght thynke that when they had gotten so moche, then they would ceasse & be quyet, but that was not so, for they plaied cõtinually at dyce, some. v. C. some a. M. ducates at a cast: & he that came to play laded with plate, went away again almost naked, & then fell to ryfelyng agayne. Many of the Citizens whiche coulde not paciently suffre that vexacion drowned them selues in Tiber: The souldiers daily that ley at the siege, made Iestes of the Pope, sometyme they had one ridynge lyke the Pope with a whore behynde hym, sometyme he blessed, & sometyme he cursed, and sometyme they woulde with one voyce call hym Antechrist. And they went about to vndermyne the Castell, and to haue thrown it downe on his head, but the water that enuironeth the castell dispoynted their purpose. In this season the Duke of Vrbyne with. xv. M. men came to ayde the Pope: but hearyng that Rome was takẽ he taried, lx. myle frõ Rome tyl he heard other word. The Marques of Saluce, & sir Frederico de Bodso with. xv. M. footemen & a. M. horsemen were at Vitarbe the. x. day of Maie. Where thei hering that the citie of Rome was taken also taried. The cardinal of Colume came with an army of Neapolitans to helpe themperours men: but when he saw the crueltie of the souldiers, he dyd lytle to helpe thẽ, but he hated thẽ moch.

The bishop of Rome was thus besieged tyl the. viii. ides of Iuli, at which day he yelded him selfe for necessitie & penury of al thinges in the castell. And then he was restored to geue Graces & graunte Bulles as he dyd before: but he taryed styll in the Castell saynt Angell, and had a great nombre of Almaynes and Spanyardes to keepe him: But the Spanyardes bare most rule in the Castell, for no man entered nor came out of the Castell but by them. When the moneth of Iuly came, corne began to fayle in Rome, & the pestilence beganne to waxe strong: wherfore the great Army remoued to a place called Naruya, xl. mile frõ Rome, leauyng behynde them suche as kepte the bysshop of Rome.

When they were departed, the Spanyardes neuer were contented tyll they had gotten the Almaynes out of the Castell of. s. Angell, & so they had the whole custodye of the Pope. Thus Rome continued in peace tyll Septembre, tyll the Armye came agayne from Naruya: for then the Almaynes sware, that they would set the Citie and all on fyer, excepte the Pope woulde pay them their full wages.

The bisshop of Rome was sumwhat astonyed, and sent to commen with them, onely two Archebishops & two Byshops & two Gentlemẽ: These syxe persones, the Almayns tooke as pledges, contrarye to the Popes meanyng, & sayde they would keepe them there tyll they were payed, & so put them in a strong chaumbre, in the palace of. s. George: and euery day almost they woulde bryng them furth openly, and scolde and chyde with them, & make them beleue that they woulde hang them if they were not payed. And so they kepte them emprisoned in a chaũbre and. xxiiii. watched euery nyght without the chaumbre dore, & xiiii. all day lykewyse: and yet for all that watche, they got out at a chimney, on saynte Andrewes eue, and were no more seene of them. An Escape

This escape was sooner knowen of the Spanyardes that kept the Pope, then of the Almaynes that watched the dore. The Almaynes were so woode with this chaũce, that thei came to the Prince of Orenge their generall capitayne, & demaunded money of hym, in suche rigorouse manier that he was fayne secretely to flee to Senes: & then for hym they chose Capitayne, the Marques of Guasto, whiche gouerned them tyll February, that he brought them to Naples.

Aboute the. xxviii. daye of Maie, there were letters brought to the Kyng of Englande from the Frenche kyng, of parte of this troble: but sonday, the second day of Iune, the Kyng receyued letters at the Castell of Wyndsore, by the whiche he perceyued all the ordre & manier of the sackyng of Rome, & taking of the pope, in manier & forme as you haue hearde: Wherfore the Kyng was sorye, & so were many prelates: but the Comminaltie lytle mourned

mourned for it, and sayde that the Pope was a ruffyan, & was not mete for the roume: wherfore they sayde that he beganne the myschief, & so he was well serued. But the Cardinall which toke this matter highly, called to hym the Prelates & the Clergy, and muche mourned the fall of the Bisshop of Rome, and saw how the people grudged agaynste the Spiritualtie, for their greate Pride, Pompe, & yll lyuyng: Wherfore he came to the kyng, & sayde: Sir, by the onely callyng of God, you be made Defendor of the Christian faith: Nowe consydre in what state the Churche of Christe standeth: See howe the head of the Churche of Rome is *in* captiuitie: See how the holy fathers be brought into thraldome, and be without comfort: now shewe your selfe an aide, a defendour of the Church, and God shall reward you.

The kynges answer. The kyng answered, my Lorde, I more lament this euel chaunce then my tounge can tell, but where you say that I am defendor of the faith, I assure you, that this war betwene the Emperor and the Pope, is not for the faith, but for temporal possessiōs and dominiōs, and now sith bishop Clemēt is takē by men of war, what should I doo? my persō nor my people cannot him reskue, but if my treasure may help him, take that which to you semeth most conuenient: for the which offer the Cardinall thanked the kyng on his knee, and there vppon

The threasor gathered. the Cardinall caused to be gathered together of the kynges treasure. xii. score thousande pounde, which he caried ouer the Sea with him, as you shal heare after.

Then the Cardinal sēt cōmissions, as legate to al bishopes, commaūdyng that they should cause in euery parish Churche, solemne processions to be made for the releuyng of the Pope and moued the people to fast. iii. daies in the weke, but few men fasted, for the priestes

Praier and fastyng. said, that there commaundement was, to exhorte the lay people to fast and not to fast them selfes: & the lay people saied, that the priestes should first fast, because the verie cause of the fastyng, was for a priest, but none of bothe almoste fasted.

This scasō began a fame in Londō that ỹ kynges cōfessor, beyng bishop of Lyncolne, called doctor Lōglād, & diuerse other greate Clarkes had told the kyng that the mariage betwene him & the Lady Katheryn, late wife to his brother, prince Arthur, was not good, but damnable & the kyng herevpō should mary the dutches of Alansō, sister to ỹ Frēch kyng at the toūe of Caleis this sommer, & that ỹ viscoūt Rochforth had brought with him the picture of the saied Lady, & that at his retorne out of Fraūce ỹ Cardinal should passe the Sea to go into Fraūce to fetch her.

This rumor sprāg so much, that the kyng sent for sir Thomas Seimer maior of Londō & straightly charged him to se that ỹ people should sease of this cōmunicacion, vpō payne of the kynges high displeasure.

But whatsoeuer the Commons talked, it was cōcluded by the kyng and his counsayll, that the Cardinall shoulde passe into Fraūce, as his high ambassadour, but for what cause no persone knew but the king til his retorne.

Then was much preparacion made at Calleis, for the receauyng of ỹ Cardinal, but ỹ cōmō saiyng was that ỹ kyng would cōe to Caleis & meet with ỹ Frēch kyng, & for ỹ cause such preparaciō was made, but he came not there at al, & alwaies the people comoned as they durst of the kynges mariage.

The Cardinal rideth towarde Fraunce. The. iii. day of July, the Cardynall of Yorke, passed thorough the citie of Londō, accōpaignied with many Lordes & Gētlemē, to the nombre of twelue hundreth horse, towarde the Sea side, and at Cauntorburie he rested, & there to the people declared the destruction of Rome, & howe the Pope was in captiuitie with many Cardinalles: wherfore he caused a

A new fonde Letany. Letany to be sōg by the mōkes of Christes Church, after this maner. *S, Maria, ora pro Clemente papa. S Petri ora pro Clemente papa.* & so furthe al ỹ letany: thē he exhorted the people to fast & pray for his deliueraūce which few did.

The xi. day of Maye, the Cardinal with al his traine, toke shipping at Douer, and the same day lāded at Caleis, wher he was receiued with procession, and with the hole garrison of the towne.

Barrelles of gold. Whē the Cardinal was lāded, there were set on lande. xvi. barrelles al ful of gold of the kynges

kynges money, whiche wer deliuered to the capitain of the castel in charge: of this money, the people much grudged, & saied this money shalbe spēt out of ȳ realme, & yet Englishemē shal haue no parte nor proffit of it, but only it shalbe spēt for ȳ Cardinalles pleasure and the Frenche kynges, and the Popes proffite.

The Cardinal was so sore displeased with the Emperour for kepyng the Pope in prysō (although it wer agaynst his wil & knowlege) that he imagened al the wayes and meanes possible how to hurte & dommage themperour & therfore he sēt for thenglish marchaūtes, willing them to kepe ȳ marte at Caleis, but thei aūswered that ȳ towne of Caleis, was a towne of warre, & al marchaūtes must haue libertie at all houres of the night, in the marte season, whiche they coulde not haue at Caleis: also the hauen is not able to receiue greate Hulkes, and Carikes that come to a marte: but some marchaūtes to please the Cardinal, brought their clothes to Caleis, and so caused their frendes of Andwarpe to come to Caleis, & to say that thei had bought the marchaūtes clothes, & ther at Caleis paied the custome, & so caried them to the towne of Andwarp at thēglish mēnes charge, & ther sold thē to the great losse of thēglishmē. The Marte to be Kept at Calice.

While the Cardinal lay in Calleis, the Frenche men daily resorted to Calleis, to welcome the Cardinall, and sodenly there vpon a noyse sprang that Calleis should be deliuered, to the Frenche kyng, whiche vayne saiyng, made many men muse.

But the. xxii. day of Iuli, the Cardinall deported oute of Calleis, & with hym was the lorde Cutberd Tūstal bishop of London, the Lorde Sandes, Chamberlayn to the kyng, the Earle of Darby, sir Henry Guildforde, sir Thomas More, with many knightes and squyres, to ȳ numbre of. xii.C. horse, & in the cariages. lxxx. wagons, & lx. moyles and sumpter horses & at Sandifelde, met with him the coūtie Brian gouernour of Picardie, & Monsir de Bees, capitaine of Bulleiu, with. iiii.C. men of armes, well appareiled, with banners displaied & all well horsed, which with trumpets and melodie receiued the Cardinal, & at Marguisō there met hym the Cardinal of Lorayn, &. vi. bishoppes, & xl. gentlemē, wel furnished, & in their cōpany. iiii.C. horse, and so they rode furthe to Bullein where the burgesses them receiued. The receiuing of the Cardinal to Bulayne.

And at the gate was made a pageaunte in the whiche was a Nonne called holy churche, & thre Spaniardes & thre Almaynes had her violated, and a Cardinall her reskued, and set her vp of newe agayne.

Another Pageaunte, was a Cardinal geuyng a Paxe to the Kyng of England and the French kyng in token of peace, another Pageant was the Pope, liyng vnder, and the Emperour sittyng in his Maiestie, and a Cardinall pulled downe the Emperoure, and set vp the Pope.

Whē wise men sawe this pagiaunt, thei smiled & saied, well can the Frenche kyng flatter, for barde it were for one Cardinall to subdue him that hath pulled downe the master of all Cardinalles.

Many wordes wer spokē in reproue of this pageaūt, but stil with great triūph rode these. ii. Cardinalls together, to the abee vnder a Canapie borne ouer them, & there lodged.

The morow beyng the thre & twentie day he with al his traine remoued toward Muttrel, & ii. mile without the towne ther met with him the bailies, ther to him was made a solempne oraciō, & whē he came to the towne he was receiued with the Clergie, & ther the Englishmen had strayt lodging, the nombre was so greate, & so ȳ morowe he remoued toward Abbeuil wher he was receiued of the Baylyfe and aduocates of the towne, and then of the garison of men of warre of the towne, and there was he receiued with procession, and Pageauntes to his praise vnder a Canapie, and so brought to the Church, and after to his lodging, and all the Canapies were set with T C for Thomas Cardinal, and so wer al his seruauntes cotes.

The third day of August in the Citie of Amias, came the Frenche kyng in a cote of blacke Veluet vpon white Satin, and tied with laces agglated with golde, and with him, the kyng of Nauer, and the Cardinall of Burbon, the greate master, the Duke of Vandosme,

Monsir de Guise, and Monsir Vaudemount his brother, and the Frenche kynges mother with many Lordes and Ladies, which wer there solemplie receiued.

And on Sōday the. iiii. daie of August, the Cardinal came fro Pickqueny toward Amias, in which towne he laie the night before, and in the way he was receiued with the prouost of the Citie, and many honorable personages of the citie, and after them came the Iustices and aduocates and with an eloquent oracion saluted him, and when he was with in halfe a myle of the towne the Frenche kyng hym selfe with all his Nobles mette with him, and louinglie embraced him, and welcomed him and after toke all the Nobles of England, by the hand, and so brought the saied Cardinall to Amias: where for hym were deuised many Pagiauntes, to his prayse, and euer he was called *Cardinalis pacificus* the Cardinall pacifique, and so was writen at the gate of his lodging.

The Frenche kyng brought the Cardinal to his lodging, & he would haue brought the kyng to his Courte agayne, but he would in nowise suffre him, but left him in his lodgyng and the same night the Cardinal rode to visit the Frenche kynges mother, & there he had long communicacion and so departed to his lodging.

The. v. day of August the Cardinal with the great estates of Fraūce was conueighed to the Frenche kynges Courte, where he was receiued of the Frenche kynges garde, and in the first Chambre he was receiued of Knightes & gētlemen, in the secōd Chambre, of Earls Barons and bishoppes. In the third of Ladies, in which chambre the kyng lay on a bed, and his mother sate by him, because he had a sore Legg. Then the Cardinal shewed his commission, which was very large, and in that was none but he alone: the Bishop of London and the Lorde Sandes, were in another commission, but that was not shewed than, nor they called to counsail. There was the Cardinall highly thanked of the greate loue that he bare to the house of Fraunce: Then he & the Frēch Lordes fell to counsaile, first concernyng the Articles of peace, & for the suerty of performaunce of the same, and so that day they sat foure houres, and so euery day was the Cardinall in Counsaile with the Frenche kynges Counsaile, tyll the. xxviii. day of August, at which day was made in the Cathedrall Churche of Amias, for the Cardinall of Englande a place on the North side of the Churche for his Traues, & directly in the middes of the quere was a curious chappell wroughte of carued wood all gilt set for the Frenche kyng and his mother, which was couered with Crimosyn veluet, richely embrodered and hanged with clothes of Arās makyng, set with pearle & stone, very curiously: The Masse was song by a Cardinall, and after Masse, the French kyng and diuers of his Lordes, were sworne to kepe the league, & then was a great Charter sealed on the high aultare, & deliuered to the Cardinal by the kynges awne hand, and then the Cardinal of England gaue to them all (as he saied clere remission) and then was *Te deum* song, and so they all departed.

Now will I leaue the Cardinall styll at Amias in counsaill, and retorne to Sir Fraunces Poynes, & Clarēceaux which were at this tyme arriued in Spaine, in the towne of Vale Dolife, the third day of Iuly, where thei found Doctor Lee the kynges Almoner there ambassadour for the kyng of Englande, & with him taried till the sixte day of Iuly, & then Sir Fraunces Poynes was brought to his presēce, and deliuered the kyng his masters letter, and beside that praied his Maiestie to cōsider what the king of England had doen for hym sence his tendre age, how that he holpe him at all times with money and treasure, and howe that at suche tyme as the Lordes of Spayne would not receiue him as there kyng durynge his mothers life, yet by the kynges meane and his greate labour and cost, he was to that Realme receiued: and also howe the kyng of England had alwaies defended and protected the contreys of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland, against all persones, and in the quarell of themperoure he had strongly inuaded the Realme of Fraūce so that by his inuasion at home, themperour had obteyned great victorie in fōrein places, which he could not haue done, if al the whole realme of Fraunce had ben without any enemies at home: wherfore the kyng desired him as reason would, the one halfe of the profite of the battail of Pauy and also for his parte he required the duke of Orleaūce to be deliuered to him, and also to paie to the

king, fourtie thousād pownde, which he ought to him as money lent, towardes his charges: and farther that he should delyuer the Pope, and make him a reasonable amendes, & no farther to make warre on him or his dominions. The Emperour after this demaunde answered, sir we assure you that the loue of our vncle of England, toward vs and the manifolde benefites that we haue receiued of him and by his meanes we shal neuer forget, and although oure power be not able to recompence thesame, yet our good will shall neuer fayle, to endeuer vs to do him pleasure: and as concerning his letters we with oure counsaile shall take aduice, and we trust you shall haue a reasonable answere, during which time, you may repose you, and althinges necessarie shalbe at your commaundement: with this answer, Sir Fraūces departed at this time. Whē it was knowen in Spaine, that the kyng of England was alied with the Frenche kyng, the Spaniardes spake largely and saied that thei cared not for the king of England, and said farther that all this was the drift of the Cardinall, and by reason hereof the Englishe marchauntes were euil entertained in Spaine, but the Emperoure perceiuing this, gaue a generall commaundement, that all Englishmen shoulde be orderid and reputed as his louing frendes. The Emperours answere.

In this very moneth, tidynges was brought to the Emperoure, how the inhabitauntes of Turnei conspired to distroy Monsire Delanoies their Capitaine, and deuised to bid him to a banket and so to sley hym & all that loued the Emperour, but as God would, he had knowlege of this treason, and toke the chefe Capitaynes, and did on them sharp execucion for feare whereof many fled into Fraunce.

The Emperor within a day or twayne called to hym Doctor Lee, & Syr Fraunces Poynes the kyng of Englands Ambassadors, & said, my lordes we haue perceiued the king your masters requests, which be great and of a waighti e Importaunce; wherefore we entend with all spede to write to the kyng our vncle, and when we haue receiued answere from him; we shall delyuer you of suche thinges as you demaund, praiyng you in the meane season, to take pacience, and so for the tyme they departed.

By this tyme was it knowen that the Cardinall of England was with the French kyng, & ful well knew the Emperour that the Cardinal woulde do all for to aide the Frenche kyng and to domage hym yet had he a great pencion of the Emperour.

The Englishe Marchauntes fearing the sequele of this matter, conueighed away there goodes daily out of the Emperors dominions: but still the Englishe ambassadours came to the Emperours Court, and one day the Emperour saied to them, my Lordes, I marueill how the kyng my vncle is moued aginst me & my subiectes, I assure you I will no warr with him, I trust in his faithful promes, & his accustomed goodnes, & his people I take as my frēdes. If he loue the Frēche kyng I may not so do, for he to me is vntrue & kepeth no iust promise, and we neuer compelled him to make any offer, but his offer was of his owne mocion and he also sworne to maintēine the same, which he now refuseth, and to our great preiudice hath persuaded against vs our dere vncle of England by peruers imaginacions, whiche I trust will neuer be our enemy. This many times the Emperor would comen with the Englishe ambassadors whiche lay in Spayne.

But now must I returne to the Cardinal of England whiche lay at Amyas: there was great counsailyng from day to day: Fyrst how the Pope should be deliuered, and the sea of Rome brought to a quiethes: Secondarily how to bryng the Emperor to some reasonable agreement so that the French kynges children might be deliuered. It was well considered that themperor had a great fordell by reason of the sayd. ii. hostages, whiche fordel might perchaunce so stomacke him ẏ he would agre to no new condicions nor agrementes. Then it was answered on the otherside that if a great armye were sent into Italy whiche might driue the Emperors power out of Italy, then that armye should set the Pope at libertie & also driue themperor to come to their purpose, or els he should leese both the realmes of Naples & Scycylle, and the duchie of Myllayn and other dominions, wherfore the French kyng determined to send an army royal into Italy vnder the conduict of Monsire Odyt de Lawtrick erle of Foys, which was appointed afore in Iune to go to the borders of Italy with

with a small nomber, but now to him was assigned viii. M. Bretons with notable capitaines of thesame coūtrey, and. viii. M. Normans with like capitaines, and. viii. M. Gascoynes, and vi. M. Burgonians, iii. M. Sauosyns, viii. M. Swyches and Almaines, and. vi. M. Pycardes of whiche men were. v. M. horsemen vnder the conduict of Mounsire Galyas, & in this army went sir Robert Iernyngham & Ihon Carew of Hakam and. lxxx. other English gentlemen whiche were sent thither by the Cardinall from Amyas. When this army was assembled, the Cardinal deliuered the kyng of Englandes money that he had brought out of England in barrels as you haue heard, with which money was this armye payed two monethes before hand, and the remnant was deliuered to sir Robert Iernyngha which was called treasorer of the warres. In this army were. iii. M. cariage men, and aduenturers. iiii. thousand, so that when they were ouer the mountaines they wer. lix. M. men, and some writers say C. thousand. This armye was called in Latin *Exercitus Anglie et Gallorum Regum, pro Pontifico Romano liberando congregatus*, that is to say, the armye of the kynges of England, and Fraunce gathered for the deliueraunce of the bishoppe of Rome, and so was this armye reputed. Although fewe people knewe at the beginnyng in Englande of the conueiyng of the money ouer the sea, yet when the Englishe coyne was the common payment of the armye it was then openly knowen: then many men sayd alas, so much mony spent out of the realme, and of this charge the realme shall not be one peny the better, the kyng hath had of vs a loane and that is not payde, and the great subsedie was graūted to make the kyng riche and now is that money to helpe our old enemies and the Pope which neuer shall do vs good, this the people spake and muche worse. While the Cardinal was with the Frenche kyng, the Pope sent to him a bull and made him Vicar general vnder him through all the kyng of Englandes dominions, and there by a bull he created Anthony de Prato bishop of Sens and Chauncelor to the French kyng a Cardinal with great solempnitie. The Cardinall for his solace rode with the French kyng to Compeigne and Mountdedier, and was euer highly feasted of the kyng and his mother and of the Chauncellor of Fraunce, and of all the nobilitie. Then was it concluded by the Cardinal & the Frēche kynges counsail what articles of offer should be sent to the Emperor, which if he refused, then open defiaunce to be made to him in the name of both the kynges: The proffers were these.

English money deliuered.

Fyrst that the French kyng should pay for his raunsome xxv. M. crounes whiche amounteth to. v. M. pound sterlyng, one writer calleth it two myllions of crounes.

The second to release all the pencion that he had in Naples with al the right of the same.

The third, that he should neuer clayme title to the duchie of Myllain.

The. iiii. that he should release the superioritie of Flaunders for euer & the right that he had to the citie of Turnay.

The. v. to release all the homages of all other persones within the sayd countreys.

The. vi. to withdrawe his army out of Italy.

The. vii. to forsake the ayde of the Swyches against the Emperor.

The. viii. to take no more the part of Robert de la Marche against the Emperor.

The. ix. neuer to ayde the kyng of Nauerne against him, although he had maried the kynges sister.

The. x. neuer to ayde ỹ duke of Gelder nor to chalenge thesame duchy.

The. xi. to ayde the Emperor with shippes and men to his coronacion.

The. xii. to mary lady Elianor the quene of Portyngale sister to the Emperor.

The. xiii. that the Dolphyn should mary the sayd quenes daughter.

The. xiiii. that if the French kyng had any children male by the sayd quene, then the duchy of Burgoyne to remayne to the sayd child being a male.

The. xv. that the French kyng should be frende to the Emperor & his frendes, and enemy to his enemies.

These with many other articles which wer not openly knowen wer sent to the bishop of Tarby and the vicount of Thorayn ambassadors to the Emperor from the French kyng.

And

And other articles wer sent to the kyng of Englandes ambassadors beyng in Spayne: fyrst to moue the Emperor to take a reasonable peace with the French kyng.

Also that the kyng of England would release to him all the sumnes of money due to him aswell by themperor Maximilian his graūdfather as by himselfe, and take the French kyng as detter for thesame.

Item if the Emperor would not therto agree, then the French kyng should mary the lady Mary doughter to the king of Englād and they both to be enemies to the Emperor.

When all these thinges wer concluded, the Cardinal toke his leaue of the French kyng and his mother (whiche tolde him that a noble ambassade should be shortly sent again into England from the realme of Fraunce for fortefiyng of all conclusions) and so the sayd Cardinall with great rewardes returned with all his traine & by iorneys the last day of September he came to Rychmond to the king of England and there ascertained the kyng of all his doynges, but so could no lord that then was in Cōmission with him, for they knew nothing of all his doynges, whiche sore greued their stomackes.

The Cardinal which much reioysed in this peace, came ỹ first day of the terme into the starre chamber & there by his cōmaundement wer present the lordes spirituall and temporal of the kynges counsail, and the Maior and Aldermen of the citie of London, and the iudges of the law, & all the Iustices of peace of all shyres then beyng at Westminster. And then he sayd, how much is the realme of England bounde to God for the high peace that now is concluded? A high peace, yea such a peace as was neuer cōcluded betwene no realme, for by my labor and industry I haue knit the realmes of England and Fraunce in suche a perfite knot ỹ it shall neuer fayle, for the thre estates of Fraunce (which here we cal a Parliament) haue affirmed thesame, and therfore now my lordes be mery for the kyng shal neuermore charge you with warres in Fraunce, nor the Mayer and other marchaūtes shall neuer be charged farther with expences, so that with exaccions for warres of Fraūce you shall no more be charged, for the kyng shall haue no nede, because that he by this league shalbe the richest prince of the world, for I assure you he shall haue more treasure out of Fraūce yerely then all his reuenewes and customes amount to, yea and count his wardes, forfeites and all suche casualties. Now syth you haue suche an honorable peace & suche a profitable peace how much be you boūd to him which hath brought this peace about for this is a peace *in secula seculorum*. And because this peace is so noble it is sealed with a seale of golde, and so he caused all there present to looke on the seale, which was the verye great seale of Fraunce printed in fine gold: at this tale many a man after laughed to thinke how the Cardinall lyed, for they knew that that he sayd was for his owne glory, and nothing should folowe as he sayd.

The French kyng accordyng to his appointment sent the lorde Annas of Momorancy great master of his house and after that high Constable of Fraunce, and the bishop of Bayon, the chiefe president of Roan and Mounsire de Hunyers, as his Ambassadors to the kyng of England accompanied with. lx. gentlemen well appointed, whiche the. xiiii. day of October lāded at Doner whose seruauntes demeaned theselfes so in passing through Kent that much busines was to lodge thē in Lōdon, but the Cardinal cōmaunded corporacions of the citie to prouide lodgyng for them which was neuer seen before, wherat the people murmured sore saiyng that the Cardinal was all Frenche. So on the. xx. day of October the sayd Ambassadors wer met on Black heth by ỹ Marques of Exeter, the bishop of London, the Vycount Rocheford and lorde Mountioy with many men of honor & gentlemen to the nomber of. v. C. horses and more. The Maior and Aldermen of the citie of Lōdon and the chief comminers on horsebacke in their gounes mette the said ambassadors at S. Georges bar & there was made to them a solempne Oracion, & so frō thence they wer conueyed through Lōdon to ỹ bishop of Londons palays & there and nere there about they wer well lodged.

The citezens of London presēted them with. v. fat oxen, xx. shepe, xii. Swannes, xii. Cranes. A present geuen by ye

otie to the French ambassadors.

Cranes, xii. Fesantz, iiii. dosyn Patriches, xx. loaues of Suger, Comfettes & other spyce and waxe, and. viii. hoggesheades of wyne with many other thinges whiche I cannot reherse.

On tewsday beyng the. xxii. day of Septēber, the saiđ ambassadors wer conueyed by water to Grenewyche, where before the kyng sittyng vnder his clothe of estate the foresayd Mounsire Bayon president of Roan made an eloquent proposicion in the whiche he much thāked the kyng for sendyng so high an ambassador as the Cardinall was, a man of such prudence & wit as it appeared by ẏ knittyng of the league, that like to him could none be found, for by his only mediacion the. ii. princes wer accorded so surely as neuer wer princes before that time, so ẏ by this cōfederacion the Pope & his Cardinals whiche wer in captiuitie & thraldome should by the power of these. ii. princes be deliuered & all the Emperors power should be clene banished & driuen out of Italy, and the Pope should be restored to his olde estate and dignitie again.

When this Oracion was done & an answere made to thesame, the kyng welcomed al the gentlemen of Fraunce & then they had wyne and spyce brought to them, wherof they toke part and dranke & so departed to their barge. Daily these ambassadors repaired to ẏ Cardinals place and there wer highly entertained, & the morow after S. Symons day & Iude the bishop of Bayon & a great nomber of ẏ French gentlemen dyned at the Maiors feast, & so they taried in London til Alhalonday, on whiche day the kyng accompanied with the Ambassadors of Fraūce & all his nobilitie rode to the Cathedral church of S. Paule wher the Cardinal sang Masse, & after masse done ẏ people wer desired to pray, that by their praiers Pope Clement might the soner be deliuered out of captiuitie: and when that was done the kyng of England before the aulter sware to kepe and performe the league. The cōmon people sayd what nede all this swearyng, the French kyng was once sworne and all his nobilitie, yea & all his good tounes, but yet they brake with vs, and so will they againe when they see an auauntage.

The French kyng knight of the Garter.

For the more loue to be engendered betwene these two princes it was concluded ẏ the kyng of England should elect the Frēche kyng knight of the noble order *of the Garter*, and that the French kyng should elect the kyng of England companion of his order of saint Mychel, whiche eleccions passed on both parties. Wherfore in all spede ẏ kyng sent sir Arthur Plantagenet Vycount Lysle & bastard sonne to king Edward the fourth, Doctor Taylor Master of the Rolles, sir Nycholas Carew knight Master of ẏ kynges horses, and sir Anthony Broune knight, & sir Thomas Wryothesley knight beyng Garter kyng of armes of the order, with the whole habite coller and habilimentes of ẏ order, which order he receiued on sonday the. x. day of Nouēber in the citie of Paris & rode in the sayd habit frō the house of saint Poule to our lady church and there heard a solempne Masse & dyned in his robe of the order, hauyng with him thambassadors of Englād, and thesame night he made to them a banket & so the next day they departed. In likewyse the selfe same sonday the kyng at Grenewiche receiued ẏ order of saint Mychel by the handes of the great Master of Fraunce and Mounsire Huniers compaignions of thesayd order: and they al there ware the Mantles of the sayd order which were of cloth of siluer embrodered with Fraūces knottes & kocle shelles & the collor was of thesame deuise hauing hangyng before the brest the image of saint Mychel, and in these Mantels they went doune to the chapel to Masse and there heard Masse, whiche was song by a bishop, & after Masse they returned to the kinges chamber where was made a great feast, and after diner which was late they wer conueyed into the tyltyard and there were Iustes of pleasure xii. against xii. whiche valiauntly furnished their courses til they had broken C. staues, and then they departed, for night was sodainly come. Then the kyng brought the Ambassadors to the newe banket chamber whiche was hāged with a costly verdor all new, the ground therof was all gold and the flowers were all of Sattyn siluer so that by the brightsomenes of the gold, the flowers appered so freshly that they semed as they were growyng in dede, the cupberdes of gold and gilte plate with the eweryes, thesame I ouer passe because you haue herd thereof in the beginnyng of this yere. Then the king, quene and ambassadors satte doune

The kyng of England knight of the order of saint Mychel.

doune to supper & were serued with lxxxx. dishes, all the galleryes and chambers were full of lordes, knightes & gentlemen, & the garrates aboue full of French lackays & verlettes whiche wer pleteously serued.

After supper was done, the kyng led the ambassadors into the great chamber of disguisinges, & in the ende of thesame chamber was a foũtaine, and on the one side was Hawthorne tree all of silke with white flowers, and on the other side of the fountaine was a Mulbery tree ful of fayre beryes all silke, on the toppe of the Hawthorne was the armes of England compassed with the coller of the garter of S. Mychel, & in the toppe of the Moulberie tree stode the armes of Fraunce within a garter. This fountaine was all of white Marble grauen & chased, the bases of thesame were balles of golde supported by rampyng beastes wounde in leues of golde. In the first worke were gargylles of gold fiersly faced with spoutes running. The second receit of this foũtaine was enuironed with wynged serpentes all of golde whiche gryped the second receite of the fountain, & on the sõmit or toppe of thesame was a fayre lady out of whose brestes ran aboundantly water of merueilous delicious sauer. About this foũtaine were benches of Rosemary fretted in braydes layde on gold, all the sydes sette with roses in braunches as they wer growyng about this fountaine. On the benches sat viii. fair ladies in straung attier & so richely appareled in cloth of gold embrodered and cut ouer siluer, that I cannot expresse the connyng workemãship therof. Then when the kyng and quene were set, there was played before them by children in the Latin tongue in maner of Tragedy, the effect wherof was that ỹ pope was in captiuitie & the church brought vnder the foote, wherfore S. Peter appeared and put the Cardinal in authoritie to bryng the Pope to his libertie and to set vp the church againe, and so the Cardinall made intercession to the kinges of England and of Fraunce, that they tooke part together, and by their meanes the pope was deliuered. Then in came the Frenche kynges children and complayned to the Cardinal how the Emperor kept them as hostages and would not come to no reasonable point with their father, wherfore thei desired ỹ Cardinal to helpe for their deliuerãce, which wrought so with the kyng his master and the French kyng that he brought the Emperor to a peace, and caused the two yong princes to be deliuered. At this play wisemen smiled & thought that it sounded more glorious to the Cardinal then true to the matter in dede.

The hanquetting house.

A play.

When the play was done and. iiii. companies of maskers daunsed, the king, the great master of Fraunce, the duke of Suffolke, the Marques of Exceter, sir Edward Newel and other thre appareled in cloth of gold and purple Tynsell sattyn set with cut warkes of cloth of siluer plyghted goord fret and folded eche cloth vpon other, and one plucked vnder another very richely: they had also mantels of crimosyn Sattyn cast about them Bauderike wise, so that the other garmentes might largely appeare, and then they entered with noyse of mynstrelsie and toke the ladies that sat about the fountaine and daũsed with them very lustely, and when they had daunsed inough then they put of their visers and were knowen, and so with disport al this night passed.

The next day the great master and all his company toke their leaue of the kyng (except the bishop of Bayon whiche abode as Ambassador in England) and were highly rewarded and so passed to Douer and toke ship there and landed at Bullein.

The ambassadors departed.

After that the Frenchmen wer departed ỹ cõmons spake sore against the Cardinal & sayd that the Frenchmen did neuer good to England, and for the Cardinals pleasure we should forsake our old frẽdes and receiue our olde enemies. When the Cardinal heard of these saiynges he was not content, wherfore he sent a Cõmission to the Maior of Lõdon to cõmaunde al men not to talke of ỹ kinges affayres & busines or of ỹ quene, or of the kynges counsail. And if any person spake or talked of any of these matters, then he to be taken & brought to the Cardinal. When this commaundement was once knowen, euery man mistrusted other and noman durst breake his mynde to other.

In this moneth of Nouember the Cardinal as legate called ỹ whole clergie before him at Westminster & there he sayd that all the abusions of the church should be amended, but he

Arthur, Bilney, Geffery Lome and Garret.

he did nothyng therto, but abiured Arthur, Bylney, Geffery Lome, and Garret that spake against the Popes auctho*r*itie and his pompe and pride.

A great derth of wheate.

By reason of the great raines whiche fell in the sowing time & in the beginning of the last yere, now in the beginning of this yere corne began sore to fayle throughout the realme, insomuche that in the citie of London, bread for a while was very skant and people did starue daily for bread, for wheat so failed that none could be gotten for money. Sauyng that the king of his goodnes sent to the citie of his owne prouision. vi. C. quarters, or els for a weeke there had been litle bread in Lõdon, yet was the scarcitie more then ẏ derth: For then wheate was only at. xv. s. the quarter & frõ thẽce it rose to. xx. s. and after to. xxvi. s. viii. d. the quarter. Men sayd that the negligẽce was in sir Thomas Seymer knight then Maior. Many substancial men would haue made prouision for their houses, but they feared lest the cõmualtie would haue taken it from them. Then were cõmissions sent into all shyres and commissioners appointed to se what wheat was in the realme, and the commissioners ordered that no wheate should be conueyed out of one shyre to another, which cõmaundement had like to haue raysed trouble, and specially the citie of London ẇ thesame was sore agreued, for thei had no arable ground to sowe, but must make prouision with money, which prouision was them denyed in diuers shyres by that cõmaundement, whereat the citezens grudged, so the Maior and Aldermen seyng that the people began to murmur, came to the Cardinall & moued him of the mischiefe that was like to ensue: either the people must dye for famyne or els they with strong hand will fetche corne from them that haue it. To whõ he answered ẏ they should haue wheat inough out of Fraũce, for the French kyng sayd to me q^{t} the Cardinal that if he had but thre bushels of corne in all Fraunce, England should haue twayne so muche he loueth & regardeth this realme: with this answer they departed & euery day loked for Frẽche wheate but none came: and farther such wheat as ẏ marchaũtes of England had brought and shipped in Normandy and other places wer there restrained, so that the relefe there failed, but the gentle marchaũtes of ẏ Styliard brought frõ Danske, Breme, Hamborough and other places great plẽtie, & so did other marchaũtes from Flaũders, Holand, and Frisland, so that wheat was better chepe in Lõdon then in all England ouer. Then the people sayd, see how we had been serued by the Frenchmen in our necessitie if themperors subiectes had not holpen vs. For this kyndnes the cõmon people loued themperor the better & all his subiectes. The kyng of his goodnes hearyng that ẏ wheat in Fraunce was stopped, mused not a litle, & so for comfort of his citie of Lõdon he lent M. quarters, for the whiche they both thãked him and praied for him. Then within short space the marchauntes of London so diligently made prouision in all places for Wheat & Rye, that after Christmas they lacked none, and all the parties adioynyng to them wer fain to fetche wheate of them and none to them was denied notwithstãdyng their vnkynd cõmaundement geuen that the Londoners should none haue of them.

Now let vs speake of the army ẏ the lorde Lawtrick had into Italy at ẏ charges of the king of England & the Frenche kyng for ẏ deliueraũce of pope Clement. The lord Lawtrick after that his whole army was come to him to Lyous, & that al thinges necessary wer in readines, then he set forward with great diligence: but or he had passed ẏ mountaines ẏ Venicians army was come into Lõbardy abidyng ẏ cõmyng of the Frenchmen, & in the meane season they marched toward themperors army whiche lay at ẏ citie of Myllain. Wherof hearing Anthony de Leua with viii. C. Almaines and Spaniardes on foote, & as many Italians marched forward to mete ẇ thẽ, & by force caused thẽ to take the toune of Meligna for refuge, where he hearing ẏ Ihon de Medices with a great nomber wer cõmyng toward the Venicians, he in the euenyng or his enemies were aware sodainly set on the sayd Ihon de Medyces, whiche began to set his men in an order, but he was so enclosed that he could do nothing, but tooke his horse and fled and left his company alone, which were slaine almost all, and lost. iiii. great pieces of ordinaunce, whiche Anthony de Leua caried with him to Myllain. In which season the lorde Lawtrick with his army was passed

the

the mountaines and was come to the citie of Aster abidyng the Swyches, where he heard tell how that Lewes Erle of Lodron with a great crew of Almaines was come to the toune of Boske nye Alexādry with money and vitail to ayde the Almaines that kept Alexandrye: wherfore he sent his horsemen to stoppe them that they should not passe to Alexandry, and after them he folowed with his whole army and beseged them in Boske which a certain daies defended, but at the last they yelded the toune, & became souldiers to the lord Lawtrick. In this same season Andrewe Dorye admyral of the Frenché nauy lay before the hauen of Gene and kept the Genowayes from al marchaundise and vitailes which to the citie might repaire, & in especial he letted certain shippes of corne whiche lay at Pont de Ferry betwene Gene and Sauona to come to Gene. The Genowayes whiche lacked corne and were on the land side besieged by a citezen of their own which was on the Frenche part called Cesar Fulgosus, imagined how to bring the shippes of corne into the citie, and when they sawe that Andrewe Dorye had but xvii. Galyes. They prepared vi. galeyes to fight w Andrewe Dorye. Duryng which fight the shippes with corne shuld entre ỹ hauen. When the galeys wer abrode, a sodain tempest rose with such a violence, that Andrew Dorye was fayne to take ỹ port of Sauona for his succor, and so the shippes of corne came safe into the hauen of Geane, & all the galeys in safetie: this good was fortune to Geane at this tyme.

When the citezens of Geane were thus vitailed, they tooke to them good courage and in warlike maner issued out agaīst Cesar Fulgosus which knew well that thei had litle more then iii. C. Spaniardes that could skyll of the war, & as for the remnant were neither of stomacke nor of experience in warre, wherfore he boldly set on them, and whyle they were fighting without, the citezens within which be euer mutable, sodainly cried Fraunce Fraunce, which clamour came to the eares of Adurnus whiche was imperial, wherfore he retired backe into the citie to appeace the rumor, but their enemies folowed them in such hast that both entred together and so Geane was become Frenche. Then thither came the lordē Lawtrick and put there a capitaine with a retinue for ỹ safe kepyng of the citie. Then Adurnus duke of Geane whiche was in the castle with diuers of the Emperors frendes and lacked vitail & saw no comfort of reskue, yelded the castle vpon condicion to depart with bagge and baggage & so they did. In the meane season certain Frenchmen which were left at Boske defaced the toune and then came before Alexandrie, & there kept a siege volant that no ayde nor succor should come to the toune, till the whole army wer assembled to besiege ỹ toune. But for al that purpose, by the Dounes of Alexandrie, Albericke Barbian with v. C. souldiers came into the toune whiche much comforted the garrison there which was in maner dismaied because their ayde at Boske had fayled them. The Frenchmen besieged the toune and bet it with ordinaunce and they within manfully defended it and made new countermures so that their enemies could not enter without ieopardy. But at the last ỹ Venicians brought thither great pieces of ordinaūce which so sore bet the walles that Baptist Lodryn the capitain saw that he was not able to defende it & so he deliuered the toune vpō this cōposicion that he & his should depart with bagge & baggage, & he nor his to weare no harnys against the Frēche kyng nor his confederates by ỹ space of vi. monethes. Then the lorde Lawtrick deliuered the toune to Fraūces Sforcia according to ỹ league, which Fraūces put there a cōuenient garrisō. Thēce ỹ army remoued to Belgrasse which to thē was yelded & also deliuered to ỹ duke of Myllain, & frō thēce they remoued toward ỹ citie of Myllain, wherof hering Anthony de Leua fortefied ỹ castle of Myllayn and sent Lewes Barbyan to defende the citie of Pauye. When the lord Lawtrick was wiū viii. myle of Myllayn, he sodainly returned toward Pauy, whiche men iudged to be done for ỹ displeasure that was done there to the Frenchemen when their king was taken, & so the. xix. day of September they besieged Pauye, and daily betwene them wer great skirmishes, but at last they bet the walles so with great ordinaunce that they made the toune assautable. Then the Frenchmen threwe into the dyches fagottes and emptye pipes and shortly entred the toune. The capitain perceiuyng the toune entered, opened the gate and yelded himselfe prisoner.

Then the Frenchmen slewe and kyled on euery side, robbed and spoyled houses and churches & spared no person nor place, and of crueltie rāsomed one man v. or vi. tymes, & the Gascoynes whiche were moste cruel set fyer in the fayre houses & had brent the whole citie if the lord Lawtrick after vii. dayes spoilyng had not commaunded them to cease. When Pauye was thus taken & spoyled the lorde Lawtrick determined with the Cardinal Innocent Legate of Bonony, which was come for the deliueraunce of the Pope incōtinent to passe to Rome and to driue away al the Emperors power frō thence, and to restore the pope to libertie.

Fraunces Sforcia duke of Myllayn hearing of this determinacion came to the lord Lawtrick to Pauye and required him first to rid the duchy of Myllayn of themperors souldiers, rather then to go forward and leaue his enemies behynd him. The lord Lawtrick answered that he was of thesame opinion, but the cōmission that he had of the French kyng and the kyng of England was, that with all spede he should go forward to deliuer the bishop of Rome, which done he faythfully promised that he would returne and expulse all the Emperors power out of Lombardy, and in the meane season he would that the duke and the Venicians should besiege Anthony de Leua in the castle of Myllayn. Duke Fraunces semed to be content with this answer, but yet he perceiued that the French kyng cared not for his restoryng lest he should be emperial. So for that tyme the duke dissembled the matter & tooke possession of the citie of Pauye. When the lorde Lawtrick had layen xvi. dayes at Pauy, he dismyssed ỹ Swyches whiche in no wise would go with him to Rome, wherfore he marched forward ẅ his owne army & came to Plesance where he cōcluded a league with Alphons duke of Farrer & Frederike marques of Mantua, so ỹ then he knew wel that he might wel passe in saftie: & then ingood order of battail he marched toward Rome for ỹ finishing of his enterprise. But or he was passed out of Lōbardy themperor had sent letters to ỹ B. of Rome & excused himself that he neither willed nor commaunded such mischief to be done, & straightly cōmaunded his capitaines to deliuer him. The prince of Orenge & other capitaines of themperors hearing his cōmaūdemēt, toke agremēt ẅ the pope & his Cardinals, & so he & xii. Cardinals wer boūd to performe certen articles to ỹ nōber of xi. & then he was deliuered out of the Castle sainct Angell the. x. day of December and was conueyed to Oruyet, where after he had paied certaine money for the souldiars wages he was put at full libertie & the Emperors people departed from him, and thence he remoued to Ancona. When tidynges was brought into England of his *deliueraunce* the Cardinal in great hast caused *Te deum* to be song on Newyeres day in the kinges chapel and declared opēly that he was escaped & sayd not deliuered, which made many men to muse: and on sonday the. v. day of Ianuary the Cardinal with great *triumph* came to the churche of saint Paule in London, and on him attended diuers prelates of the clergy and there *Te deum* was song again, and after that doctor Capon opēly declared how that bishop Clement had been long kept in distres by faulte of tyrānes and infidels and so kept as prisoner to the behofe of Charles the Emperor, tyll now of late through the praiers of good Christen people he was escaped the hādes of his enemies, for whiche cause he wylled all men to geue thankes to God: That night were great fyers made in the kynges court and in all London. Shortly after this trueth was knowen, that the Pope was deliuered by composicion and not frely escaped as the Cardinall had blowen abrode, but men sayd that he could not leaue his liyng.

Clement pope delivered.

Whyle the lorde Lawtrick was cōtinually goyng forwarde to deliuer pope Clement, he was *credibly enformed at Bonnony* that he was deliuered and at his libertie, wherfore he thought his iorney voyde to go to Rome to do nothing, he therfore determined to turne toward Naples and to take the citie if it were not fortefied or replenished with men of war, & so according to this purpose he iornied forward with great diligence. The Emperors capitaines perceiuyng the Frenchemennes entent, caused all their souldiers to depart out of Rome *in the* beginnyng of February (which was against the minde of the souldiers) and so came into the realme of Naples and fortefied certain tounes as they pāssed, and so came to

to a toune called Troy and there they taried: This remouyng was to them very profitable. For if they had taried at Rome they had been set on with the Italians on the one side, & the Frenchmen on the otherside, that by euery mans iudgement they should all haue been taken or slaine. The lorde Lawtrick departed from Bonnony to Inmole and so to Fayance Forlicke Pezere, Senegal, Ancone, Rauenna, Loret and to Ferne which is at the foote of the mountaines of Sybylles in the duchie of Bresse percell of the realme of Naples, in whiche toune were certain nobles of that coūtrey whiche seyng the army so puissant departed thence to Naples. As the armye passed the mountaines in the Lent season, there died of very cold v. C. Gascoynes and mo, and so with much paine they came nere to Troy in Puylle the xv. day of Marche where the Spaniardes and the Emperors army lay. Sir Robert Iernynghā of England which was capitain of the light horsemen, knowing their enemies so nere, desired the lorde Lawtrick that he with his company might assay the Spaniardes. The lorde Lawtrick (whether it was for lacke of corage, or that he were corrupted by money) in no wise would suffre sir Robert Ierningham to fight, but saied he would take theim at a more auantage shortly, which answere sore greued sir Robert, in somuche he saied he would accuse hym, to both the kynges their Masters.

The Spaniardes whiche laie at Troy, thought to entre Naples before the Frenchmen, and so on the. xxi. daie of Marche beeyng Saterdaie, thei remoued and came to Naples, & fortified the citee, whiche was happie for the Emperor, for surely if the Frenchmen had come first, they had been Masters of the citee. After the Emperors people were departed from Troy, as you haue hard, the Frenchmen besieged it, and within a xi. daies it was to them yelded, and from thēce thei remoued to Melphe, a strong litle toune, where thei slewe & put to flight. iiii. M. Spaniardes but thei lost many of their men ther, so that this toune was not to them very profitable: Sith the armie was entered into the realme of Naples there was euer some sickenes emongest them, and in especial there raygned emongest thē a sore hote feuer, of the whiche many gentlemen died or thei came to Naples, for at the toune of Verse there died sir Richarde Iernyngham, & Ihon Carew of Hackam, two valiant capitaines, sent thether by the kyng of Englande and diuerse other, whiche twoo gentlemen be there buried.

When the Frenchemen had taken Melphe, thei remoued to Boniuēt and from thence to Magdelon, where thei laye all Easter: and after Easter thei came before the citee of Naples, and firste they tooke the palace that standeth without the citee, very pleasant to beholde, and after that was taken, thei planted their siege round aboute the citee, and cast trenches, and made fortificaciōs, for the defence of sodain inuasions of their enemies: all the whole armie laye in an open plaine ground, without couerture very nere the citee, by reason whereof, thei wer sore cūbered with hete and drougth, whereupon ensued greate mortalitie and death, for if thei had lien on the hill side nere couerte, thei had lien more wholesomly, but their intent was to lye nere the citee, to the intent to kepe their enemies straight, and therfore thei planted their siege in the playne, whiche turned them to muche displeasure and disease. Thus was the siege plāted before Naples, in the beginnyng of Aprill, & continued till the. xxvi. daie of August nexte insuyng, and then by meane of mortalitie they remoued as you shall here.

While the lord Lawtreck was thus passing toward Naples, sir Frāces Poynes Knight, which was sent with Clarenseaux kyng of Armes into Spain to the Emperor, returned into England before Christmas, in thende of December, and left Clarenseaux behynde, to bryng farther answere frō themperor of thynges demaunded, wherof he said he would take longer auice or he would answere. This sir Frances reported that the Emperor so muche fauored and estemed the kyng of England, that at his onely request and contemplacion, he had released and discharged twelue articles, whiche wer moste greuous & disprofitable to the Frēche kyng, not for the French kynges sake, but at the intercessiō of the kyng of Englande: yet this notwithstandyng, the Cardinall so inuegled the kyng, that he so highly fa-

uoured the French kyng, that all his causes he tooke and reputed as his awne, and did all that he might, to bryng the Frenche kynges purposes aboutê.

The Emperor before this time had written to the Frenche kyng, and also aduertised thereof the French Ambassadors, that laye in Spaine, that he would that the Frenche kyng should sende to hym a diffinitiue answere, if he would withdrawe his people out of Italy or not, and lett the Duchie of Millain alone, and to cease of all Inuasions or not, and this answere to be geuen the last day of Ianuary folowyng, and if the said French kyng answered not by that day, then the lacke of answer to be taken for a defiaunce. Then the French Ambassadors before the day, shewed to the Emperour, the proffer which the Frenche kyng offered to hym in articles, as you haue harde before in the conclusion taken at Amias by the Frenche Kyng and the Cardinall in August laste passed. Which profers when the Emperoure had hard and seen, he saied to the Ambassadours, we thought surely that our cosin the French kyng and we, had been at a full conclusion, when the league and appoyntmẽt was agreed at our toune of Madrill: for when he sued for his deliuerance to vs, he and his counsaill offered vs certain profers, whiche wee neuẽr demaunded, but we of pitie hauyng compassion of his affliccion, accepted thesaied offers, and agreed to his deliuerance, whiche Articles he promised in the othe of a Kyng, & also on the holy Euangelistes, to performe to the vttermoste, and thẽ inuiolatly to obserue and kepe. Wherupon wee clerely remitted, and deliuered hym into his countrey, of all which promises he hath performed none, wherfore we take him as periured, and not worthy to be trusted. and nowe he offereth newe offers, which he cannot performe, as for the money we beleue he is able to pay, but as for money dewe for the kyngdom of Naples, we knowe no suche dutie, for it is our inheritaunce, although kyng Charles the seuenth, by sotletie once vsurped thesame, which he lõg not enioied: as to release his title to Millain, that release is voyde, for the Duchie is Imperiall, and in our gifte as many other seigniories be: and as touchyng Tournay, ours it is of right and now in our possession: So that in all these thynges he would release and rendre thynges that he hath not: and as to the withdrawyng of his armie out of Italy, he shall not nede, for we truste that our armie shall expell them all Italy, maugre their hartes. And as touchyng the Kyng of Nauarr, the Duke of Gelder, and Robert de la Marche, we of pitie let them alone till we se our tyme, and then they shall knowe our puyssaunce: And as touchyng his offre to aide vs with a nauie, we trust we haue such a nauie prouided, that we shall nede none of his: and where he saith he will mary our sister quene Aelienor, daughter to ỹ kyng of Portyngall, if he had been true, that he might haue dooen or this, but now wee entende not to geue her to our enemie: and as touchyng her daughter to bee maried to the Dolphyn, that wee leaue in suspence for this tyme: But where he saieth that he will defend vs, that toucheth our honour, for well knoweth he that our awne might and puyssaunce, hath euer defended vs, and him and his power hath defaced and vanquished wherefore we nede not of his defence, which is not able to defend hymself: and as touchyng the kyng of Englandes debt, we shall reasonably answere his Ambassadours, for that toucheth not the Frenche Kyng: But now my Lordes Ambassadours, saied the Emperor, let the French Kyng your Master, fulfill the promise that he was sworne to, as a true Prince ought to do, and then he shall haue his children deliuered, or els accordyng to his othe, let hym yelde hymself prisoner again, and so shal his honor and truthe be saued, or els not, so with this answere the Ambassadors departed. Neuerthelesse thei daily sued to the Emperour and his Counsaill to take the offers whiche were profered by the Frenche kyng, and emoagest other thynges, the warre was sore laied to the Frẽche Ambassadours charge, for that that the Frenche kyng made warre on the Emperours possessions, without cause and without defiaunce, to whiche accusement they answered that that armie was procured by the Cardinal of Englande, when he was at Amias, for the deliuery of Clement Bishop of Rome, and that the kyng of England bare the moste charge. When the Emperour hard this answere, he sent for the Ambassadoure of Englande, and to hym saied: My Lorde Ambassadoure, I muche maruaill why the kyng your Master, hath so great loue

Themperors answer to the foresaied Articles.

to

to the Frenche kyng, his newe reconsiled frende, and withdrawen his loue frō me, that am his cosyn and alye: How fortuneth this, that your olde auncient enemies bee now in fauoure, and your olde frendes cast out of fauoure. I se well there is indignaciō had at our estate, and wales sought to greue vs, whiche wee hope to withstande: But who would haue thought that our Vncle of Englande, would haue made warre on vs. How would he haue vs graunt his requestes and desires for the Frenche kyng, seyng he sheweth himself our open enemy: Then the Ambassadoure discretly answered, that he neither heard nor knewe of suche dooynges, on his faithe and honoure. Well saied the Emperoure, if it bee true that is reported, myne Vncle is not the Prince that I haue taken hym for, and if he be myne enemie, I muste withstande hym, and in a greate fury, the Emperoure withdrewe him from the Ambassadoure, to his priuie chamber.

Daily the Ambassadours, bothe of Englande and of Fraunce, sollicited themperor and his counsaill, to accept the French Kynges offers, which made euer answere, that thei would not truste to the newe promise, seyng that the olde promise which was sworne, was not obserued and kept. Nowe whosoeuer indifferently shall consider the Articles which were offered in the treatie of Madrill, and the Articles offered now at Amias, shall openly perceiue, that the greatest thyng which the Frenche kyng refused to do, was the deliuery of the Duchie of Burgoyn and the Countie Charoloys, for declaracion whereof, the French kyng sent for all the nobles of bothe the countreys, and declared to them this promise and concord, taken with the Emperor, which answered that no realme or dominion could be transferred to any forrein prince or person without the sentence, agrement, and submission of the nobles, and commons of thesame countrey, and therefore they would neuer assent to that alteraciō: This answer was deliuered to lorde Charles de la Noa Viceroy of Naples, then Ambassador for the Emperor in Fraunce, which thereof certified the Emperours counsaill. But the Emperoure and his Counsaill thought this to bee but a deceipte, in somuche as the French kyng had onely called suche of Burgoyne, as hym pleased, and not the substanciall of the countrey. And farther the Emperor so much desired the Duchie of Burgoyne, because he was the very heire there of bloude discended from duke Philip, soonne to kyng Ihon of Fraunce, that by no meanes he would haue that article broken, but he would haue that Duchie. The French kyng perceiued his mynd, & offered to hym greate sommes of money for the redemyng of that article, the kyng of Englād also offered to be suretie for the paiment: but all this could not moue the Emperoure, but he would haue Burgoyne, and all thesaied treatie and agrement performed.

The kyng of England considerynge how muche he had doen for the Emperor, and callyng to his remembraunce, bothe that the Lordes and Commons of Spaine, would not haue taken hym as kyng, his mother liuyng (although she were Lunatike) because she was heire, without his greate labour and intercession, and also that he holpe hym to be elected Emperour, which the Frenche kyng had obteigned, if he had not put thereunto his aide, and sent Docter Richard Pace his Secretory to the Electors to Franckeford, and moste of all that he at all tymes, had succoured thesaied Emperoure with money, and was not paied, wherefore he was not a litle displeased with the Emperours wilfulnes, but more with his vnkyndnes, and perceiued clerely, that sith by his meanes he was so exalted, that now he had forgottē all the kyndnes to him shewed wherefore he thought to make hym to knowe hymself by warres, the soner to bryng hym to accomplishe his request, and to make him to remēber his olde kyndnes, and so by the auise of the Cardinal of Yorke (which loued not the Emperour, for the Bishoppe of Romes case) and other of his counsaill, he sent woorde to Clarenseaux Kyng of armes, to make defiaunce to the Emperour, and so Guyan Herault for the French kyng and thesaid Clarenseaux for the kyng of Englande, the. xiiii. daie of Ianuary, in the citee of Burgues in Castle, came before the Emperour beyng nobly accompaignied with Dukes, Marqueses, Erles, and Barons, in his greate hall, and there made their defiaunce. Defiaunce made to the Emperour.

When the defiaunces were made by bothe the Kynges of Armes, as you haue heard, all the

the nobles which were present, as the Constable of Castell, the Duke of Massedonia, the Duke of Inuancaso, the Duke of Alberkirke, the Duke of Ciuill, the Duke of Nassaw, or Nazareth, the Duke of Aluoy, the Marques of Sturgus, the Marques of Aguar, the Marques of Villafranca, the Erle Barcelon, the Erle of Salamatero, the Erle Boniuent, the Erle Arowen, the Erle Aguiard, the Erle Salienas, the Erle Geneuer, with sixe great Lordes Commendatories Crossed, and many other noble menne and gentlemen, for a truthe to the nomber of seuen hundred at the least: all these drewe out their swerdes, and swore that the defiaunces then made should be reuenged, and saied to the Emperoure: Sir, if the dispite of this defiaunce be vnreuenged, the infamy & rebuke thereof, shall remain to vs and our heires for euer, wherefore our landes, lifes, and lordshippes, shalbe at your commaundement, and while any lyen of your succession remain, this ignominie shalbe euer newe and not dye, till you haue obteigned the double honor, against all your enemies.

When the Emperor was thus defied, the warre was Proclaimed in Ciuill, in Valedolite, in Burgus, & in other places through all Spain: But when the commen people heard of this defiaunce, they wrong them selfes by the berdes and sware, that all their landes and goodes should be spent, for the honor of the Emperor, and to bee reuenged on the French kyng, whom they called periured Prince, and so the common people cried in the stretes, now is come the tyme, that Spain shalbe renouned, and reuenged on the Frenchmen for their falsenes and wrong doynges. But alas saied they, why should we make warre with the Englishe nacion, which euer loued vs, and neuer offended vs: but this defiance procedeth not of them, but onely of the French kyng, and of the Cardinall of Englande, whiche is sworne French, thus the Spanyardes talked, and euer excused the kyng of Englande, and accused the Cardinall and saied, that he had a great pencion out of Spain, and that notwithstandyng, because he might not haue the bishoprike of Toledo, he caused all this warre. This Proclamacion of warre, was proclamed with baners displaied, in the which were painted a redde swerde, and a Cresset burning, against the French kyng and his parte takers, not meanyng the kyng of Englande, by expresse name, but it was rehersed in the Proclamacion, that the Kyng of England had manaced, and defied the Emperour, in the French kynges querell. Then wer the Englishe Merchantes in Spain attached, and their goodes put in safe custody, and to the was saied that they were staied onely, till the Emperour was aduertised, how his subiectes were ordered in England.

The Englishe Merchantes arrested in Spain.

Tidynges of this was first knowen in Fraunce, and from thence letters were sent to the French Ambassadours in London, how bothe the Ambassadors of Fraunce and of Englande, beyng in Spain, and Guien and Clarenseaux officers of Armes, wer retained by the Emperor as prisoners, which report was false, for thei were at libertie, and well cherished, and in especiall the Englishe Ambassadors and Clarēseaux wer frendly entertēined in all places. When the Cardinal hard this report, he was to light of credence (which he forthought afterward) and was sore therewith moued, and in his fury the. xii. day of February, he caused Don Hugo de Mēdosa, the Emperors Ambassador, to be taken out of his house, in sainct Swithines lane in London, and to be brought to sir Ihon Daunces place in Marke lane, as a prisoner, & his house with his goodes were kept by the Cardinalles seruauntes, till the kynges plesure wer farther knowen.

The Cardinalles saiyng in the Starre Chamber.

The morowe after beyng the. xiii. daie of February, the Cardinal beyng in the Starre chamber, called before hym al Iustices of the Peace, and other honest personages to a great nomber, and to them said: My lordes and all you the kynges louyng subiectes, his graces pleasure is that I should declare to you, howe that his highnes, not of his awne sekyng, but rather against his will and intent, is entered into warre: For the electe Emperor Charles the fifth, hath hym so handeled and moued, that he must of necessitie with hym make war. First, it is not vnknowen to you all how good the Kyng hath been to hym, sithe his infancie, how he hath defended his lowe countreis duryng his noneage? Ye, what paiu the king toke by his Ambassadors, to sollicite the lordes of Spain, which refused to take him as their kyng, while his mother liued, and by the kynges onely labor, he came to the kyngdom of

Spain, what it cost the kyng to helpe him to be Emperor, we that be his counsailers can tell, for if the kyng had not been, surely the Frēch kyng had been Emperor. Beside all these kyndnesses, he hath lent to thesaid Emperor, diuerse great sommes of money, to defend his countreys, & what profite his countreis haue by the resort of Englishmen thether, ye that be Merchauntes can tell: for these thynges with many mo proffites, commodities, and gratuities, the kyng of him is so litle regarded, that I am halfe ashamed to report it. True it is that Frances the Frenche kyng, was to hym prisoner (which chaunce hath happened to many high princes) the kyng our master, highly regardyng the peace of Christen princes, by which peace God might the more be glorified: disired the Emperour to take some resonable ende for his deliueraunce, and for that purpose hath sent to him sondery Ambassadors, which gaue them cares, but dalied with thē, and nothyng would do at all, and regarded no more his requestes, then I would the desire of my seruaunt (and peraduenture not so much) so that for all gratuities and frendshippes to hym, by the kyng our souereigne lorde, at all tymes shewed, he sheweth himself ingrate and vngentle, and for kyndnes rendereth vnkyndnes: as for the Frenche Kyng I assure you, he hath hūbled hymself asmuche as a prince maie, his honor saued. He hath offered hym so great offers, that excepte he should gene hym his realme and Croune, he can offer no more larger, which offers I assure you, sore minishe the beautie of his Croune, whiche I shall breuely declare vnto you. For he offereth to paie fiue hundred thousand poundes sterlyng, whereof three hundred thousande, to be paied in hand, for the remnaunt sufficient Bankers to be bound, and farther to discharge the Emperoure, of all suche sommes of money, as he oweth to the Kyng of Englande, and to deliuer hym a sufficient aquitaunce for thesame. Also where the French kyng should haue, out of the kyngdome of Naples an hundred thousande Crounes yerely, the Frenche kyng will release thesame pencion, with all the arrerages whiche are no small some. Also he will release his whole title and right, which he hath to the Duchie of Millayne, his very enheritaunce, and he neuer to chalenge or claime thesame nor his posteritie. Also where the Countie of Flaunders maie lawfully appeale to the Parliamentes of Fraunce, from iudgementes geuen by the Emperor or his Iustices, he is content to release thesame superioritie and resorte which is a greate minishement to the prerogatiue royall of the Realme of Fraunce, for whiche of you (said the Cardinal) would concent that the kyng should release his Seignioritie or superioritie of Wales, Irelande, or Cornewall, I dare saie you would rather spende your liues and goodes.

Farther where the Frenche Kyng bought of the Kyng the Citee of Tournay, for sixe hundred thousande Crounes and odde, yet he is content to yelde and release thesame Citee to the Emperoure for euer, yea, and beside this he offereth to take to wife, Elianor Quene Dowager of Portyngall, without any dower, yea, in her kirtell, & to endowe her with tenne thousande Markes sterlyng by the yere, and farther that the child if it be a male, whiche shalbee gotten of theim two, shalbee Duke of Burgoyne, and be partetaker of all the honours of Fraunce, whiche is a greate thyng: Also that the Dolphyn his sonne and heire, shall mary the daughter of thesaied Lady Elianor, without any treasure to bee receiued for thesame, whiche proffer is worthe two hundred thousand Markes sterlyng.

Farther more, he woll lende the Emperour Shippes and Mariners, to conueigh hym to Rome, and also defende him against all menne, yea, what woll he doo more, although the Kyng of Nauerr haue maried his awne sister, whose Kyngdome the Emperour kepeth by force, yet he offereth neither to ayde nor comforte hym against the Emperoure, but in his querel to be against him: Also he offereth to forsake his old and approued frendes, Sir Robert de la Marche, and the Duke of Gelders, whiche faithfully hath serued the realme of Fraunce, and all for the Emperours sake. But the Emperoure saied he, is so indurate, so vnkynde and wilfull, that he neither regardes these reasonable requestes, nor yet the Kynges praiers nor requestes, but answered and saied: that if the Frenche kyng can doo all this, he shall haue his children So that the Emperour woll truste no manne, but euery manne must truste hym: Yet the Frenc h Kyng offereth farther, to withdrawe the puyssaunt armye of the Lorde Lawtrecke in Italy, and yet thesame passeth prosperiously forwarde, and is like to doo

the

the Emperour more disauauntage, then I will now reherse: but the Emperour is so proude, and his people so cruell, that he nothyng regardeth these offers: for what a crueltie was this, to pull doune Goddes Vicar of Rome, and persecute the holy fathers by extreme tyranny, violated the holy Sacrament, and threwe the hostes doune on the aultar, and like robbers toke the Pixe: and farther in the Churche, they violated Virgins, and stupred matrones, and dispoyled the holy Reliques of the citee of Rome. And like as the Kyng in huntyng tyme hath slayn. iii.C. dere, and the garbage and paunches bee cast round about, in euery quarter of the Parke, so (saied the Cardinal) euery strete laye full of the priuie members and genitures of the Cardinalles and holy prelates: the whole history were to abhominable to tell. Yet notwithstādyng all these offers mocioned, and nothyng regardyng this detestable tyranny, the whiche euery good Christen man abhorreth, he will encline to no reason, I am sure that I could shewe you. xx. articles of promises, which he hath broken with the Kyng: so that I assure you, he kepeth no promise with our souereigne lorde, also *contra ius Gentium*, whiche I am sure the greate Turke would not dooe, he kepeth prisoner the kynges Ambassador Doctor Lee, the French Ambassador, and the Ambassadour of Venice: and for asmuche as the Emperor refuseth these offers, which amount to eight kynges raunsomes, I trust by this warre we shall bridle hym, and bryng him to peace, and this occasiō of warre, I would all you should declare in your countrey.

The murmor of the people.

When the Cardinal had saied, some knocked other on the elbow, and said softly he lieth, other said, that euil wil said neuer wel, other said that the French crounes, made him speake euill of themperor, but thei that knewe all that you haue hard before saied, that it was shame for hym to lie in suche an audience. The common people much lamented, that war should arise betwene the Kyng and themperor, and especiall their consideracion was, because the Emperors dominions, had holpen them with corne, and relieued them with grain, whē thei could haue no corne, or litle out of Fraunce. And in this rumour wer diuerse ships come out of Flaūders and that parties, laden with Heryng, Sturgion, & all other victale necessary: beside eight faire shippes, whiche wer laden with corne, all thesaied shippes, and all the shippes of Spain, wer staied and arested, and their sailes taken from them, and put in safe custodie. This doyng was mucne talked of by Merchantes, whiche frequented the Emperors dominions, for thei knewe and openly saied, that the let of the entercourse of Merchantes, should turne to the greate losse of the Princes, but yet Englishemen were content, to obeye their kyng and his counsaill.

Shippes arested.

The declaracion of warre in Englande against the Emperoure, and the restraint of Shippes of the Emperoures Subiectes, were shortly knowen to the Lady Margaret daughter of Sauoy, and aunte to the Emperour, which was gouernor of Flaunders, Brabant, and Zeland and of all the Lowe Countreis: wherefore she by the auice of the Emperoures Counsaill to her associate, caused all the Englishemen and their goodes and Shippes to be restrained, and thei and their goodes were put in safe kepyng. Thus the poore Merchantes suffered greate losse, for the doynges of their Princes, as Horace saieth: *Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur achiui*: whatsoeuer kynges do, the Commons be punished. Now after this sodain storme whiche the Cardinall had moued openly against the Emperour, for euill entreatyng of the kynges Ambassadour, he had perfect knowledge that the Emperor, bothe did the kynges Ambassador greate honour, and also that he neuer restrained hym from his libertie, whereupon he caused the Emperors Ambassador, which before was restrained of his libertie, to bee sent to his awne lodgyng again, and saied that by the reporte made by the French Ambassadours, he hym restraygned, and now sithe he knewe the truthe, he mocioned the Kyng for his deliueraunce.

The Emperours Ambassadour, called Don Hugo de Mendosa, dissimuled the matter by apparant signes: and the Cardinall the more to auoyde suspicion on his behalfe, towarde all the worlde, saied: the kyng was enformed by the French Ambassadours, that the Ambassadours of bothe Princes were put in prison, and farther he saied that Clarenseaux had made the defiaunce of the Emperoure without the kynges commaundement, but only did it by the mocion of the French Ambassadours, to accompaignie the Frenche Herault, and for this presumpteuos

presumpteous act, he should suffre death at Calice at his returne: all these excuses the Cardinal shewed to the Emperors Ambassador, which certified the Emperour of euery poynt, and sent the letter by poste into Spain, which letters were opened & copied, by the capitain of Bayon, as the poste passed that waie. And when Clarenseaux returned homeward out of Spain, the Capitain gently shewed to hym the copie of the letters, that the Emperours Ambassadoure had written. Thynke you not but Clarenseaux was dismaied, to here his daies so shorte: yet he trustyng in his truth, and grace of his Prince, passed forward and came to Bullein, where he hard worde again of the danger that he was in, wherfore like a wise man he lefte Calice, and tooke a Ship at Bullein, and landed at Rye, and came secretly to Hampton Court, where the kyng laie, and by frendeship of sir Nicholas Carew, one of the kynges priuie chamber, he was brought to the kynges presēce, or the Cardinall wist of his returne, and to hym shewed the three Letters, whiche the Cardinal had sent to hym, chargyng hym to make the defiaunce, or he did intimate the war. He declared farther, that neither the Ambassadours of the kyng, nor the Frenche kyng nor he wer neuer sequestered from libertie, but gently entertained, and to the kyng he shewed a chayne, to the value of seuen hundred Ducates, whiche the Emperoure had geuen hym, and shewed also the copie of the Emperoures Ambassadoures letters, whiche he had at Bayon. When the kyng had heard all the circumstaunce of his declaracion, he mused a great while, and saied: O Lorde Iesu, be that I trusted moste, tolde me all these thynges contrary, well Clarenseaux I will be no more of so light credence hereafter, for now I see perfectly, that I am made to beleue the thyng that was neuer doen.

Clarenceaux made a feard.

The wise sayyng of ye kyng.

Then the Kyng sent for the Cardinall, and priuily talked with hym, but whatsoeuer he saied to hym, the Cardinal was not very mery, and after that tyme, the Kyng mistrusted hym euer after. When the Kyng and his Counsaill, had well digested the Emperoures answere, and his gentle demeanor toward the kinges Ambassadors, and also had pondered that the lowe countreis of the Emperor, wer glad to please the kyng of Englande and his Subiectes: wherefore the kyng commaunded, to sir Ihon Stile knight, to discharge all the Duchemen and their Shippes, and deliuered their Sailes, and gaue them license to returne: Naye said the Duchmen, the Spanyārdes and we be the Emperours Subiectes, why should not thei be also discharged? sir Ihon Stile answered thē, that his Commission was onely to discharge them. The Duchmen fearyng that the Frenchemen, would take the seas before thē, and so to stop thē, departed hastely, cursseyng the Cardinal as auethor of this war.

When the Lady Margaret heard tell, howe the Duche nacion with their Shippes and goodes were released, and not the Spanyardes, she sent for the Englishe Merchauntes, and to theim saied: Sirs, sithe the Kyng your Master, hath deliuered onely the Duche men, and not the Spanyardes, we relese your bodies free, to go at your libertie, but your goodes shall remain, till we knowe what shal become of the Spanyardes, and when they be deliuered, come for your goodes, and you shall haue theim deliuered, thus the Englishemen departed, and came to the kyng and declared to hym and his counsaill, how thei were entreated.

This warr with the Emperor was displeasant, both to Merchantes and Clothiers, for the Merchauntes durste not auenture into Spaine, sithe Aprill last past, and now was come the xi. daie of March, wherfore all brode Clothes, Kerseis & Cottons, laye on their handes. In sonuch as when the Clothiers of Essex, Kent, Wilshire, Suffolk, & other shires which vse Clothmakyng, brought clothes into Blackewell hall of Lōdon, to be sold as thei wer wont to do: fewe Merchantes or none bought any cloth at all. When the Clothiers lacked sale, then thei put frō theim their spinners, carders, tuckers, & such other that liue by clothworkyng, whiche caused the people greatly to murmor, and specially in Suffolke, for if the Duke of Norffolk had not wisely appeased them, no doubt but thei had fallen to some riotous act. When the kynges counsail was aduertised of this inconuenience, the Cardinall sent for a greate nomber of the Merchantes of London, and to them saied: Sirs the kyng is informed, that you vse not your selfes like Merchātes, but like Grasiers and artificers: for

Complaynte of the Clothiers.

where the Clothiers do daily bryng clothes, to your market for your ease, to their greate cost, and there be ready to sell them, you of your wilfulnes will not bye them, as you haue been accustomed to do: what maner of men be you saied the Cardinall? I tell you that the kyng straightly commaundeth you to bye their Clothes, as before tyme you haue been accustomed to do, vpon pain of his high displeasure.

The Merchantes answered, my lord you knowe well, that we haue had no trade outward this twelue monethes past, and we haue so many clothes in our handes, that we knowe not how to vtter them, therefore it were greate losse to vs to bye any more: wherefore we trust you will not moue vs to bye the thyng, whiche we cannot vtter, for in all places our vent is stopped and forbidden. Well saied the Cardinal, if you will not bye the clothes at Blackewell hall, they shall be brought to the White Hall at Westminster, and so you of London shall lose the libertie, and the kyng shall bye them all, and sell them to Merchant strangers. Then answered a wise Merchant, my lorde, the kyng maie bye them aswell at Blackewell hall, if it please him, and the strangers will gladlyer receiue theim there, then at Westminster: You shall not ordre that matter, saied the Cardinall, and first I will sende into London, to knowe what Clothes you haue in your handes, and that doen the kyng and his counsail shall appoynt who shall bye the Clothes I warrant you, with this answere the Londoners departed.

When the Clothiers hard that the Cardinall toke their part, they waxed pronde, and spake euill of the Merchantes, and when the Merchātes came to bye Clothes, the Clothiers set them hire, then thei were accustomed to be solde: but at length thei were faine, bothe to abate the price, and also to seke of the Merchant men, for all the Cardinalles saiyng.

If this warre was displeasaunt to many in Englande (as you haue hard) surely it was asmuch or more displeasant, to the tounes and people of Flaunders, Brabant, Hollande, and Zelande, and in especiall to the tounes Andwarpe and Barrow, where the Martes wer kept, and where the resorte of Englishmen was, for thei saied that their Martes were vndoen, if the Englishemen came not there, and if there were no Marte, their Shippes, Hoyes, and Waggons might rest, and all artificers, Hostes, and Brokers might slepe, and so the people should fal into miserie and pouertie, of these thynges daily complaintes were made to the lady Margaret, and the Emperors counsaill, whiche wisely pondered the complaintes, and after long consultacion had, thei appoynted certain Ambassadors to go to the kyng of England, and to entreate for a truce, or abstinence of warre, which Ambassadors came into Englād, and associated themselfes with Don Hugo de Mendosa, Ambassadoure there for the Emperor: the one Ambassador was Prouost of Cassell, and the other Master lhon Lay souereigne of Flaunders: these. iii. Ambassadors came to the kyng, the. xxix. day of Marche to Richemond, & after reuerence doen, the lord Hugo de Mēdosa said to the kyng, sir themperours Maiestie so much knowlegeth hymself bound to your grace, for manifolde kynde actes and beneuolences, doen and shewed to hym sith his tendre age, that he in no wise woll take the defiaunce, dooen by your Herault as a paremptory intimacion of warre, till he had heard farther of your pleasure, and therefore his counsaill hath sent bether these twoo noble persones and me, to knowe your determinate answere, and finall resolucion in that behalfe. The Kyng after a good auisement had, answered and saied: Of warre I am nothyng ioyfull, and of warre I am lesse fearefull. I thanke God I haue no cause to care for warre, for I haue bothe men and money, and all thyng ready prepared for thesame, (whiche thynges I knowe ẏ other princes lacke, for all their high woordes) and therefore to that question of warre, I could sone agre, but or I make you a determinate answere, some part of my mynd I will declare to you, and I tell you although your Master be a greate Emperor, and a mightie Prince, I cannot nor maie not suffre hym, to bee doune & destroye the realme of Fraunce, whiche is our true inheritance, and for the whiche our brother and alie the French kyng, paieth vs yerely a great pencion and tribute, wherfore we of Iustice and equitie, muste maintein that lande, out of whiche we haue so faire a rent and suche a profite.

The saiyng of Hugo de Mendosa.

The Kynges answere.

Then

Then saied the Prouost of Cassell, yea sir, and it please you to call to your remembraunce the olde and auncient loue and familiaritie, whiche hath been betwene your Realme, and the houses of Burgoyne and Flaunders, and the lowe countreys, I assure you the people of all those cōtreis will liue and dye with you, aboue all men next their souereigne Lord, wherefore moste noble Prince neuer concent, that olde loue that hath so long continued, be now broken and seperated: we saie this for no feare, for we be well furnished for war, bothe of men and strong castles, all whiche before this tyme hath been at your cōmaundement, and therfore the loue that we haue euer borne you, we continue & offer you nowe to continue: and where we offre you choyse of war or peace, at your pleasure, surely the Emperour meaneth that for your honor, as though you should commaunde which you would: and if you chose warre, we haue commission to entreate for peace, and you chose peace, we haue like commission to thanke you, and to offre vs and ours at your cōmaundement. Then saied the Lorde Hugo de Mendosa to the kyng, sir of very right the Emperor and his countreys, ought to haue your loue and fauor, before the French kyng and his nacion: for the Frenchmen in the tyme of their affliccion, made humble sutes and requestes to your grace, which thei neuer would do in the tyme of their prosperitie, but the Emperoure hath euer continued one man at all tymes, wherefore he is better to be trusted, then they whiche neuer wer long true to you. Wel said the kyng sithe I haue well perceiued the intent of your commyng, I woll be auised, and then I will make you an auised answere, and in the meane season I am content, that there be an abstinence of warre for a tyme, so the Ambassadours departed for a season, and the Prouost of Casselles, departed to the lady Margaret with this answere. The saying of Hugo de Mendosa.

After this the kyng which was wise, well learned, and a farre castyng prince, consulted with his counsaill of this matter, and there after long debatyng it was considered, that the kyng was riche, strong, and puyssant inough to make warre with any prince Christen, and that no prince could hurte hym by warre or inuasion, therefore some thought it best to haue warre, but the king & the wiser sort cōsidered that if he had war with the Emperor, that his marchauntes should lese muche, and if thei lost, the clothyers and the clothworkers, of which were a great multitude should lese and be brought to extreme pouertie. For it was considered that the Emperor was lord of all Spaine, Naples, Sardinia & so southward to Epuskaia, and likewise northest ward from Grauelyn to Rye and Reuell, so that Englishe marchauntes passyng on those costes were euer in daūger. Also no Alarme could come into England but through his dominions, by reason wherof cloth making should decay. Wherfore the kyng considered if the marchauntes lost, the porer sorte should lese, and at length he should lese in his customes. Wherfore leauyng the glorye of warre he, tooke mercye on his subiectes and concluded to take a peace for a tyme till farther cōmunicacion might be had betwene his coūsail and the Emperors. And vpō this point letters wer sent into Spayne, Fraunce, and Flaunders, and so this matter continued vndetermined till answers were brought from outward partes.

In this season the bishop of Bayon whiche afterwarde was bishop & Cardinal of Paris beyng ambassador from the French kyng & soiornyng in Lōdon, hard tell how the Emperors ambassadors made much suite to the kyng and his counsail, where he came to ỹ court and desired to speake with the kyng and so was brought to the kynges presence, to whom he sayd: pleaseth your highnes to consider the great and high peace that is cōcluded betwene you and your louyng brother and perpetual alye the French kyng my master, whiche is ratified and confirmed by the thre estates of the realme of Fraunce, by ỹ whiche you haue yerely xx. M. pound sterlyng, whiche realme you haue promised to defende against all persones: Now in shewyng your loue that you beare to the Frenche kyng & his subiectes. If you would make sharpe warre on the Emperors subiectes, I assure you the whole realme of Fraunce would take it so thankefully that it should neuer be forgotten. Well sayd the kyng, as touchyng the league and amitie betwene my brother of Fraūce and me it shalbe inuiolately kept for me, but sir to enter into warre it nedeth no counsail, but how to end warre The suite of the Frenche Ambassadors. The kynges answere.

with honor & profite men must nedes study. As touchyng ỹ defence of the realme of Fraūce I assure you it shalbe defended to my power though it be to my losse, and my studye is no lesse to haue a peace whiche might be honorable to your master then to myne owne self. With whiche saying the Ambassador held him well contented. So that you may perceiue that the great pencion and profite that the king of England had out of Fraunce with the great league and amitie concluded and sworne, was the very cause why the kyng of England so much helde with the French kyng & not for mere loue. For this matter was daily great counsailes, and one day themperors ambassador was present, another day the French kings ambassador was present, but the Cardinal was euer on the French part. So thus continued this daily counsels with great study.

In the same season a Frenche Crayer of xxx. tonne manned with xxxviii. Frenchemen laye at Margate to wayte for a pray of some Flemyng that should come out of the ryuer of Thames, and by chaunce a Crayer of Armew which was appointed to waft the fisher botes betwene Grauelyn and Ost end, was come by North of Goodwyn sādes to Northsand head and so came to Grauesend and toke in bread. This Crayer was of xxviii. tonne and had in her xxiiii. Flemynges: When she was vitayled she made to the sea warde, and sodainly he espyed the Frenchmen whiche houed vnder a saile. The Flemynges mistrusted and incontinent put them selfes in a readynes and came so nye that he hayled the Frenchman, the Frenchman shot a piece of ordinaunce and with that layde the Flemyng aborde, there was sore fightyng, for the Frenchmen had crosbowes and the Flemynges had handgunnes. The Frencheman fell of & would haue been gone, that seyng the Flemyng whysteled and after the Frenchman made sayle. Now the wynde was so straynable East that the Frenchman could sayle no whither but into the Thames, and so he did and the Flemyng folowed, and before Grauesend the Flemyng borded the Frencheman and there they fought again, but away againe went the Frenchman and the Flemyng after ẅ all his sayles, and so farre sayled the Frencheman that he rāe along the Tower wharffe as though he would haue reuen his shippe, the Flemyng set on and entered the shippe for any thyng the Frenchman could do and cryed I haue takē the thefe. Sir Edmond Walsynghā Leuetenaunt of the Tower was on the wharffe & saw them fight, called his men and entered the shippes and toke both the capitaines and their men. The Fleming boldly chalenged his prise, for he sayd that open warre was betwene Fraunce and Flaunders, and sayd farther that the Frencheman was a pirate: The kynges counsail tooke vp the matter and made an ende betwene them. This chaunce was much talked of that two shippes should sayle in chase from Margate to the Tower wharffe, because ỹ before time such a like thing had neuer been hard.

A ship chased to the Tower Wharfe.

Now let vs returne to the lorde Lawtrick whiche had gotten many tounes in Italy, and had with his great army besieged the citie of Naples and so it happened that the prince of Orenge & other capitaines ỹ xix. day of April set on a great part of the Frenche army and notwithstandyng their hardynes the Emperors army obteined the victorie, so that from that tyme forth the Frenchemen lost, what by pestilence whiche then was great in Italy, and what by sodain skyrmishes.

This yere the. xxii. day of February the kyng created at Wynsor sir Pierce Buelat of Ireland, erle of Osserey.

THE. XX. YERE.

THe kyng kept the day of sainct George with the companions of the order of the Garter with great solempnitie at his Manor of Rychemond, where to him came tidynges from the army of the lorde Lawtrick in Italy, which letters shewed that the lorde Lawtrick had sent the lorde Peter de Nauarro the third day of Marche last past to a great toune called Melffe with x. M. Frenchemen, & within the toune were viii. C. Spaniardes good men of warre, the lord Peter de Nauarro besieged the toune, & after gaue to the same a great assaut,

saut, but ỹ Spaniardes so defended them with ordinaunce & resistences that they slew v. or vi. M. Frenchemen and caused them to retrete. The lorde Lautrick hearyng this came in person with a great nomber to the toune of Smel & merueilously bet the toune with ordinaunce and then gaue to it a great and fierse assaut, and so sore that the Spaniardes were put back, yet they defended them, so that it was merueil to beholde, for they slewe and destroyed iiii. M. Frenchmen. The Frenche armye entered the toune on all sides, and yet the Spanyardes kept ỹ market with their ordinaūce as long as they might, but at the last beyng oppressed with multitude they all were slaine without mercy, so cruel were the Frenchmen: In this toune was taken the prince of Melff a noble man perteinyng to the Emperor. Thus was the toune of Melffe taken and spoyled, not greatly to the Frenchemennes profite, for they lost almost x. M. men whiche sore diminished their power.

Although that this season was an abstinence of war taken betwene the kyng of England & the ladye Margaret so that the dutche nacion might safely come & go into England, and ỹ Englishmen might safely repaire thither, yet betwene the Frenchmen and ỹ Flemynges was hot warre on the frontiers, and many a prisoner was taken, and many men slain, and likewise the one part toke the other on the seas, and sometime the Frenchmen would spoyle Englishe shippes, saiyng that they had Flemynges goodes or Spaniardes goodes, and likewise the Flemynges would enter the Englishe shippes, and say they had Frenchemens goodes, so the Englishmen lost till the king sent shippes to kepe ỹ sea: But for a trueth the Spanyardes were strong on the sea, and to the Frenchmen did muche harme. The kyng perceiuyng that there was nothing cōcluded betwene themperor & him, thought not to be behynd hand, wherfore he ordained that the lord Sādes should passe to Guisnes with a M. souldiers that was v. C. archers and v. C. horsemen, and that the duke of Suffolke should passe ouer after with a great army to inuade Flaunders. These lordes made much preparacion & mustered their men at ỹ Mantels beside saint Ihones & was redy to depart, but the Emperors ambassador & thambassador of Flaunders so much did with the kyng & his coūsail (& the Frenche kyng also assēted) that truce was taken betwene England, Flaunders, & the countreys of Picardy on this side the water of Some for viii. monethes, the peace to begin ỹ first day of May, and to endure to ỹ last day of February. This peace was proclaymed in Lōdon the. xix. day of Iune, so ỹ now all Englishmen might lawfully passe into the low countreys but not into Spain, which sore greued marchauntes that haunted that parties. In ỹ same proclamacion was farther conteined, that if a final peace wer not fully agreed betwene the sayd. iii. princes within ỹ sayd. viii. monethes, that then all marchaūtes should haue two monethes after to passe into their owne countreys with their wares and marchaundises in safetie. The Emperor sone enclyned to this peace, for he saw that by ỹ Marte many of his frendes in high Dutchland and other places toke great profite and especially his owne low coūtreys, wherfore he thought not to hurt his frendes for the displeasure he bare to his enemyes of Fraunce, and also to shew himselfe louyng to the king of England he was content to take this peace.

In this season the duke Charles of Gelders perceiuyng ỹ Emperor was at war with Fraunce, raised a great power of horsemen & came to a great toune of Holland called the Hage where the lawe and iustice is kept for that countrey, by reason wherof the towne was very riche, and sodainly he entred the toune without resistence and spoiled and robbed the toune and slew diuers persones and with much riches laded their wagons and so departed and caryed with him diuers rich prisoners. The lady Margarete gouernesse of the low countreys hearing of this raised a great power vnder the conduict of the lord Isylsteinge, which lord with a great puissaunce entered Gelderland and gat the toune of Hatton, the castle of Howtyng, and forraied and destroied the coūtrey: lastly on Whitsonday beyng the last day of Maye the Gelders gaue battel to the lord Isylsteinge and fought valiauntly as any men could do, but yet by fortune of warre they were ouercome and fled & wer chased a great way and many slaine. This chaunce was while the treatie of peace was in England.

The sweatyng sickness.

In the very ende of May began in the citie of London the sickenes called the sweating sickenes, and afterward went all the realme almost of the which many died within v. or vi. houres. By reason of this sickies the terme was adiorned and the circuites of Assise also. The king was sore troubled with this plage, for diuers dyed in the court, of whō one was sir Fraunces Poynes which was Ambassador in Spayne, & other, so that the kyng for a space remoued almost euery day, till at the last he came to Tytynhangar a place of the abbot of saint Albones, & there he w a few determined to byde the chaunce that God would send him, whiche place was so purged daily with fyers and other preseruatiues, that neither he nor the quene nor none of their company was enfected of ỹ disease, such was the pleasure of God. In this great plage dyed sir Wyllyam Compton knight & William Cary esquier whiche wer of the kynges priuy chamber, and whom the kyng highly fauored and many other worshipful men and women in England.

By reason of this plague the watches whiche were wont to be kept yerely in Lōdon on saint Ihons euen at Mydsommer and saint Peters eue were by the kyng and his counsail commaunded to be left for that yere, wherfore the Armorers made great suite to the kyng and declared their great hynderaunce, whiche was not so muche considered as the mischief that might haue ensued if that so great a nomber should haue assembled together in that note tyme & the plage of sweatyng raynyng. Now let vs leaue England all this Sommer season troubled & vexed with this sweating sicknes, and let vs returne to the affayres of Italy.

The Emperor which knew how the lord Lawtrick was in Italy w a great army, thought it not for his profite to leaue his army there vnsuccored, wherfore he sent ỹ lorde Henry the yonger duke of Brūswyke with a great cōpany of Almaynes both on fote and horsebacke. Wherfore the Venicians set Fraunces duke of Orbyne to kepe the straytes and to stoppe him the passage: But when he heard of the puissaunce of the duke of Brūswycke and the great munitions & prouisions of warre that the Almaynes brought, he turned his iorney, and by aduise of the Venicians determined to fortifie the tounes & to defende them against the Almaynes, and so the duke of Brūswyke with his armye passed the mountaines and entered Italy burnyng, rasyng & raunsomyng tounes as he passed, and euer he marched toward Myllain, wherof hearyng the Mylleners whiche were brought to extreme pouertie by these warres, beganne to lament and waile for the great tyranny that they iudged to folowe whiche folowed in dede. For when the Almaines came to Myllain and demaunded money of the Citezens, they that had nothyng to paye, were tyed in chaynes and kept miserably in prison tyll they had made some prouision for the payment, whiche caused the Citezens to flee out of the citie and to leaue it in maner desolate; whiche thyng Anthony de Leua perceiuyng moued with great compassion for the desolacion of the citie called the Citezens together and promised them that if they would paye the wages of the souldiers for xx. dayes onely, he would cause all the whole army to remoue out of the citie, the poore citezens made shyft and payed the souldiers, and so they all departed frō Myllayne and came to the citie of Pauye and tooke it with litle labor and after that tooke diuers other tounes.

Anthony de Leua knewe well the Duke of Brunswycke would in the sprynge of the yere set forward toward Naples to ayde the Emperors armye against the lorde Lawtrick, therefore he desired the Duke that or he passed out of the duchye of Myllayne, he would put all the Frenchemen out of suche fortresses as they kept, whiche thyng he sayd might be easely done considerynge the great puissaunce of the Almaynes and the debilitie and lacke of power of the duke of Myllayne, and in especiall considerynge that the Venicians kept their tounes and would not ayde the Frenche parte, to the whiche persuasions the Duke agreed and went toward the citie of Lawde to the which thei gaue the assaut, but they within so well defended it that the Almaynes lost more then they wanne, wherfore the duke determined to famishe them within for he knewe by their great nomber that their vitaile must nedes fayle and so it did in dede, so that no creature but men of war had any vitaile and therfore

the

the poore Citezens were compelled either to go into the hãdes of their enemies or to dye for famyn.

In this season was through all Italy a vniuersal warre, famyn and pestilence or a morreyn wherof the people died in euery place, & in especially in the Dukes armye whiche caused the moste part of the Almaynes to returne into their countrey, wherfore the duke wisely considered the chaũce and saw that his army was greatly minished by death, and saw farther that for lacke of vitaile and money he was not able to conuey the remnaunt of his armye to Naples, by the aduise of Anthony de Leua concluded to returne and so shortly after in good order returned and lost more by the pestilence then by his enemies.

The Frenche kyng was aduertised by the lorde Lawtrick how his people decayed sore before Naples, and how the Duke of Brunswyke was commyng to raise the siege & restue the citie, wherfore the French kyng sent lorde Fraunces erle saint Poul brother to the duke of Vandosme with. viii. M. men to folowe the duke of Brũswyke to Naples, and if he went not to Naples, then he should ioyne himselfe with Fraũces Sforcia duke of Myllayne and the Venicians and so to expel Anthony de Leua and all the Emperors souldiers out of Lombardy.

The Spaniardes within Naples were aduertised that new succors were commyng to the Frenchmen, wherfore they determined to fight with them or their new ayde came, and so one day they issued out of the citie and fought with the Frenchemen and slewe many of them, but by force they were compelled to returne. The lorde Lawtrick knew well that the citie could not hold long for lacke of vitaile (for a suertie if vitaile had not come by sea, the toune had been yelded) wherfore the lord Lawtrick suffered his armye to lye still in the plaine fielde all the heate of the Sommer and brought theim not to the shadow, by reason wherof there fell suche a disease amongest his armye that they dyed daily in great nomber and he himselfe fell sicke and lefte the armye and lay at Verse, of the whiche mortalitie there dyed in the Frenche campe aboue xxiiii. M. men besyde the moste part of all their horses and beastes, of whiche nomber as diuers wryters do agree there dyed aboue v. M. gentlemen, amongest whom there dyed the lorde Vawdemont brother to Anthony duke of Lorraine, the lorde of Grauntmount, the capitain Molyãe, the lorde Lauall of the Dolphenye, the capitaine Luper, the lorde Charles Vyuone lorde of Chataygneray sonne to the lorde Andrewe of Vyuone Seneschal of Poytew, and many other noblemen of namẽ. The death at Naples.

Duryng whiche plague the toune of Cappe (whiche moste of all the tounes in the realme of Naples helde on the Frenche part) became imperiall and turned to the Emperors part. Whereof hearyng the lorde Lawtrick made therfore great sorowe, and beyng somewhat amended of his disease, tooke his horse and camẽ to visite the Campe, and when he saw his nomber so minished and his Campe so desolate of people that he perceiued that his enterprise could not be performed, he fell into suche a malencoly ỳ his sickenes toke him more feruẽtly then before, so that within two daies after, which was the xxi. day of August he died at and his body was sered and conueyed after into Fraunce.

The Marques of Saluce whiche was Liuetenaunt vnder the lord Lawtrick called to counsel the Erle Guy of Rancon and Peter de Nauer and other capitaines that wer left, and after long consultacion they cõsidered their nomber to be to small either to kepe the siege or to abide battel, for they passed not v. M. in all. Wherfore they cõcluded to leue the siege and to returne, and so the xxv. daye of August they brake vp their Campe and returned toward Fraũce, in whiche returne the Spaniardes euer costed them, and when they tooke any Frenchemen at aduauntage, they either slewe or tooke them. Thus was the ende of this iorney by reason of the great mortalitie, whiche if it had not happened, the citie and the whole realme of Naples had been recouered: For the citie of Naples could not haue holden x. dayes, after the army remoued as they confessed after.

The Erle of saint Poul (whiche was appointed to passe into Italye as you haue heard before) knew nothyng of the mortalitie at Naples. Wherfore with all spede he passed the mountaines the same season that the duke of Brũswyke returned & came into the duchy of Myllain

Myllain and tooke certaine fortresses which the Emperors power had wonne, and after that the aydes of the Venicians and duke Fraunces Sforcias were ioyned with him, he besieged the citie of Pauye and within a fewe dayes the citie was taken by force and the walles beaten doune to the ground for dispite that the Frenche kyng was taken before the toune. These doynges were not so muche pleasaunt to the Frenche kyng as the losse of the citie of Geane was to him displeasaunt. For the same season Andrewe Dorye whiche was all the doer for the French kyng on the sea, & had before tyme in the Frenche kynges quarel vanquished the lord Hugo Viceroy of Naples, & had taken ỹ Marques of Grasto & Ascayne de Columna & other capitaines belongyng to the Emperor, whiche prisoners the French kyng cõmaunded him to deliuer into his hãdes, which thing Andrew Dory thought not reasonable, cõsiderying that he tooke him, and for that cause and because his wages was not payed, he tooke his Galeys and sayled to Geane where he was borne and also was there of great authoritie and estimacion, and there he so persuaded the people that they became imperial and tooke Trenulsius the French kynges frende and put him in warde, and prepared to defende the citie against the Frenche kynges power, whereof hearyng the Erle of saint Poule sent in al hast his light horsemen to succor the citie but or they came the citezens wer so furnished that the Frenchmen had no hope of recouery, wherfore they returned to Alexãdry, and there thei counsailed together how to take the citie of Myllayne which was sore desolate of people and brought to great mischiefe by the crueltie of Spaniardes and Almaines, but when they heard tel that the Emperor had sent ii. M. Spaniardes to ayde Anthony de Leua, they chaunged their purpose and determined to recouer the citie of Geane againe. For which purpose the erle left the Venicians at Casyan, and the power of duke Fraunces Sforcie he left at Pauye to kepe the passages that the Spaniardes should not stray farre abrode, and also to kepe the passages that no vitayle should come to ỹ Spaniardes whiche at that tyme had onely the citie and castle of Myllain and none other fortresse to resorte to. And therle himselfe lay at a village called Landryan, and for the more spede of his enterprise he sent his forward with all his artillery before toward Geane, hauyng with him his middle warde and rerewarde. Of all these doynges Anthony de Leua liyng at Myllayn by his espyals was truly from tyme to tyme aduertised, wherfore he like a polletike capitaine considered how the erle had done folishly to sende his ordinaunce and forward before, he therfore determined to take the auauntage of the Frenchemen if he might, and so called to him all his capitaines and to theim sayd: Felowes in armes and souldiors to the Emperor our master, see and consider what a great occasion of victory is offered to vs this present day, for the Venicians and the Sforcians be seuered from the Frenchemen, and therle of saint Poul with part of his army lyeth at Landryan and hath sent his forward & his ordinaũce toward Geane, wherfore we will set on him sodainly if you agree, and if we ouercome him the praise shalbe ours, and if he flye at our cõming yet folowyng him we shall get a great pray and botie. To this entent all the other souldiers agreed (for they wer very redy and glad to haue somewhat) and so he caused it to be proclaymed that all his men should be redy at an houre, and that euerye man should haue a white shyrt aboue his apparel that one in the darke might know another, and when euery man was ready and the euenyng approched, Anthony de Leua accordyng to his enterprise set forwarde and was all armed and satte in a chayre caried by iiii. strong persones.

Anthony de Leua encorageth his souldiers.

A Camisado.

When ỹ citezens of Myllain saw him thus armed & borne in a chayre and knew wel that he had a rõnyng gout and could not styrre himself, they merueiled much of his audacitie, but by ỹ experiẽce of other thynges by him done, they iudged that he entended some great enterprise, but because the nomber of his people was so lytle they doubted the sequele of his aduenture. But for all their imaginacions he with his people secretely issued out of Myllain and passed forward without any noyse, and in the mornyng sodainly set on therle of saint Poul and his army, so that the erle had no leysure to send for his ordinaunce and forward but was fayne to trust to such as were then with him. And at the fyrst brunte the Almaynes fled, and the Frenche horsemen also, & with a litle fight all the other fled, and

as the Erle himselfe was fleyng ouer a great diche on horsebacke, he with the erle Guy of Raucon and the lord Castillyon and many other nobles and gentlemen wer taken prisoners and all their vitail, puruciaunce & artillerie wer prayes to themperors souldiers which much refreshed thē. After this iorney ỹ French kyng had no army in Italy, wherfore Fraunces Sforcia seyng himselfe destitute of ayde, made meanes to the Emperor by Pope Clement for the appointment both of the duchy of Myllain and also for his answer of certain treasons of the which he was accused to the Emperor, to whom themperor answered that the next sommer he would come into Italy to receiue his Emperial croune, and then he would take such an order as right and equitie should require. This was the ende of the warres begon betwene the king of England & the Frenche kyng on ỹ one partie and the Emperor on the other partie, in the xix. yere of the king as you haue heard before. For after this iorney the lady Margaret duches of Sauoy & aunt to themperor, and the lady Loyse duches of Angulesme and mother to the French kyng continually labored for a peace, so that by their meanes a treatie was appointed to be kept at Cābray in Iune folowyng as you shall heare after.

Now let vs returne to the kyng of England which was in a great scruple of his conscience & not quiet in his mynde, because that diuers diuines well learned secretely enformed him that he lined in adultry w̄ his brothers wife to the great peril of his soule, and told him farther ỹ the court of Rome could not dispence w̄ Gods cōmāndement & precept. These thinges were talked among the cōmon people sith the fyrst day of his mariage as you haue heard before, insomuch that now the kynges counsailors adulsed him to know the trueth. Wherfore he like a wise prince for quietyng of his cōscience called together the best lerned of the realme which were of seueral opinions, wherfore he thought to know the trueth by indifferent iudges lest peraduenture ỹ Spanyardes in fauor of ỹ quene would say that his owne subiectes wer not indifferent iudges, wherfore he wrote his cause to Rome because the best clerkes in Christendome wer there, and also he sent to al the vniuersities of Italy and Fraunce and to the great clerkes of al christendom to know their opinions, and desired the court of Rome to send into his realm a legate to heare the cause debated whiche should be indifferent and of a great iudgement. At whose request the whole consistorye of the college of Rome sent thither Laurence Campeius a prest Cardinal, a man of great wit & experience, but more lerned in ỹ papal law then in diuinitie which was sent as legate into England in the. x. yere of this king as you haue heard in the sayd yere, & with him was ioyned in cōmission ỹ Cardinal of Yorke & legate of England, & so this Cardinal Campeius by long iorneyes came into England & much preparacion was made to receiue him triumphantly into Lōdon, but he was so sore vexed with the goute that he refused all suche solempnities, & desired hartely that he might without pompe be cōueyed to his lodging for his more quiet & rest, & so the ix. day of October he came from saint Mary Ouereys by water to the bishop of Bathes place without Temple barre where he lodged the last tyme he was in England. Where he was visited of the Cardinal of Yorke & diuers other estates & prelates. And after he had rested him a season & was somwhat releued of his pain, he was brought to the kynges presence then liyng at Brydewel by ỹ Cardinal of yorke and was caried in a chayer of Crimosyn veluet borne betwene iiii. persones for he was not able to stand, and the Cardinal of yorke and he sat both on the right hand of the kynges throne, and there one Francisco secretarie to Cardinal Campeius made an eloquent oracion in the Latin tongue, in the whiche he rehersed, fyrst with what crueltie the Emperors souldiers had handeled the pope, what tyranny they had shewed to the Cardinalles and priestes, what sacrilege & spoyle thei had cōmitted in saint Peters churche, how thei had violat virgins, rauished mennes wyues, & in conclusion spoyled, robbed & tormēted all the Romaines & inhabitantes in the citie of Rome: and farther he shewed what frēdship the college of Rome found at the kynges handes & the Frenche kinges in the tyme of that tribulacion, that if they had not ioyned together, the citie of Rome w̄ all their gouernors had been brought to vtter ruyne & decay, for ỹ which he sayd that pope Clement & al his college of cardinals & the Senators

The cardinal Campeius cōmyng to London.

The oracion.

of ỹ citie ẅ al the citezens rendered to the king their hartie thākes, & promised him their loue, fauor & amitie perpetual.

This oracion (as cōcerning the trouble of Rome) was set forth with such lamentacions, such abhominable actes & tyrānyes that the most part of the hearers thought it more eloquent then true. To the which Oracion doctor Fox Prouost of Cambridge made a discrete answere, & as to the fyrst point he declared that the king much lamented to heare his frendes yea or any other christen men to be ordered or hādeled with such tyrāny and oppression: and as touching the second point he sayd that the kyng did but the duetie of a christen prince to releue his frēdes beyng in captiuitie, for the which he would ỹ the whole citie of Rome should geue thankes to God and not to him. After whiche answere made the two legates communed secretely with the king a long space and after departed to their lodgyng.

The answere.

Of the cōmyng of this Legate the common people beyng ignorant of the truth and in especial women & other that fauored the quene talked largely, & sayd that the king would for his own pleasure haue another wife & had sent for this legate to be deuorsed frō his quene, with many folishe wordes, insomuche that whosoeuer spake against the mariage was of the cōmon people abhorred & reproued, which cōmon rumour & folishe cōmunicacions wer related to ỹ king, wherfore he like a prudēt prince & circumspect doer in all his affaires, & willing all men to know his entent and purpose, caused all his nobilitie, Iudges & counsailors with diuerse other persons to come to his palace of Brydewell on sonday the *viii.* day of Nouēber at after noone in his great chamber and there to them sayd as nere as my witte could beare away these wordes folowyng.

The kynges Oracion concernyng his first mariage.

Our trustie and welbeloued subiectes both you of the nobilitie and you of the meaner sort, it is not vnknowen to you how that we, both by Goddes prouision and true & lawfull inheritaunce haue reigned ouer this realme of England almost the terme of xx. yeres. During whiche time we haue so ordered vs, thanked be God that no outward enemye hath oppressed you nor taken any thyng from vs, nor we haue inuaded no realme but we haue had victory & honor, so that we thinke that you nor none of your predecessors neuer liued more quietly, more wealthy, nor in more estimacion vnder any of our noble progenitors: But when we remember our mortalitie and that we must die, then we thinke that all our doynges in our life tyme are clerely defaced & worthy of no memorie if we leue you in trouble at the tyme of our death. For if our true heyre be not knowen at the time of our death, se what mischiefe & trouble shall succede to you and your children. The experience therof some of you haue sene after the death of our noble graundfather kyng Edward the. iiii. and some haue heard what mischief & manslaughter continues in this realme betwene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster, by ỹ which discencion this realme was like to haue been clerely destroyed. And although it hath pleased almighty God to send vs a fayre doughter of a noble woman and me begotten to our great comfort & ioy, yet it hath been told vs by diuers great clerkes that neither she is our lawfull doughter nor her mother our lawfull wife, out that we liue together abhominably and detestably in open adultry, insomuch that when our ambassade was last in Fraunce & mocion was made that the Duke of Orleaunce should mary our sayd doughter, one of the chief cōsailors to the French kyng sayd, It wer well done to know whither she be the kyng of Englād his lawfull doughter or not, for well knowen it is that he begat her on his brothers wife whiche is directly against Gods law & his precept. Thinke you my lordes that these wordes touche not by body & soule, thinke you ỹ these doynges do not daily & hourly trouble my conscience & vexe my spirites, yes we doubt not but & if it wer your owne cause euery mā would seke remedy when the peril of your soul & the losse of your inheritaūce is openly layde to you. For this only cause I protest before God & in the worde of a prince, I haue asked counsail of the greatest clerkes in Christendome, and for this cause I haue sent for this legate as a man indifferent only to know the truth and to settle my conscience and for none other cause as God can iudge. And as touching the quene, if it be adiudged by ỹ law of God that she is my lawfull wife, there was neuer

thyng

thyng more pleasaunt nor more acceptable to me in my life bothe for the discharge & clerying of my conscience & also for the good qualities and condicions the which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of the whiche she is discended (as all you know) she is a woman of moste gentlenes, of moste humilitie and buxumnes, yea and of al good qualities appertainyng to nobilitie, she is without comparison, as I this xx. yeres almoste haue had the true experiment, so that if I were to mary againe if the mariage might be good I would surely chose her aboue all other women: But if it be determined by iudgement that our mariage was against Goddes law and clerely voyde, then I shall not onely sorowe the departing from so good a Lady and louyng cōpanion, but muche more lament and bewaile my infortunate chaunce that I haue so long liued in adultry to Goddes great displeasure, and haue no true heyre of my body to inherite this realme. These be the sores that vexe my mynde, these be the panges that trouble my cōscience, & for these greues I seke a remedy. Therfore I require of you all as our trust and confidence is in you to declare to our subiectes our mynde and entent accordyng to our true meaning, and desyre them to pray with vs that the very trueth may be knowen for the discharge of our conscience and sauyng of our soule, and for the declaracion hereof I haue assembled you together and now you may depart. The praise of the quene.

To see what countenaunce was made amongest the hearers of this Oracion it was a straunge sight, for some sighed and sayd nothyng, other were sory to heare the kyng so troubled in his conscience. Other that fauored the quene much sorowed that this matter was now opened, and so euery man spake as his heart serued him, but the kyng euer labored to know the trueth for discharge of his conscience,

Shortly after this the two Legates came to the quene at the same place of Brydewell, and declared to her how they were deputed iudges indifferent betwene the kyng and her to heare and determyn whether the mariage betwene them stode with Goddes lawe or not. When she heard the cause of their cōmyng, no merueil though she were astonied for it touched her very nere. And when she had paused a while she answered: Alas my lordes is it now a question whether I be the kynges lawful wife or no? When I haue been maried to him almost xx. yeres & in the meane season neuer questiō was made before? Dyuers prelates yet beyng aliue & lordes also & priuie cōsailors with the kyng at that tyme, then adiudged our mariage lawful and honest, and now to say it is detestible and abhominable, I thynke it greate maruell: and in especiall when I consider, what a wise prince the kynges father was, and also the loue and natural affeccion, that Kyng Fernando my father bare vnto me: I thynke in my self that neither of our fathers, were so vncercumspect, so vnwise, and of so small imaginacion, but they forsawe what might folowe of our mariage, and in especiall the Kyng my father, sent to the Courte of Rome, and there after long suite, with greate cost and charge obteigned a licence and dispensacion, that I beyng the one brothers wife, and peraduenture carnally knowen, might without scrupull of conscience, mary with the other brother lawfully, which license vnder lead I haue yet to shew, which thynges make me to say and surely beleue, that our mariage was both lawfull, good, and Godly: But of this trouble I onely maie thanke you my lorde Cardinal of Yorke, for because I haue wondered at your high pride & vainglory, and abhorre your volupteous life, and abhominable Lechery, and litle regard your presūpteous power and tyranny, therefore of malice you haue kindeled this fire, and set this matter a broche, & in especial for the great malice, that you beare to my nephew the Emperour, whom I perfectly know you hate worse then a Scorpion, because he would not satisfie your ambicion, and make you Pope by force, and therefore you haue saied more then once, that you would trouble hym and his frendes, and you haue kept hym true promise, for of all his warres and vexaciōs, he onely may thanke you, and as for me his poore aunte and kynswoman, what trouble you put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth, to whom I commit my cause according to the truth. The Cardinal of Yorke excused himself, saying, that he was not the beginner, nor the mouer The saiyng of the Legate. The quenes answere.

of the doubte, & that it was sore against his will, that euer the mariage should come in question, but he saied that by his superior the Bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a Iudge to heare the cause, which he sware on his profession to heare indifferently, but whatsoeuer was saied, she beleued hym not, and so the Legates toke their leaue of her and departed. These wordes were spoken in Frenche, and written by Cardinall Campeius secretary, which was present, and by me translated as nere as I could.

The kyng notwithstandyng that his mynd was vnquiet, yet he kept a good countenaunce toward the Quene, with asmuch loue, honor, and gentienes, as could be shewed to such a Princes, but he absteined from her bed, till the truth was tried, accordyng as his Ghostly counsail had aduised hym, whiche was to hym no litle pain, for surely he loued her as well, as any Prince might loue his wife, and she him again, and therefore it was great pitie, that their mariage was not good.

The more to quicken his spirites and for recreacion, the Kyng kepte his Christmas at Grenewiche, with muche solempnitie and great plentie of viandes, and thether came the two Legates, which wer receiued by twoo Dukes, and diuerse Erles, Barons and Gentlemen, to whom the kyng shewed great pleasures, bothe of Iustes, Tornay, Bankettes,
Cardinall Campeius soonne made knight. Maskes and disguisynges, & on the xii. daie he made the lawfull sonne of Cardinal Campeius, borne in wedlocke, knight, and gaue hym a coller of. S. S. of golde: but the Quene shewed to them no maner of countenaunce, and made no great ioye of nothing, her mynd was so troubled.

This doyng in England, was spred ouer all Christendom by letters, and in euery region except Spain, and the Emperors dominions, thei adiudged the kyng a wise, a verteous, & a prudent prince, for tryyng out of the truthe, considerying that the question was not onely doubtfull to learned men in Diuinitie, but vpon the vncertaintie of thesame, depended the ruine of his realme and the successiō of thesame, whiche was a waightie thing to consider, and no wisedome to let so great a doubt lye vndiscussed.

After Christmas and all Lent till Easter, was none other thyng commoned of, but onely of the kynges mariage, the Archebishop of Cantorbury sent for the famous docters, of bothe the Vniuersities to Lambeth and there were euery day disputacions, and cōmonynges of this matter, and because the king perceiued & knewe well, that the quene was wedded to her awne opinion, and that he would that she should do nothyng without counsail, he bad her chose the best clerkes of his realme, to be of her counsaill, and licensed them to do the best on her part that thei could accordyng to the truthe: then she elected Willyam Warhā Archbishop of Catorbury, and Nicholas West bishop of Elie, docters of the lawes, and Ihon Fisher bishop of Rochester, and Henry Standish bishop of sainct Asse, docters of Diuinitie, and many other docters and well learned men, whiche for a suertie like men wel learned, defended her cause as far as learnyng might defend it, as you shall here in the yere folowyng.

This yere was sir Iames Spenser Maior of Londō, in whose tyme the watche in London on Midsomer night was laied doune.

¶ THE. XXI. YERE.

The. xxi. yere. IN the beginning of this yere, in a greate Hall within the black Friers of London, was ordeined a solempne place for the two Legates to sit in, with two cheyers couered with cloth of gold, and cusshions of thesame, and a Dormant table railed before, like a so-
The Counsail at the Blacke Friers. lempne Courte, all couered with Carpettes and Tapissery: on the right hand of the court was hanged a clothe of estate, with a Chayer and Cusshions of riche Tissue, for the kyng, and on the left hand of the Courte was set a riche chayer for the Quene. When the place was redy, the Kyng and the Quene wer ascited by Docter Sampson, to appere before the Legates, at the forenamed place, the twentie and eight day of May, beyng then the morow after

after the feast of *Corpus Christi*, in proper persō, or by their Proctors. At the daie assigned, the Legates came to the forenamed place, with Crosses Pillers, Axes, and all the Ceremonies belongyng to their degrees, and after that thei wer set (the Cardinal of Yorke sitting on the right hand) their Commission was redde, and the cause of their commyng thether openly declared, the effect whereof was, that the Courte of Rome was instructed, that greate Clerkes and learned men, had enformed the King, that his mariage with his brothers wife, was vnlawfull, dāpnable, and directly against the Law of God, wherefore they were directed and appoynted by thesaied Courte, to be iudges in the cause, and to here what on both parties could be alleged: after this was done the kyng was called by name, for whom twoo procters appered, then the Quene was called, whiche within short space, beyng accompaignied with the foure Bishoppes, and other of her counsaill, and a greate compaignie of Ladies and gentle women folowyng her, came personally before the Legates, and after her obeisance, sadly and with greate grauitie done, she appeled from them as Iudges not competent for that cause, to the Court of Rome, and after that done she departed again. Notwithstādyng this appele, the Legates sat wekely, & euery day were argumentes on bothe partes, and nothing els done. The Quene appealed.

The king which onely desired, to haue an ende in this matter, for discharge of his conscience, came to the Courte the of Iune, and the Quene also, where he standyng vnder his cloth of estate, saied these wordes in effect folowyng: My lordes, Legates of the Sea Appostolike, whiche be deputied Iudges, in this great and waightie matter, I most hartely beseche you, to ponder my mynde and entent, which only is to haue a final ende, for the discharge of my cōscience: for euery good christen man knoweth what pain, & what vnquietnes he suffreth, which hath his conscience greued, for I assure you on myne honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, & troubled my spirites, that I can scantely study any thyng, whiche should be profitable for my Realme and people. And for to haue a quietnes in body and soule, is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I haue maried for I dare saie that for her womanhode, wisedom, nobilitie, and gentlenes, neuer Prince had suche another, and therfore if I would willyngly chaunge I wer not wise: wherfore my suite is to you my Lordes at this tyme, to haue a spedy ende, accordyng to right, for the quietnes of my mynde and conscience onely, and for no other cause as God knoweth. The Kynges Oracion.

When the Kyng had saied, the Quene departed without any thyng saiyng, then she was called to know whether she would bide by her appeale, or answer there before the Legates, her Procter answered, that she would byde by her appeale, that notwithstandyng, the Counsailers on bothe sides euery day almoste met, and debated this matter substancially, so that at the last the Diuines were all of opinion, that the mariage was against the Lawe of God, if she were carnally knowen, by the first brother (which thing she clerely denied) but to that was answered, that Prince Arthur her husbande, confessed the act done, when he called for dryuke earely in the mornyng, saiyng: that he had been in Spaine that night, whiche was a hote countrey, meanyng that he had carnally vsed her, farther at the tyme of the death of Prince Arthur, she thoughte and iudged that she was with childe, and for that cause, the King was deferred from the Title and Creacion of the Prince of Wales, almoste halfe a yeare, whiche thyng could not haue been iudged, if she had not been carnally knowen.

Also she her self caused a Bull to be purchased, in the whiche were these woordes, *Vel forsan coguitam*, whiche is asmuche to say, as peraduenture carnally knowen, whiche woordes were not in the first Bull graunted by Iuly at her seconde mariage to the Kyng, which seconde Bull with that clause was only purchased, to dispence with the second Matrimony, although there were carnall copulacion before, whiche Bull neded not to haue been purchased, if there had been no carnall copulacion, for then the first Bull had been sufficient.

When the Diuines on her side, were beaten from that ground, then they fell to perswasions of Natural reason, how this should not be vndoen, for three causes: One was because if it should be broken, the onely childe of the Kyng, should be a Bastarde, whiche were a greate

a greate mischief to the realme: Secondly, the separacion should be a cause of great vn kyndnes, betwene her kynred and this realme. And the third cause was, that the continuaunce of so long space, had made the Mariage honest: These perswasions with many other, were set furthe by the Quenes Counsaill, and in especiall by the Bishop of Rochester, which stode stiffe in her cause, but yet Gods precept was not answered, wherfore they left that ground and fell to pleading, that the Court of Rome had dispensed with that Mariage: To this some Lawyers saied, that no yearthely persone is able to dispence with the positiue Lawe of God.

When the Legates had heard the opinions of the Diuines, and sawe that their opinion for the moste part, was against the Matrimony, and that now the question was brought to dispute the auctboritie of the Court of Rome, they beganne a litle to quicken: For they considered that if they should saie and determyne, that the Court of Rome might not dispence in that case, that few menne would thynke, that they might dispence in any other case, which should be to theim, a greate losse and hurt. Wherfore they dissimuled the matter, and euer told the King, that he should haue an end shortly, and tracted furthe the tyme with Oracions and Sophistical argumentes, till August began to approche: then Cardinall Campeius saied, that they might not sit after Iuly, till October, all whiche season was a vacacion in the Courte of Rome, and their Court beeyng a member of the Courte of Rome, they must nedes do thesame: this saiyng was reported to the kyng which, by that saiyng knewe perfectly, that he should then haue no ende, and then he complained to the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and other nobles of his counsaill, how he was delayed, and willed them at the next Session, to require them to make an end of the cause, and what Iudgement soeuer they gaue, he would gladly accept it, for the quietnes of his conscience.

These noble men came to the place, where the Legates sat, the. xxx. day of August, beyng Friday, where as Cardinal Campeius, declared in eloquent Latin, and sware on his honor and faithe that he bare to the church of Rome, that the course of the courtes there be, at thende of Iuly, to suspende all causes, till the. iiii. daie of October, and if any cause be treated, and iudged in the meane season, that iudgement to be clerely voyde and therfore he required the kyng to take pacience, till that time, trusting that then thei should procede toward sentēce, so that he should be contented: the noble menne desired theim to make an ende, whatsoeuer it were, that day or the next day, which was the last daie of Iuly: but they answered that they could sit no more till October, whiche answere sore displeased the noble menne, whiche the king had sent thether, in so much that Charles Duke of Suffolke, seeyng the delay, gaue a great clappe on the Table with his hande and said: by the Masse, now I see that the olde saied sawe is true, that there was neuer Legate nor Cardinall, that did good in Englande, and with that saiyng all the Temporall Lordes departed to the King, leauyng the Legates sitting one lookyng on the other sore astonnied, because they saw the Temporall lordes depart in anger.

You may be sure, that the king was not well content, when he hard of this delay, but yet like a wise Prince, he tooke it paciently, trustyng to haue an ende in October ensuyng: But when he heard tell, that a letter was sent for the Cardinall Campeius, that he should with spede, returne into Italy, and that he prouided for his iorney: Then he openly perceiued, that the Legates dissimuled the tyme to haue the matter in the Courte at Rome, for the mainteinaunce of their auctboritie, knoweyng perfectly, that there he should bee foded furthe with argumentes so long, that he should be in maner wery, and also all that tyme, he should bee vnquietin his conscience, which was the greatest care, that he had, but the seconde care that he tooke, was to see the Cardinall of Yorke, (whom he so highly fauoured and trusted, and whom he had so highly promoted, both to the Archbishopriche of Yorke, and the Bishoprickes of Winchester, Duresme, and the Abbay of Saincte Albones, with many other greate dignities and promocions, beside the Chauncellorshippe of Englande) so vnfaithfully to dissimule with hym, and not to open the very truthe, which caused hym clerely to cast hym out of his fauor, in the which he had long been.

Whē

Whē the nobles and prelates perceiued, that the kings fauor was from the Cardinal sore mioished, euery man of the Kynges Counsaill, beganne to laye to hym suche offences, as they knewe by hym, and all their accusacions were written in a boke, and all their handes set to it, to the nomber of thirtie and foure, which boke they presented to the kyng. When the kyng saw the boke, he marueiled not a litle, for by the Articles conteigned in thesame, he euidently perceiued the high pride and coueteousnes of the Cardinal, and saw openly with what dissimulacion and clokyng, he had handeled the kynges causes: how he with faire liyng woordes, had blynded and defrauded the kyng, moste vntruly, whiche accusacions sore moued the kyng against hym, but yet he kepte it close for a time, and so the Kyng rode on his progresse with the Quene to Woodstocke. And at the feast of the Natiuitie of our Lady, he came to Grafton, beside Stony Stratforde, and thether came the two Legates, and were but meanely receiued, sauyng that the Kyng made to theim good semblaunce, and in especiall to Cardinall Campeius, because he came into England at his request: and after dinner the saied Campeius toke his leaue of the kyng, and then the kyng him conueighed to the chamber dore, and there they departed, and the Cardinall of Yorke also went with his compaignion to Tocester, and on the morowe he came to Grafton to speake with the kyng, which was then rydyng out on hunting, and sent hym woorde by Henry Norreis, that he should accompaignie Campeius to London, and when the kyng came to London, he would more cōme with hym: thus almoste dismaied the Cardinall of Yorke, returned to his compaignion to To ester, and so thei came together to London, where to the Cardinal Campeius, were delinered greate rewardes, and so he toke his iorney toward the sea side. Where the kynges counsail, caused his chestes & cariages to be opened to se what letters the Cardinal of Yorke had sent to the court of Rome, & there wer but a few letters found, for they were sent before in post, but in many chestes wer found, old hosen, old coates, and such vile stuffe, as no honest man would cary to haue it, which serch much displeased Campeius, and the more because his coffers wer like wise opened in Chepe, by the rashenes of a Moile, as you heard in the tenth yere of this king.

Thus departed out of England in high displeasure, the craftie Cardinall Campeius, leauyng behynde him his subtle felowe, whiche after their departyng from the kyng at Grafton, neuer sawe the Kyng, nor came in his presence. This greate Session of the legates, was commuued of through Christendome, and in especiall in Spain, and other the Emperors Dominions, which sore grudged that the Quene should bee diuorsed from the kyng: and surely the most part of the laye people of Englande, which knew not the lawe of God, sore murmured at the matter, and much the more, because there was a gentle woman in the Court, called Anne Bulleyne, daughter to sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rocheforde; whom the kyng much fauoured in all honestie, and surely none otherwise, as all the world well knew after. For this cause the Quenes ladies, gentlewomen, and seruauntes, largely spake & said that she so entised the kyng, and brought him in such amours, that only for her sake and occasion, he would be diuorsed from his Quene, this was the foolishe communicacion of people, contrary to the truth, as you haue heard declared before. The last time the Cardinall came to the kynges presence.

The kyng whiche all the twentie yere paste, had been ruled by other, and in especial by the Cardinal of Yorke, began now to be a ruler & a King, yea, a Kyng of suche witte, wisedome, and pollicie, that the like hath not reigned ouer this Realme, as you shall playnly perceiue here after: aswell for the setting furth of true Doctryne, as also for the augmentacion of his Croune. For when he perceiued, howe the Cardinalles had handeled hym, and saw plainly that the lawe of God was clere, that he might not mary his brothers wife, he thought to sende his Ambassadours to all the Vniuersities in Fraunce and Italy, to knowe their determinacions, and for that cause he sent Doctor Stokesley, and Doctor Foxe, two greate Clerkes into Fraunce, which sped as you shall hear after declared, when the matter serueth.

The kyng continually studiyng on this matter, called a counsaill of the chief of his nobles, to begin at Westminster, the first daie of October next ensuing, and also so- The Kyng begynneth to rule.

moned a Parliamēt, to begin the third day of Nouember, then immediatly folowyng, & declared that thesame cōusaill, should deuise diuerse actes, necessary and nedefull to bee passed at thesaied Parliament, for reformacion of certain exaccions, done by the clergie to the lay people, to which counsaill and Parliament, the Cardinal was warned and somoned, whiche muche conforted hym, that he outwardly litle abashed: and so he and al the counsaill, came to the cōusaill chamber at Westminster, and there diuerse daies, communed of diuerse thynges, but nothing was fully concluded, and there the Cardinall shewed hymself, much more humblier, then he was wont to be, and the lordes shewed themselfes more higher and straunger, then thei were wont to bee, but for all that he abashed not his countenaunce, but came into Westminster hall with all his trayne, the first day of the Terme: but none of the kynges seruauntes would go before, as they were wont to do, and so he sat in the Chauncery, but not in the Starre chamber, for all the lordes and other the kynges counsaill, were gone to Wynsore to the Kyng, where they enformed the Kyng, that all thynges that he had done almoste, by his power Legantyne, were in the case of the Premunire and prouison: and that the Cardinall had forfected, all his landes, tenementes, goodes, and catelles to the kyng: wherefore the kyng willyng to ordre him, accordyng to the ordre of his lawes, caused his attorney Cristopher Hales to sue out a Writte of Premunire against hym, in the whiche he licensed hym, to make an attorney.

The Cardinalles pride abated.

The Cardinall in the Premunire.

And farther the seuentene day of Nouember, he sent the two dukes of Norffolke and Suffolk, to his place at Westminster, to fetch away the great Seale of Englande, whiche he was loth to deliuer, if there had been any remedy, but in conclusion he deliuered it, to the two Dukes, whiche deliuered thesame to doctor Tailor Master of the Rolles, to cary it to the kyng, which so did the next day: and beside this the Kyng sent sir William Fitz William knight of the Garter, and Thresorer of his house, and Doctor Stephin Gardiner, newly made Secretary, to se that no goodes should be embesiled out of his house: and farther ordeined that the Cardinal should remoue to Ashire beside Kyngston, there to tary the kynges pleasure, & to haue all thynges deliuered to him, which were necessary for him, but not after his old pōpeous & superfluous fashion: For all his goodes wer seazed to the kynges vse. Whē the seale was thus taken from the Cardinall, the dukes of Norffolke and Suffolk, with many Erles, Bishoppes and Barons, came into the Starre chamber, the xix. day of October, where the duke of Norffolke declared that the kynges highnes, for diuerse and sondery offences, had taken frō hym his greate Seale, and deposed him of all offices, and least menne might complain for lacke of Iustice, he had appointed him & the duke of Suffolk, with the assent of the other lordes, to sit in the Starre chāber to hear and determine causes indifferently, and that of all thynges the Kynges pleasure and commaundement was, that they should kepe their handes close, from any rewardes takyng, or maintenaunce, and so that weke they sat in the Starre chamber and determined causes.

The Cardinalles removyng from Yorke place.

On the daie of thesame moneth, the Cardinall removed out of his house called Yorke place, with one Crosse saiyng, that he would he had neuer borne more, meaning that by his crosse, that he bare as legate whiche degre taking was his confusion, as you se openly, and so he toke his barge, and went to Putney by Water, and there toke his horse and rode to Asher, where he remaigned till Lent after.

Duryng which tyme, he beyng called on for an answere in the kynges Bench, to the premunire, for geuyng benefices by preuencion, in disturbance of mens enheritaunce, and diuerse other open causes in the premunire: he accōrding to the kynges licence, constituted Ihon Scute and Edmond Ienny, apprentices of the Lawe his attorneis, which by his awne warrant signed with his hande, confessed all thynges concernyng thesaid suite, for they wer to opē to be cloked or hidden, and so iudgement was geuen, that he should forfet al his lādes, tenemētes goodes and catalles, and should be out of the kynges protecciō, but for all that the kyng sent him a sufficient proteccion: & of his gentlenes left to him the Bishoprikes of Yorke and Winchester, and gaue to him plate and stuffe conueniēt for his degree, and the Bishoprike of Duresme, he gaue to doctor Tunstal bishop of London, and

and the Abbey of sainct Albones he gaue to the Prior of Norwiche, and to London he promoted Docter Ihon Stokesley, then Ambassador to the Vniuersities, for the kynges mariage, as you haue heard before. For all these kyndnes shewed to the Cardinall, yet he still maligned against the kyng, as you shall perceiue here after, by his vntrue doynges, which brought hym to confusion.

The twenty and three day of October, the kyng came to his Manor of Grenewiche, and there muche consulted with his counsaill, for a mete manne to bee his Chauncellour, so that in no wise he were no manne of the Spiritualtie, and so after long debate, the Kyng resoluted himself vpon sir Thomas More knight, Chauncellour of the Duchie of Lancastre, a manne well learned in the tounges, and also in the Common Lawe, whose witte was fyne, and full of imaginacions, by reason wherof, he was to muche geuen to mockyng, whiche was to his grauitie a greate blemishe. And then on the Sondaie, the twentie and foure daie of thesame monethe, the kyng made hym his Chauncellour, and deliuered him the great Seale, which Lorde Chauncellour, the next morow after, was ledde into the Chauncery, by the two dukes of Northfolk and Suffolk, and there sworne, and then the Mace was borne before hym. Sir Thomas More made Chauncellor.

Now let vs returne to the treatie of Cambray, whiche was appointed to be kept the last Sommer, for the conclusion of a peace, betwene the Emperor on the one part, and the kyng of England and the French kyng on the other part, for whiche conclusion there came to Cambrey, the Lady Margaret Duches of Sauoy, Aunt to the Emperour and the Lady Loyse duches of Angulesme, and mother to the Frenche kyng and Docter Tunstall bishoppe of London, and after bishoppe of Duresme, and sir Thomas More knight, after made Chauncellour of Englande, and diuerse other for the Kyng of Englande, all these mette there in the beginning of Iuly, accompaignied with diuerse great princes and Counsailers, on euery parte, and after long debating on bothe sides, there was a good conclusion taken, the fifth day of August, in the which was concluded, that the treatie of Madrill, should stande in his full strength and vertue, sauyng the thirde and fourth, and the leuenth and fourtenth articles, which touch the Duchie of Burgoyne, and other lordshippes.

Item, it was agreed that the French kyng should haue his children deliuered again, paiyng to the Emperoure two Millyons of Crounes of gold, whereof he should paie at the deliueryng of the children, twelue hundred thousand Crounes.

Item, that the Frenche kyng should acquite the Emperoure, against the kyng of Englande, of foure skore and tenne thousande Crounes, whiche the Emperoure ought to the king of England, and the kyng of Englande to deliuer all suche bondes and gages, as he had of the Emperours.

Item, as touching the remnant, which was fiue hundred and tenne thousand Crounes, the Emperor should haue. xxv. thousande crounes rent yerely, for the which he should haue the landes, of the Duches of Vandosme, liyng in Flaunders, and Brabant bounde.

Item, that Flaunders and diuerse other coūtreys, should not behold in chief, nor haue resort to the croune of Fraunce.

Item, that the realme of Naples, the Duchie of Millain, & the countie of Ast, should for euer remain to the Emperor.

Item, that the French Kyng should with drawe all such souldiers as he had, out of Italy.

Item, that the Lady Elianor should be brought into Fraunce, with the French Kynges children, and in time conuenient should be maried to the Frenche king.

Item, that the French Kyng should aide the Emperor with twelue Gallies to go into Italy.

Item, that all prisoners on both parties should be acquited.

Item, that the French Kyng should not ayde Robert de la Marche, against the bishop of Luke.

Item, that al the goodes moueable and vnmoueable, of Charles late Duke of Burbon, should be restored to his heires, they paiyng to lorde Henry, Marques of Dapenete, and Erle of Nassaw, Lorde Chamberlayne to the Emperor, tenne thousande Ducates, which he lent to the saied Duke of Burbon.

Item, that Ihon Erle of Pantnieure, should be remitted to all such goodes, as were Erle Rene his fathers.

Item, the Lord Laurence de Gorowod, great Master to the Emperoure, should be restored to the Lordeshippes of Chalmount, and Montenalle, whiche he bought of the Duke of Burbon, or els to haue his money again.

Item, Phillip de Chalon Prince of Orenge and Viceroy of Naples, to be restored to all his landes in Burgoyne.

Item, that the Duches of Vandosme, and Loys Erle of Nauers should haue all such right and accions, as they should haue had, before the warre began.

In the Emperours countreys, when all thyages were written, sealed and finished, there was a solempne Masse song in the Cathedral church of Cambrey, the twoo ladies Ambassadors of the king of Englãde, sittyng in greate estate, and after Masse the peace was Proclaimed, betwene the three princes, and *Te deum* song, and money cast to the people, and greate fires made through the citee. Thesame night the Frenche Kyng came into Cambrey, well and nobly accompanied and saluted the Ladies, and to them made diuerse bankettes, and then all persones departed into their countrey, glad of this concord.

The womennes peace.

This peace was called the womennes peace, for because that notwithstandyng this conclusion, yet neither the Emperoure trusted the Frenche kyng, nor he neither trusted nor loued him, and their Subiectes were in thesame case. This Proclamacion was proclaymed solempnely, by Heraoldes, with tropettes in the citee of London, whiche Proclamacion much reioysed the Englishe Merchantes, repairing into Spain, Flaunders, Brabant, Zelande, and other the Emperors dominions, for duryng the warres, Merchantes were cuill handeled on both parties, which caused them to be desirous of peace.

Cuthard Tũstal bishop of Lõdõ bought Newe Testamentes to burne.

Here is to be remembred, that at this present time, William Tindale had newly translated and imprinted the New Testament in Englishe, and the bishop of London not pleased with the translacion thereof, debated with himself, how he might compasse and deuise, to destroy that false and erronious translation, (as he saied). And so it happened that one Augustine Packington, a Mercer and Merchant of London, and of a great honestie, the same tyme was in Andwarp, where the Bishope then was, and this Packyngton was a man that highly fauored William Tindale, but to the bishop vtterly shewed hymself to the contrary. The bishop desirous to haue his purpose brought to passe, commoned of the New Testamentes, and how gladly he would bye them. Packyngton then hearyng that he wished for, saied vnto the bishop, my Lord if it be your pleasure, I can in this matter dooe more I dare saie, then moste of the Merchauntes of England that are here, for I knowe the Dutche men and straungiers that haue bought theim of Tindale, and haue theim here to sell, so that if it be your lordshippes pleasure, to pay for them, for otherwise I cannot come by them, but I must disburse money for theim, I will then assure you, to haue euery boke of them, that is imprinted and is here vnsolde. *The Bishop thinking* that he had God by the too, when in deede he had (as after he thought) the Deuell by the fiste, saied, gentle Master Packington, do your diligence and get them and with all my harte I will paie for them, whatsoeuer thei cost you, for the bokes are erroneous and naughtes and I entend surely to destroy theim all, and to burne theim at Paules Crosse. Agustine Packyngton came to Willyam Tyndale and saied, Willyam I knowe thou art a poor man, and hast a hepe of newe Testamentes, and bokes by thee, for the whiche thou hast bothe indaungered thy frendes, and beggered thyself, and I haue now gotten thee a Merchaunt, whiche with ready money shall dispatche thee of all that thou hast, if you thinke it so proffitable for your self. Who is the Merchant said Tindale? The bishoppe of London saied Packyngton, O that is because he will burne them saied Tyndale, ye Mary quod Packyngton, I am

Augustyne Packyngton the Bishop of Londõs merchaunt.

the

the gladder said Tyndale, for these two benefites shall come therof, I shall get money of hym for these bokes, to bring my self out of debt, (and the whole world shall cry out vpon the burning of Goddes worde). And the ouerplus of the money, that shall remain to me, shall make me more studious, to correct thesaid New Testament, and so newly to Imprint thesame once again, and I trust the second will much better like you, then euer did the first: And so forward went the bargain, the bishop had the bokes, Packynton had the thankes, and Tyndale had the money.

Afterward when mo newe Testamentes were Imprinted, they came thicke and threfold into England, the bishop of London hearyng that still there were so many Newe Testamentes abrode, sent for Augustin Packington and saied vnto him: Sir how commeth this, that there are so many New Testamentes abrode, and you promised and assured me, that you had bought all? then saied Packyngtō, I promes you I bought all that then was to bee had: but I perceiue they haue made more sence, and it will neuer be better, as long as they haue the letters and stampes, therfore it wer best for your lordeshippe, to bye the stompes to, and then are you sure: the bishop smiled at him and said, well Packyngton well, and so ended this matter.

Shortly after it fortuned one George Constātine, to be apprehended by sir Thomas More, which then was lord Chauncellor of England, of suspiciō of certain heresies. And this Constantine beyng with More, after diuerse examinacions of diuerse thynges, emong other, Master More said in this wise to Constantine. Constantine I would haue thee plain with me in one thing that I will aske of thee, and I promes thee I will shew thee fauor, in all the other thynges, whereof thou art accused to me. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many mo of you, I know thei cannot liue without helpe, some sendeth theim money and succoureth theim, and thyself beyng one of them, haddest parte thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came I pray thee who be thei that thus helpe them? My lorde q^{d} Constātine, will you that I shal tell you the truth? Yea I pray thee q^{d} my Lord. Mary I will q^{d} Constantyne, truly q^{d} he it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen vs, for he hath bestowed emong vs, a great deale of money in New Testamentes to burne theim, and that hath and yet is our onely succoure and comfort. Now by my trothe q^{d} More, I thynke euē thesame, and I said so much to the bishop, when he went about to bye them. George Constantyne.

While this treatie was thus in communicacion at Cambrey, themperor which knew that his people lacked aide in Italy, and also perceiued that the people of Germany and Italy, had him not in suche honor as they would, if he wer once crouned Emperor, for in al writinges thei called hym onely Charles elected Emperor, wherefore he determined to go into Italy with a great puyssaunce, bothe to receiue his Imperial Croune, and also to aide his people, which there remained, and so accōpaignied with many Princes and noble men of Spain, and men of war, he toke ship at Barcilona, and sailed to Geane, where he was receiued with the seignioric of the citee, with great triumphe and honor, & great presentes geuen to him. Pope Clement hearyng that the Emperor was come into Italy, with all his Cardinalles and whole court, came to his citee of Bononie, and there taried the Emperors comming. The Pope came to Bonony.

While the Emperor laie at Geane, thither came to him diuerse great Princes of Italy, with greate powers, and when all thynges wer redy, he set forward in good ordre of battaill toward Bononie, and in euery toune he was receiued, & presented with great giftes and feasted, and so by long iorneis, he came nere to Bononie, where firste met with him, all the Clergie of the Citie with procession, then all the vniuersitie in there habites, al on horsebake, then came all the Children of the citie, in white sattin fringed with gold, after them the marchaūtes of the citie, all in crimosyn Damaske, then folowed the potestates & gouernors of the citie all in Crimosyn veluet, & within a myle of the citie there met hym foure and twentie Cardinalles: with this triumph the emperor was conueighed to the Cathedrall church, wher on the steppes of the west dore in a chair sat Pope Clement, and then the

Thempe-rour kisseth the Popes fete.

Emperour a lighted and kissed his fote and then they embraced togethier, and went into the church togethier and after went in to the pallace where they wer lodged both, and daily kepte great counsayles togethier. While the Cardinall lay at Bononie, ther came to him Fraunces Sforse Duke of Millane, to excuse hym selfe of all thynges to hym objected, and by muche entreatyng at the Popes request he pardoned hym his offence, and restored him to his dignitie and possession, paiyng to hym nine hundreth thousand Ducates, & till thei wer paied, the Castel of Millayne, and the toune of Crome, should abide in themperours possessiō. After this agrement the Emperour set for Anthony de leua, and made him capitayne of his ordinaunce, and so now the duchy of Millayne was brought to quiet. In the same season the kyng of Englād sent sir Nicholas Carew knight master of his horses, & Doctor Sapson to Bononie for the ratificacion of the league concluded at Cambray, to the performance whereof the Emperour was solemplie sworne, and so the Ambassadours departed: lykewise themperour set into England, Peter Lord of Rosebec, which likewise sawe the kyng of England sworne to performe the same.

According to the somons the kyng of Englāde began his high court of parliamēt, the third day of Nouembre. On which day he came by water to his place of Bridewell, and there he & his nobles put on there robes of parliamēt, and so came to the blacke Freers church, wher a Masse of the holy ghost was solemplie song by the kynges Chappell, & after the Masse, the kyng with all the Lordes of the parliament, and Commons which wer somoned to apere at that day came in to the parliamēt chābre, wher the kyng sat in his Throne or seate royal, and Sir Thomas More his Chauncelor standyng on the righthand of

An Oracion

the kyng behynde the barre made an eloquent Oracion, declaryng that like as a good shepard whiche not alonely kepeth and attendeth well his shepe, but all so forseeth & prouideth for althyng, which either *may* be hurtful or noysome to his floke, or may preserue and defende thesame agaynst all peryles that may chaunce to come, so the kyng whiche was the sheaperd, ruler and gouernour of his realme, vigilātly forseyng thinges to come cōsidered how diuers lawes before this tyme wer made nowe by lōg cōtinuance of tyme and mutacion of thinges, very insufficient, & vnperfight, and also by the frayl condicion of man, diuers new enormities were sprōg amongest the people, for the which no law was yet made to reforme thesame, which was the very cause why at that tyme the kyng had somoned his high court of parliament: and he resembled the king to a shepard, or heard man for this cause, for if a prince be compared to his riches, he is but a richeman, if a prince be compared to his honour, he is but an honourable man: but compare him to the multitude of his people and the numbre of his flocke, thē he is a ruler, a gouernor of might and puissaunce, so that his people maketh *him* a prince, as of the multitude of shepe, commeth the name of a shepherd: and as you se that emongest a great flocke of shepe some be rotte and fauty which the good sheperd sendeth from the good shepe, so the great wether which is of late fallen as you all knowe, so craftely, so scabedly, ye & so vntruly iuggeled with the kyng, that all men must nedes gesse and thinke that he *thought in* him self, that he had no wit to perceiue his craftie doyng, or els that he presumed that the kyng woulde not se nor know his fraudulent Iuggeling and attemptes: but he was deceiued, for his graces sight was so quike and penetrable, that he saw him, ye and saw through him, both with in and without, so that all thing to him was open, and according to his desert he hath had a gentle correction, which small ponishmēt the kyng will not to be an example to other offendoures, but clerly declareth that whosoeuer here after shall make like attempt or commit like offence, shall not escape with lyke ponyshment: and because you of the common house be a grosse multitude, and cannot speake all at one time: Therfore the kynges pleasure is, that you shall resorte to the nether house, and there emongest your self accordyng to the olde and auncient custome to chose an able persō to be your cōmon mouth & speaker, & after youre election so made to aduertise his grace therof, which wyll declare to you his pleasure what day he wil haue hym preset in this place.

After this doné, the commons resorted to the nether house, & they chose for there speaker

er Thomas Audeley Esquier & attorney of the Duchie of Lancaster, and the same day was the parliamēt adiourned to Westminster. On the sixt day of the same moneth the king came in to the parliament chambre and all the Lordes in there robes, and ther the commons of the nether house presented there speker, whiche there made an eloquent Oracion which cōsisted in two poyncte̅s, the first poynct was that he muche praysed the kyng for his equitie and Iustice, mixed with mercy and pitie, so that none offence was forgotten and left vnponished nor in the punishment the extremitie nor the rigor of the lawe not cruelly extended, which shuld be a cause to bridel all men from doing like offences, and also a comforte to offendors to confesse there crime and offence, and an occasion of amendment and reconciliacion. Thomas Audeleri chosen speaker. An oracion.

The second poinct was, that he disabled him selfe, both for lacke of wit, learnyng and discrecīō to so high an office, beseching the kyng to cause his commons to resort eftsones to ther common house, and there to chose an other speaker for that parliament.

To this the kyng (by the mouth of the Lord Chauncelor) answered that where he disabled hym selfe in wit and learnyng, his awne ornate oracion there made testified the contrary, and as touching his discrecīō and other qualities, the kyng him selfe had well knowē him and his doynges, sith he was in his seruice, to be both wise and discrete, and so for an hable man he accepted him, and for the speaker he him admitted.

When the commons were assembled in the nether house, thei began to common of their grefes wherwith the spiritualtie had before tyme greuously oppressed them, both cōtrarie to the lawe of the realme, & cōtrarie to all righte, and in especial thei were sore moued with sixe greate causes.

The first for the excesse fynes, which the ordinaries toke for probat of Testamentes, insomuche that Sir henry Guilford knight of the gartir and comptrollor of the kinges house, declared in the open Parliament on his fidelitie that he and other beyng executors to Sir William Compton knight paied for the probate of his wil to the Cardinal & the Archbishop of Cauntorburie a thousand Marke sterlyng: after this declaracion were shewed so many extorcions done by ordinaries for probates of willes, that it were to muche to rehearse. 1

The second cause was the great polling and extreme exaccion, which the spirituall men vsed in takyng of corps presentes or mortuaries, for the children of the defunct should al dye for hunger and go a beggyng rather then thei would of charitie geue to them the sely kow which the dead man ought if he had but only one, such was the charitie then. 2

The third cause was, that priestes beyng surueiors, stuardes and officers to Bishoppes, Abbotes, and other spirituall heddes, had and occupied Fermes, Graunges, & grasing in euery contrey, so that the poore husbandmen coulde haue nothyng but of them, and yet for that they should pay derely. 3

The fourth cause was that Abbotes Priors and spiritual men kept Tanne houses, & bought and soulde woll, clothe and all maner of marchaundise as other temporall marchauntes did. 4

The fift cause, was because that spiritual persones promoted to great benefices, & hauyng there liuyng of ther flocke, were liyng in the courte̅ in lordes houses, & toke al of the parishoners, & nothing spent on the at al, so that for lack of residēce both the poore of the parish lacked refreshyng, & vniuersally all the parishioners lacked preaching, & true instrucciō of Gods worde, to the greate perell of there soules. 5

The sixt cause was to se one priest beyng litle learned to haue tenne or twelue benefices and to be resident on none, and to know many well learned scholers in the vniuersitie which wer able to preche & teache, to haue nether benefice nor exhibicion. 6

These thinges before this time might in nowise be towched nor yet talked of by no man except he would be made an heritike, or lese al that he had, for the bishopes were chauncelors, and had all the rule about the kyng, so that no man durst once presume to attempt any thing contrary to their proffit, or commoditie.

But now when God had illumined the eies of the kyng, and that ther subtell doinges was

6i once

once espied: then men began charitably to desyre a reformacion, and so at this Parliamēt men begā to shew ther grudges.

Where vpon the Burgesses of the Parliament, appointed suche as were learned in the law being of the common house, to drawe one bill of the probates of Testamentes, another for Mortuaries, and the thirde for none residēce, pluralities, and takyng of Fermes by spiritual men.

The learned men toke muche payne, and firste set forthe the bill of Mortuaries, whiche passed the common house, and was sent vp to the Lordes.

To this bill, the spirituall Lordes made a fayre face, saiyng that surely priestes and curates toke more then they should, and therefore it were well done to take some reasonable ordre, thus thei spake because it touched them litle.

But with in two daies after was sēt vp the bill concerning probates of Testamentes, at the which the Archbishop of Cauntorburie in especiall, and all other bishoppes in generall both frowned and grunted, for that touched ther proffite, insomuch as Doctor Ihon Fisher bishop of Rochester, saied openlie in the Parliament chambre these woordes: my Lordes, you se daily what billes come hither from the commō house and all is to the destruction of the churche, for Godes sake se what a Realme the kyngdome of Boheme was, and when the Church went doune, then fell the glory of the kyngdome, now with the Commons is nothing but doune with the Church, and all this me semeth is for lacke of faith only.

The saiyng of I. Fisher B. of Rochester.

When these wordes were reported to the Commons of the nether house, that the bishop should say that all ther doynges were for lacke of faith, thei toke the matter greuously, for thei Imagined that the bishop estemed them as Heretikes, and so by his slaunderous woordes would haue perswaded the temporall Lordes to haue restrained there consent from the saied two billes, whiche they before had passed, as you haue hard before.

Wherefore the Commons after long debate, determined to send the speaker of the Parliament to the kinges highnes, with a greuous complaynt, agaynst the bishop of Rochester, and so on a day when the kyng was at layser, Thomas Audeley the speaker for the commons and thirtie of the chief of the common house, came to the kynges presence in his palace at Westminster, whiche before was called yorke place and there very eloquently declared what a dishonour to the kyng and the realme it was to say that they which were elected for the wysest men of all the Shcres, Cities, and boroughes within the realme of Englād shoulde be declared in so noble and open presence to lacke faith, whiche was equivalent to say, that thei were Infidelles and no Christians, as ill as Turkes or Sarasins, so that what payne or studie so euer thei toke for the common wealth, or what actes or lawes so euer thei made or stablished, shulde be taken as lawes made by Panyms and bethen people, & not worthy to be kept by christian men: wherfore he most humbly besought the kinges highnes, to call the saied bishop before him & to cause him to speake more discretly of such a nombre as was in the cōmō house.

A complaynt made to the kyng.

The kyng was not well contented with the saiyng of the bishop, yet he gently answered the speaker, that he would send for the bishop and send them worde what answere he made, and so they departed agayne. After this the kyng sent for the archebishope of Cauntorburie and sixe other bishopes, and for the bishop of Rochester also, and there declared to him the grudge of the commons, to the which the bishop answered that he ment the doinges of the Bohemians was for lacke of faith, and not the doynges of them that were in the common house, which saiyng was confirmed by the bishopes being present, which had him in greate reputaciō, and so by that only saiyng the kyng accepted his excuse and therfore sent woord to the comons by sir William Fitz william knight treasoror of his household, which blind excuse pleased the commons nothyng at all.

The bishops excuse.

After this diuers assemblies wer kept betwene certein of the lordes & certayne of the commons, for the billes of probates of Testamentes, and the mortuaries: the temporaltie laied to the spiritualtie ther awne lawes and constitucions, and the spiritualtie sore defended them by prescripsion and vsage, to whome an answere was made by a gentleman of Greyes

Inne: the vsage hath euer ben of theues to robbe on shoters hill, ergo is it lawfull: with answere the spirituall men were sore offended, because there doynges were called robberies, but the temporall men stode still by there saiynges, in so muche the saied gentle man saied to the Archebishop of Cauntorburie, that both the exaccion of probates of Testamentes, and the takyng of Mortuaries, as they were vsed were open robbery and theft: after long disputacion, the temporall lordes began to leane to the comons, but for all that, the billes remayned vnconcluded a while.

In the meane season, there was a bill assented by the Lordes, and sent doune to the commons, theffect wherof was, that the whole realme by the saied acte, did release to the kyng all suche somes of money as he had borowed of them at the loane, in the fiftene yere of his raigne (as you haue hard before) this bill was sore argued in the common house but the most parte of the commons were the kynges seruauntes, and the other were so labored to by other, that the bill was assented to. The loane released.

When this realease of the loane was knowen to the commons of the Realme, Lorde so they grudged, and spake ill of the hole Parliament, for almoste euery man counted it his dette, and reconed suerly of the payment of the same, and therefore some made there willes of thesame, and some other did set it ouer to other for debt, and so many men had losse by it, which caused them sore to murmur, but ther was no remedy. The kyng like a good and a discrete prince, seing that his commons in the Parliament house had released the loane, entendyng somewhat to requite the same, graunted to them a generall Pardon, of all offences, certayn great offences and debtes only except: also he aided them for the redresse of there greues against the spiritualtie, and caused two newe billes to be made indifferetly, both for the probate of Testamentes and mortuaries, which billes were so resonable that the spirituall lordes assented to them all though thei were sore against there myndes, and in especiall the probate of Testamentes sore displeased the bishopes, and the mortuaries sore displeased the persones and vicars.

After these Actes thus agreed, the Commons, made a nother acte for pluralities, of benefices, none residence, biyng and selling and takyng of fermes by spirituall persones, which acte so displeased the spiritualtie that the priestes railed on the commons of the common house, and called them heretikes, and scismatikes, for the which diuerse priestes were ponished.

This acte was sore debated aboue in the parliament chambre, and the Lordes spirituall woulde in nowise consent. Wherfore the kyng perceiuing the grudge of his commons, caused eight lordes and eight of his commons to mete in the starre chambre at an after none, and ther was sore debatyng of the cause, insomuche that the temporall Lordes of the vpper house, which were there, toke parte with the Commons, agaynst the spirituall lordes and by force of reason caused them to assent to the bil with a litle qualifiyng, whiche bill the nexte day was wholy agreed to in the lordes house, to the great reioisyng of the lay people, and to the greate displeasor of the spirituall persones.

Duryng this Parliament was brought doune to the commons, the boke of articles whiche the Lordes had put to the kyng agaynste the Cardinall, the chief articles were these.

First that he without the kynges assent had procured to be a Legate, by reason whereof he toke away the right of all bishopes and spirituall persones.

Item, in all writynges which he wrot to Rome or any other forayn Prince, he wrot *Ego et Rex meus*, I and my kyng, as who woulde say that the kyng were his seruaunt.

Item, that he hath sclaundered the church of England in the courte of Rome, for his suggestion to be legate was to reforme the churche of Englande, which as he wrote was *Facta in reprobum censum*.

Item, he without the kynges assent, caried the kynges great Seale, with hym into Flaunders when he was sent ambassad to the Emperoure.

Item, he without the kynges assent, sent a commission to Sir Gregory de Cassado, knighte,

knighte, to conclude a league betwene the kyng and the Duke of Farrar, without the kynge knowlege.

Item that he hauyng the Frenche pockes presumed to come & breth on the kyng.

Item, that he caused the Cardinalles hat to be put on the kynges coyne.

Item, that he woulde not suffer the kynges clarke of the market, to sit at Sainct Talbons.

Item, that he had sent innumerable substaunce to Rome, for the obteinyng of his dignities to the greate enpouerishment of the realme.

These Articles with many more, red in the common house, and signed with the Cardinalles hande, was confessed by hym, & also ther was shewed a writyng sealed with his Seale, by the whiche he gaue to the kyng all his mouables and vnmouables.

On the day of the conception of oure Lady, the kyng at Yorke place at Westminster, in the parliament tyme created the vicount Rochforth Earle of Wilshire, and the vicount Fitzwater, was created Earle of Sussex, and the Lorde Hastynges was created Earle of Huntyngton.

When althynges were concluded in the Parliament house, the kyng came to the Parliament chambre the seuentene day of Decembre, and there put his royall assent, to althynges done by the Lordes and commons, and so proroged his court of Parliament, tyll the next yere.

After the Parliament was thus ended, the kyng remoued to Grenewiche and there kept his Christemas with the quene in greate triumph: with great plentie of viaundes, and diuerse disguisynges and Enterludes, to the greate reioisyng of his people.

You haue harde before how the Emperour and the Pope was at Bononie, wher the Emperour made great preparacion for the solempnisyng of his coronacion, which was appoincted to be of Sainct Mathias day, or the foure and twentie day of February, on whych day, he was borne, and that day also the French kyng was taken, and because that that day had ben euer fortunate to him he appoincted his coronacion on that day: he apoincted it also at that place, because he woulde the soner passe into Almayne, to appece suche striefes and debates as was risen betwene the princes there.

And so whā the day came & euery thing was redy, he was crowned Emperor, in the churche of S. Peter, in the citie of Bononi by pope Clemēt the. vii. with al the ceremonies therto belōging. At this coronacio wer present the Dukes of Sauoy and Millayn, duke Frederik brother to the Palātinē of Rine, and the deputies to all the seuen Electors and the moste parte of al the nobles of Italy, and Spayne. This coronacion was done with great solemnities, there was feastyng, iustyng and torney, and althinges that might sounde to honoure was there shewed, bothe in apparell, and viaunde: and after that the Emperoure and the Pope, with the hole college of Cardinalles, and al the noble men beyng present rode in procession through the hie stretes of Bononi, with suche a pompe and triumph as had not bene sene in Italy many yeres before.

While the Emperour lay thus at Bononie, the kyng of Englande was aduertised by his ambassadoures, whiche he had sent to diuers vniuersities for the assoluyng of the doubte cōcernyng his mariage, that the saied vniuersities wer agreed and had clerly concluded, that the one brother to mary the other brothers wife, carnally knowne was directlie against Gods lawe, and that the pope nor the court of Rome could in no wise dispence with the same.

Wherefore the kyng knowyng themperour and the bishop of Rome to be together at Bononie, determined to send thether a solempne ambassade, both to declare to them the law of God, and the determinacion of the vniuersities, and also to require the bishop of Rome to do Iustice accordyng to the treuth, and also to shewe to the Emperoure that the kyng did not moue this matter for any displeasure that he bare to him or the quene his awnt, but only for the discharge of his conscience, and for the quietnes of his Realme.

When this purpose was agreed by the kynges counsayle, the kyng appoincted Sir Thomas Bulleyne

Bulleyne late created Earle of Wylshier and Doctor Stoksley elected bishop of London, and Doctor Edward Lee, his almoner, two great Clarkes, for his ambassadours & with them he sēt diuers doctors both of the lawe & diuinitie. These ambassadoures made greate preparacion, and about the begynnyng of Februarie thei set forward, and so muche thei trauailed that they came to Sauoy wher the Duke in the fayre toune of Cambrey, caused them honorably to be receiued and fested.

So they passed the Mountaynes, and so through the duchie of Millain & by long iorneis thei came to Bononie in lent, wher they wer honorably receiued by the master of the Emperoures house, and diuers Lordes and Gentlemen belongyng to the Pope, and within short space the saied ambassadoures were first conueighed to the Pope, and there declared ther message and shewed the determinacion of the great Doctors and famous vniuersities. Pope Clement whiche was a man of no learnyng but of a great wit made to them a gentle answere, and saied that he woulde here the matter disputed when he came to Rome and according to right he woulde do Iustice. But his entent was all contrarie, for he knew well that if he should geue sentence, that Pope Iuly coulde not dispence with the breache of Godes lawe, that then the auctoritie of the courte of Rome would litle be regarded, and also he feared the Emperours displeasure if he shoulde geue sentence againste his awnte, so that for feare of losing auctoritie, & of themperors displeasure, bishop Clement, durst not Iudge according to Goddes lawe. After they had bene with the Pope, they came to the Emperour, whiche them gently receiued, and after they had done their message, he answered them that he in no wise would be agaynst the lawe of God, and if the court of rome would adiudge that the matrimonie were not good, he would be cōtēt, but he thought all otherwise, for he solicited the pope & all the Cardinalles which wer his frendes to stād by the dispēsaciō, which he iudged to be as strong as Goddes law. After this answere they toke ther leaue of the Emperor, which the nexte weke after departed out of Bononie towarde Almayne in good ordre of battail, he him selfe in gilt harnes, and his nobles in white harnes with riche cotes and trappers very curiously besene. The Popes answear.

After that themperour was gon out of Bononie, the ambassadoures of England toke there leaue of the bishop of Rome, whiche went toward Rome agayne, and retorned toward England, through the Duchy of Millayn, whiche was receiued by the Earle Lodouick, great counsaylor to the Duke of Millain, which earle cōducted them through the whole Duchie of Millayne, & paied all their charges by the dukes cōmaūdemēt. And whē these ambassadors wer passed the mountaynes, they receiued letters frō the kyng, which appointed the Earle of Wilshire to go ambassade to the French king, which then lay at Burdeaux makyng prouision for money for the redemyng of his children: and the bishop of London was appoynted to go to Padua, and other vniuersities in Italy to know their opinions in the kynges cace, and the kinges almoner was apointed to retorne into Englād, and so he did, thus was the end of this ambassad.

You haue hard before how the Cardinall was attainted in the premunire and how he was put out of the office of the chauncellor and lay at Asher: In this Lent season the kyng by the aduice of his counsayle licenced him to go into his diocesse of Yorke, and gaue him commaundemēt to kepe hym in his diocesse and not to returne southwarde without the kynges speciall licence in writyng.

So he made great prouision to go Northwarde and appareled his seruauntes newly & bought many costely thinges for his houshold & so he might wel inough, for he had of the kynges gētlenes the bishopprickes of Yorke & Winchester, which wer no small thinges, but at this time diuers of his seruaūtes departed from him to the kynges seruice, and in especiall Thomas Crumwel one of his chief counsayle and chefe doer for him in the suppressiō of abbeis. After that al thinges necessarie for his iornay wer prepared, he toke his iorney northward til he came to Southwel which is in his dioces & ther he cōtinued this yere, euer grudging at his fall as you shall here after: but the lādes which he had geuē to his Colleges in Oxforde & Ypswych, were now come to the kynges handes, by his atteinder in the premunire, Thomas cromwell came into the kynges seruice.

and yet the kyng of his gentlenes and for fauour that he bare to good learnyng erected agayne the College in Oxford, and where it was named the Cardinalles College, he called it the kynges College, and endewed it with faire possessions, and put in newe statutes and ordinaunces, and for because the College of Ypswich was thought to be nothing proffitable, therefore he lefte that dissolued.

The last Somer while the peace was treated at Cambray as you haue hard before, Ferdinando brother to the Emperour, recouered certayne tounes whiche the Turkes had taken from hym in Hungary, and put to flighte his enemy Ihon the Vaiuoda, whiche falsly named him selfe kyng of Hungary. This Vaiuoda destitute of all succoure fled to Sultan Soliman the great Turke, desiryng hym of succor, to recouer Hungry againe. The Turke being glad to haue an occasion to distroy Hungry, assembled a puissaunt army, and entred into Hungry, and made proclamacion that what toune or Citie woulde not obey kyng Ihon as ther kyng, should be put to fire and sworde. This proclamacion so feared the Hungarians, that al in maner yelded thē self subiectes to the Vaiuoda, the citie of Bude onely except: whych at the last was yelden, by composicion that thei shuld depart with bag and baggage, but for al there safe conduit signed withe the great Turkes hand, they were firste robbed of the Ianizeres, and after that shamfully slain.

Cruelte of ye Turkes.

When the Turke had thus Bude in possession, he left there the Vaiuoda, and Lewes great bastard sonne to the Duke of Venice, with fiue thousand fotemen, and two thousand horsmen, and he with all haste entered into Austrice, wher his people committed such cruelties and tiranny, as neuer hath been hard nor written, for of some thei put out the eies of other they cut of the noses and eares, of other thei cut of the priuy mēbers, of women thei cut of the pappes, and raiished Virgins and of women great with child, thei cut ther bellies and brent the children: beside this, as thei passed thei brent corne, trees, howses, and al that would be brent to make the contry desolate, and at the last the two and twentie day of Septembre, the turkes armye came nye to Vienne, a riche and a famous Citie in Austrice.

The fame was that he had two hundreth and fiftie thousande men in his armie, and fiue and twentie thousande tentes in the sighte of the citie.

At the beginnyng of the siege certein Christian men were taken of the Turkes, which turkes cut of the heddes of foure lepers in a lazer cote, without the citie & put them vpon poles, & made christen prisoners presēt thē to the great turk, which therof toke great ioy: of ỹ which prisoners he released certain and bad them go to the captaynes and to tell thē that if they would yeld the citie to hym, they should depart with bag and bagage, and if thei would kepe it by force, he woulde suerly haue it & put thē all to the sword. Now in the citie was captayn duke Phillip of Bauier, Earle Palantine of the Rine, and nephew to the Palsgraue elector, a young man, but of noble corage, and with him were twentie thousand Almaynes, and two thousand horsemē, which nothing feared the Turkes threatnynges. The Turke perceiuyng ther boldnes bent his greate ordinaunce, which were thre hundreth peces agaynst the walles, and commaundyd the towne to be assauted: the Turkes gaue a great assaut, but the christen men valiantly defended them, so that the Turkes were compelled to fle, and many of them were slaine.

The fourth day of Octobre, the Turke bent all his Ordinaunce against the wal which so shoke the wall that all men within supposed that the walles would haue fallen doune, but thei did litle harme, whiche was sone amendid. The sixt day of Octobre, eight thousand christen men issued out of the toune, and came wher the Turkes miners wer working and slew a gret nombre & destroyed the mines. The same day the Turkes gaue a great assaute to the citie: the christyan men valiantly them defended, and threw downe great loggs and barres of Iron, and slew many Turkes. Thus the Turkes assauted the citie a leuen times, & somany times they wer betē away, but the great & terrible assaut was the twelue day of Octobre, at which assaut the christyan men so valiantly defended them selfe and slewe and hurt so many of the Turkes, that after that day, for no commandement that the Turke could geue, they woulde nomore geue assaute.

The

The Turke perceiued well bothe the strength of the Citie and the corage of the capitaines with in, and also the winter there was muche more colder then in his contreys, which sore troubled hym and his people, wherfore he called his counsail and concluded to breake vp his siege and to departe, & so the fouretene day of Octobre he shot greate stones into the citie all day till night: and aboute tenne of the clok in the night he caused his tentes to be takē vp, and set fire on the strawe, and such other stuffe, and so remoued all his armie, towarde Bude, sauing fiftie thousande horsemen whiche taried all the next day behynde, cariyng with hym a greate nombre of Christyan prisoners, whiche he put to the mines and suche other vile seruice.

At this siege the Turke loste by Murder, Sicknes, and cold, aboue fourescore thousande men, as one of his bassates did afterwarde confesse. The numbre of the turkes that died.

Thus was the citie of Vienne defended agaynst the greate Turke, and all his power whiche was to him a greate displeasure, and in especially because he neuer beseged Citie before, but either it was yelden, or taken, of the tyme of this siege a metrician made these verses.

Cesar in Italiam quo venit Carolus anno
Cincta est ripheis nostra Vienna getis.

In this yere themperour gaue to the lord master of saynt Ihones of Ierusalem, and his bretherne the Iland of Malto liyng betwene Scicile and Barbarie, there to employ them selfe vpon Christes enemies which lorde master had no place suer to enhabite there sith he was put from the Rhodes by this Turke that beseged Vienne, as you haue hard before.

THE. XXII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this two and twentie yere, the kyng like a politike & a prudent prince, perceiued that his subiectes and other persons had diuers times within foure yeres last past brought into his realme, great nombre of printed bokes, of the new Testament, translated into the English tongue by Tyndall, Ioy, and other, which bokes the common people vsed and dayly red priuely, which the clargie would not admit, for they punnished suche persones as had red, studied or taught thesame with greate extremitie, but bycause the multitude was so great, it was not in their power to redresse there grefe: wherfore they made complaint to the Chauncellor (which leaned much to the spirituall mennes part, in all causes) where vpon he imprisoned and punished a great nomber, so that for this cause a great rumour and controuersie rose daily emongest the people: wherfore the kyng cōsideryng what good might come of readyng of the new Testament with reuerence and folowyng thesame, and what euell might come of the readyng of thesame if it were euil translated, and not folowed: came into the starre chambre the fiue and twentie day of May, and there commoned with his counsaile and the prelates cōcernyng this cause, and after long debatyng, it was alleged that the translacion of Tyndall and Ioy were not truely translated, and also that in them were prologues and prefaces which sounded to heresie, and rayled against the bishopes vncharitably, wherefore all suche bokes were prohibited and commaundmēt geuen by the kyng to the bishoppes, that they callyng to them the best learned men of the vniuersities should cause a new translacion to be made, so that the people should not be ignoraunte in the law of God: And notwithstandyng this commaundement the bishopes did nothing at all to set furth a new trāslaciō, which caused the people to stody Tindalles translacion, by reasō where of many thinges cam to light, as you shall here after. The. xxij. yere. The newe testamēt forbidden.

In this yere in Maye, the bishop of Londō caused all his newe Testamētes which he had bought with many other bokes, to be brought into Paules churcheyarde in London and there was openly burned.

In the ende of this yere, the wilde Irishmen knowyng the Earle of Kildare to be in England, entred his lande, and spoyled and brent his coūtrey, and diuers other contreyes, and

the Earle of Ossery beyng the kynges deputie made litle resistaunce, for lacke of power, wherfore the kyng sent the erle of Kildare into Ireland, and with him sir Wyllyam Skeuyngton knight, Master of the kynges ordinaunce and diuers Gunners with him, whiche so politickly ordered them selfe that their enemyes were glad to offre amendes and to treate for truce, and so sir Wyllyam Skeuyngton the nexte yere returned into England leuyng there the Erle of Kildare for the kynges deputie.

Now I wyll returne to ỹ execucion of the treatie of Cambray in the which it was agreed that the Lady Elianor and the Frenche kynges children should be deliuered when the raunsome appointed was paied as you haue heard in the last yere: Wherfore ỹ French kyng gathered money of his subiectes w̄ all spede, and when the money was ready he sent the great Master of Fraunce called Annas de Memorancye and diuerse other nobles to Bayon with the money, and to receiue the lady and the children. And thither came to them the great Constable of Castle and Mounsire Prat for the Emperor, and there the crounes were wayed and touched, and what fault soeuer the Spanyardes found in them they would not receiue a great nomber of them, and so thei caried the children backe frō Foūtraby into Spayne. Thus the great master of Fraunce and his company lay still at Bayon without hauyng his purpose performed from Marche till the ende of Iune, and lenger had lyen if ỹ king of England had not sent sir Fraunces Bryan to Bayon to warrant the payment: wherevpon the day of deliueraunce was appointed to be on sainct Peters day in Iune. At whiche day the great Master with. xxxi. Mulettes laden with the crounes came to ỹ one syde of the riuer of Auday whiche riuer departeth Spayne and Fraunce & there taried till the first day of Iuly: on whiche day the lady Elianor & the children were put in two great boates, hauyng onely xii. gentlemen of Spayne with them: and in like maner the great Master with two great boates in the which the money was and xii. gentlemen with him. All these boates met at a brydge made in the middes of the riuer: The Constable of Spayn and his xii. gentlemen met with the great Master of Fraunce and his xii. gentlemen on the bridge, and after a litle salutacion the Frenchmen entered into the ii. boates where the Lady and the two children were, and the Spanyardes into the two boates where the money was, and then eche part hasted to land. Thus were the Frenche kynges wife and children deliuered into his handes, for whiche deliueraunce was great ioy & triumph made in Fraunce: & also in Iuly were fyers made in London & diuers other places for thesame consideracion and cause.

The deliuerāunce of the Frenche kynges children.

The Emperor as you haue heard the last yere, passed out of Italy into Germany and was receiued with great honor and triumph into the citie of Ausborough or August, where in Iune were present all the electors and almoste all the princes of the Empire: there was kept a great counsail, for the princes of Germany were of two seueral opinions and of seueral names, the part that fauored the pope and all thynges done by his auctoritie were called Catholical, and the other part which folowed and preached only the gospel of Christ were called euangelical. Of these and other thynges concernyng our fayth there wer many cōsailes: but Cardinal Campeius the Popes legate would not suffer the Euangelical persones (whom he called Lutherans) to argue against ỹ Catholical men (whō ỹ Euāgelical persones called papystes) lest by the openyng of the scripture the authoritie of the court of Rome should haue been damned, and therfore the Emperor put of the matter till another tyme: But this matter was not so let slyppe, for of this mocion men so serched the law of God that within a few yeres after, many people refused the Pope for the head of the Churche and forsoke him and his pardons.

On the xix. day of September in the citie of Lōdon was made this Proclamacion. "The kynges highnes straytly chargeth and cōmaundeth that no maner of person of what estate, degree or condicion soeuer he or they be of, do purchase or attempt to purchase frō ỹ court of Rome or els where, nor vse & put in execucion, diuulge, or publishe any thyng heretofore within this yere passed purchased or to be purchased hereafter, containyng matter preiudicial to the high auctoritie, iurisdiccion and prerogatiue royal, of this his sayd realm,

A proclamacion.

or

or to the let, hynderaũce or impechement of his graces noble and vertuous entended purposes in the premisses, vpon payne of incurryng his hignes indignacion & imprisonment & farther punishement of their bodies for their so doing at his graces pleasure, to the dreadfull example of all other."

This Proclamacion was muche mused at and euery woorde of thesame well noted. Some sayd that it was made because that the queue had purchased a new Bull for the ratificacion of her mariage, other sayd that it was made because the Cardinall had purchased a Bull to curse the kyng if he would not restore him to his old dignities, and that the king should suffer him to correct the spiritualtie and he not to meddle with thesame. This inuencion sounded moste to the trueth as you shall here afterward.

In October the riuer of Tyber was of suche an heighth that in Rome and other places about Rome almoste xii. M. persons were drouned, & in the next moneth zeland, Holland and Brabant were sore noyed with waters and many people and much cattell were drouned.

You haue heard in the last yere how the Cardinal of Yorke was attainted in the premunire and that notwithstanding the king had geuen him the bishoprickes of Yorke and Winchester with great plentie of substaunce, and had licẽsed him to lye in his dioces of Yorke. He beyng this in his dioces grudgyng at his fall & not remembryng the kynges kyndnes shewed to him, wrote to the court of Rome and to diuers other princes letters in reproche of the kyng, and in as much as in him lay, he stirred them to reuenge his cause against the kyng and his realme insomuche that diuers opprobious wordes of the kyng were spoken to doctor Edward Keerne the kynges Orator at Rome, and it was sayd to him that for the Cardinals sake, the kyng should haue the worse spede in the suite of his matrimony. The Cardinal also would speake fayre to the people to wynne their heartes and declared euer that he was vniustly and vntruely ordered, whiche fayre speakyng made many mẽ beleue that he sayd true: and to gẽtlemen he gaue great giftes to allure them vnto him: And to be had in the more reputacion among the people he determined to be installed or inthronised at Yorke with all the pompe that might be, and caused a throne to be erected in the Cathedral church in such an heigth and fashiõ as was neuer seen, and sent to all the lordes, Abbottes, Priors, knightes esquiers and gentlemen of his dioces, to be at his Manor of Cawod the vi. day of Nouember and so to bryng him to Yorke with all maner of pompe and solempnitie.

The pride of the Cardinal.

The kyng whiche knew his doynges and priuye conueyaunce, all this yere dissembled the matter to see what he would do at length, till that he saw his proud heart so hyghly exalted that he would be so triumphantly installed without making the kyng priuye, yea and in maner in disdayne of the kyng, thought it not mete nor conuenient to suffer him any lenger to continue in his malicious and proude purposes and attemptes: wherfore he directed his letters to Henry the vi. Erle of Northumberland, willing him with all diligence to arrest the Cardinal and to deliuer him to therle of Shrewsbury great Stewarde of the kynges housholde: When the erle had seen the letter, he with a cõuenient nomber came to the Manor of Cawod the iiii. day of Nouember, and when he was brought to the Cardinal in his chamber, he said to him, my lord I pray you take pacience, for here I arrest you. Arrest me sayd ẏ Cardinal, yea sayd the erle I haue a commaundement so to do: you haue no such power sayd the Cardinal, for I am both a Cardinal and a Legate de Latere and a pere of the College of Rome & ought not to be arrested by any temporal power, for I am not subiect to that power, wherfore if you arrest me I will withstand it: well sayd the erle here is the kings Commission (which he shewed him) and therfore I charge you to obey, the Cardinal somewhat remembred himselfe and sayd, well my lord, I am content to obey, but although that I by negligence fell into the punishment of the Premunire and lost by the lawe all my landes and goodes, yet my person was in the kynges proteccion and I was pardoned that offence, wherfore I meruail why I nowe should be arrested & specially consideryng that I am a member of the sea Apostolike on whõ no temporal man ought to lay violent

The Cardinal arrested.

violent handes, wel I see the king lacketh good counsail: wel sayd the erle when I was sworne Warden of the Marches, you your self told me that I might with my staffe arrest all men vnder the degree of a kyng, and now I am more stronger for I haue a cõmission so to do whiche you haue seen. The Cardinal at length obeyed and was kept in his priuie chamber and his goodes seazed and his officers discharged, and his Phisician called doctor Augustyne was lykewise arrested and brought to the Tower by sir Walter Welshe one of the kynges chamber. The vi. day of Nouember he was cõueyed from Cawod to Sheffelde castle and there deliuered to therle of Shrewsburies kepyng till the kynges pleasure were knowen: Of this attachement was muche commonyng amongest the cõmion people, wherfore many were glad, for surely he was not in the fauor of the cominaltie.

When the Cardinal was thus arrested the kyng sent sir Wyliyam Kingston knight capitaine of the Garde and Constable of the Tower of London with certain of the yomen of the Gard to Sheffelde to fetch the Cardinal to the Tower. When the Cardinal saw the capitaini of the garde, he was sore astonnyed and shortly became sicke, for then he perceiued some great trouble toward him, and for that cause men sayd that he willyngly toke so muche quãtitie of strong purgacion that his nature was not able to beare it: but sir William Kyngston comforted him, and by easy iornayes he brought him to the Abbay of Lecester the xxvii. day of Nouember, wher for very feblenes of nature caused by purgacions and vomites he dyed the second night folowyng, and in the same abbay lyeth buryed. This Cardinal as you may perceiue in this story was of a great stomacke, for he compted himselfe egall with princes, and by craftie suggestion gatte into his handes innumerable treasure: He forced litle on symony & was not pityful and stode affeccionate in his owne opinion: In open presence he would lye and say vntruth and was double both in speche and meanyng: He would promise muche and performe lytle: He was vicious of his body and gaue the clergie euil example: He hated sore the citie of London and feared it: It was tolde him that he should dye in the way toward London, wherfore he feared lest the cõmons of the citie would arise in riotous maner and so slay him, yet for all that he dyed in the waye towarde London. The authoritie of this Cardinal set the clergie in such a pride that they disdained all men, wherfore when he was fallen they folowed after as you shall heare. To write the life and doynges of this Cardinal, it were a great worke, but whatsoeuer he did God forgeue his soule his bodyes misdedes.

The Cardinal dead and buried at Leycester.

The discripcion of the Cardinal.

After the Cardinal was dead, the king remoued frõ Hampton court to Grenewiche where he with quene Katherine kept a solempne Christmas, and on the twelfe night he satte in the halle in his estate, where as were diuers Enterludes, riche Maskes and disportes, and after that a great banket. And after Christmas he came to his Manor of Westminster, which before was called Yorke place, for after that the Cardinal was attainted in the Premunire & was gone Northward, he made a feoffement of thesame place to the kyng, and the chapiter of the Cathedral church of Yorke by their writing cõfirmed thesame feoffement and then the king chaũged the name and called it the kynges Manor of Westminster and nomore Yorke place.

The whole clergie of England euer supported and maintayned the power legantyne of the Cardinal, wherfore the kynges counsaill learned sayd plainly that they all were in the Premunire, the spiritual lordes were called by proces into the kynges Benche to answere, but before their day appearaunce they in their Conuocacion concluded an *humble* submission in writyng and offered the kyng a C. M. pound to be their good lorde, and also to geue them a pardon of all offences touching the Premunire by act of Parliament, ỹ which offer with much labor was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the Clergie called the kyng supreme head of ỹ church of England, which thing they neuer confessed before, wherevpon many thinges folowed after as you shall heare.

The kyng first named supreme head.

When the Parliament was begõne the. vi. day of Ianuary, the pardon of the spiritual persones was signed with the kynges hand & sent to the lordes, which in tyme conuenient assented to the bill and sent it to the cõmons in the lower house, and when it was red, diuers

diuers froward persones would in no wyse assent to it except all men were pardoned, saiyng that all men which had any thyng to do with the Cardinal wer in the same case: the wyser sort answered that they would not compell the king to geue them his pardon, and beside that it was vncharitably done of them to hurt the Clergie and do themselfes no good, wherfore they aduised them to consent to the bill and after to sue to the kyng for their pardon, which counsail was not folowed, but they determined first to send the Speaker to the kyng or they would assent to the bill, wherypon Thomas Audely spekar for the commons with a cõcenient nomber of the common house came to the kynges presẽce and there eloquently declared to the king how the commons sore lamented and bewayled their chaunce to thynke or imagyne them selfes to be out of his gracious fauor, because that he had graciously geuen his pardon of the Premunire to his spiritual subiectes and not to them, wherefore they most humbly besought his grace of his accustomed goodnes and clemency to include them in thesame pardon.

The kyng wisely answered that he was their prince and soueraigne lorde & that they ought not to restraine him of his libertie, nor to cõpel him to shewe his mercy, for it was at his pleasure to vse the extremitie of his lawes, or mitigate and pardon thesame, wherfore sith they denied to assent to the pardon of the spiritual persones, which pardon he said he might geue without their assent by his great seale, he would be well aduised or he pardoned them, because he would not be noted to be compelled to do it: with this answere the speaker and the commons departed very sorowful and pensiue and some light persones sayd that Thomas Cromwell whiche was newly come to the fauor of the kyng had disclosed the secretes of the commons, which thing caused the kyng to be so extreme.

The kyng like a good prince considered how sorowfull his cõmons were of the answere that he made them, and thought that they were not quiet, wherfore of his owne mocion he caused a pardon of the Premunire to be drawen, and signed with his hand and sent it to the cõmon house by Christopher Hales his atturnay, whiche bill was sone assented to. Then the commons louyngly thãked the king and much praised his witte that he had denyed it to them when they vnworthely demaunded it, and had bountyfully graunted it when he perceiued that they sorowed and lamented.

While the Parliament sat, on the xxx. day of Marche at after noone there came into the common house the lord Chauncelor and diuers lordes of the spiritualtie and temporaltie to the nomber of xii. and there the lorde Chauncelor sayd, you of this worshipful house I am sure be not so ignorant but you know well that the kyng our soueraigne lorde hath maried his brothers wife, for she was both wedded & bedded with his brother prince Arthur, and therfore you may surely say that he hath maried his brothers wyfe, if this mariage be good or no many clerkes do doubt. Wherfore the kyng like a vertuous prince willyng to be satisfied in his conscience and also for the suretie of his realme hath with great deliberacion consulted with great clerkes, and hath sent my lord of London here present to the chiefe vniuersities of all Christendome to knowe their opinion and iudgement in that behalfe. And although that the vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford had been sufficient to discusse ỹ cause, yet because they be in his realme and to auoyde all suspicion of parcialitie he hath sent into the realme of Fraunce, Italy the Popes dominions, and Venicians to knowe their iudgement in that behalfe, whiche haue cõcluded, written and sealed their determinacions according as you shall heare red. Then sir Bryan Tuke toke out of a boxe xii. writynges sealed, & red them word by word as after ensueth translated out of Latin into the Englishe tongue.

The determinacion of the vniuersitie of Orliaunce.

Not long syns there were put forth to vs the College of doctors, regentes of the vniuersitie of Orliaunce, these two questions that folow. The fyrst, whether it be lawful by the lawe of God for the brother to take to wyfe that woman whom his brother hath left? The second if this be forbidden by the lawe of God, whether this prohibicion of the law of Orliaunce.

God may be remitted by the Pope his dispensacion? We the foresayd College of doctors regentes accordyng to our custome and vsage came many times together and did sit diuers tymes vpon the discussyng of these foresayd doubtes and questions and did examine and way as muche as we might diuers & many places both of the old testament and new, and also the interpreters and declarers both of the law of God and the Canon lawe. After we had wayed and considered all thynges exactly and with good leysure and deliberacio, we haue determined and cōcluded that these foresayd mariages cannot be attempted nor enterprised except a man do wrong and plaine contraryto the law of God: yea and that although it be done by pardon and sufferaunce of the Pope. And in witnes of this cōclusion and determinacion we haue caused this present publike writing to be signed by our Scribe of our sayd vniuersitie, and to be strengthed and fortified with the seale of the same: Enacted in the chapel of our lady the Annunciacion, or the good tidynges that she had of Christes commyng in Orleaunce, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxix.the.v.day of April.

The determinacion of the facultie of Decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris.

Lawers of Paris. In the name of the Lord so be it. There was put forth before vs the Deane and College of the right counsailful facultie of Decrees of the vniuersitie of Paris this question. Whither that the Pope might dispence, that the brother might mary the wyfe that his brother hath left, if mariage betwene his brother now dead and his wyfe were once consummate? we the Deane and College of the sayd facultie after many disputacions and reasons made of bothe sydes vpon this matter and after great and long turnyng and serchyng of bokes, bothe of the lawe of God and the Popes lawe and of the lawe Ciuil, we counsail and say that the Pope hath no power to dispence in this foresayd case: In witness whereof we haue caused this present writing to be strengthed with the seale of our facultie and with the signe of our Scribe or chiefe Bedle. Geuen in the congregacion or assemble at saint Ihon Laterenense in Parys the second day of May M.D.xxx.

The determinacion of Ciuilians and Canonistes of the vniuersitie of Angew.

Angew. Not long tyme syns there wer purposed vnto vs ỹ Rector and doctors Regentes in lawe Canon & Ciuile of the vniuersitie of Angew these ii. questions here folowyng, that is to wete, whether it is vnlefull by the lawe of God and the lawe of nature for a man to mary the wyfe of his brother that is departed without children so that the mariage was consummate? And againe whether it is lawfull for the Pope to dispence with such mariage? We the aforesayd Rector and doctors haue accordyng to our custome and vsage many tymes communed together and sytten to dispute these questions, and to fynde out the certaintie of them. And after that we had discussed and examined many & diuers places aswell of the law of God as of the law of man, whiche semed to pertaine to the same purpose, and after that we had brought for bothe parties and examined them. All thinges faythfully and after good cōscience considered and vpon sufficient deliberacion and auisement taken, we defyne and determyne that neither by the lawe of God nor of nature it is permitted for any christen man, no not euen with the authoritie of the sea Apostolike, or with any dispensacion graunted by the Pope to mary the wife that his brother hath left, although his brother be departed without children, after that the mariage is once finished and consummate. And for witnes of these aforesayd thynges, we haue cōmaunded our Scribe of our sayd vniuersitie to signe this present publike instrument, & it to be fortified with the great seale of our vniuersitie, Enacted in the church of saint Peter in Angew, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. the vii. day of May.

The determinacion of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris.

Paris. The Deane and the facultie of the holy diuinitie of the vniuersitie of Paris, to all them to whom this present writing shall come wysheth safetie in our sauior Iesu Christ which is the very true safetie: Where of late there is risen a great controuersie of great difficultie

vpon the mariage betwene the most noble Henry the viii. kyng of England defendor of the fayth and lorde of Ireland. &c. and the noble lady Katherine quene of England doughter to the Catholike kyng Ferdinand, which mariage was not onely contract betwene her and her former husband, but also consummate and finished by carnall intermedelyng. This question also was purposed to vs to discusse and examine accordyng to iustice and trueth, that is to say, whether to mary her that our brother dead without children hath left being so prohibited by the law of God and nature, that it cannot be made lefull by the Popes dispensacion, that any christen man should mary the wife that his brother hath left? We the foresayd Deane and facultie callyng to our remembraunce how vertuous and how holy a thing and how agreable to our profession, vnto our ductie of loue and charitie, it is for vs to shewe the waye of iustice and right, of vertue and honestie to them whiche desire to leade and passe ouer their life in the law of our Lord with sure & quiet conscience: could not but be ready to satisfie so honest and iust requestes: wherupon after our old wont, we came together vpō our othe in the church of S. Maturyne, & there for thesame cause had a solēpne Masse with deuout prayer to the holy ghost. And also we toke an othe euery mā to deliuer and to study vpon the foresayd question, as should be to the pleasure of God and according to cōscience: And after diuers and many Sessions or sittynges which were had and continued in the churche of saint Maturyn, and also in the college called Sarbone frō the viii. day of Iune to the second day of Iuly. When we had searched and examined through and through with as muche diligence as we could and with suche reuerence and religion or conscience as becometh in suche a matter, bothe the bookes of holy scripture, and also the most approued interpreters of thesame: Finally the general and synodal cōsailes, decrees and constitucions of the sacre & holy Churche, which by long custome hath been receiued and approbate, we the foresayd Deane and facultie disputing vpon the foresayd question and makyng answere to the same, and that after the iudgement and full cōsent of the most part of the sayd facultie haue concluded and determined that the foresayd mariage with the brothers wife departyng without children be so forbidden both by the law of God and of nature that the pope hath no power to dispence w such mariages whether they be contract or to be contract. And for credence, beleue, and witnes of this our Assercion and determinacion, we haue caused the seale of our facultie with our Notaries signe to be put vnto this present writyng. Dated in our generall congregacion that we kepe by an othe at saint Maturynes, the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. the second day of Iuly.

The determinacion of the vniuersitie of Burges in Berry or Biturs.

We the Deane and facultie of diuinitie in the Vniuersitie of Burges, because we will ac- Burges.
cordyng to the example of S. Paule doctor of ℣ Gēiles whiche doeth likewise, will begyn our writing with praier vnto all the beloued of God, among whom you moste dere readers vnto whom we write be called, grace, peace, and quietnes of conscience come to you from God the father and from our Lord Iesu Christ: while we were gathered together all into one place (in the octaues of Whitsontide) both in body and mynde, and were sittyng in the house of the sayd deane, there was a question put to vs againe, whiche had been purposed to vs often tymes before, beyng no smal question, whiche was this: Whither the brother taking the wyfe of his brother now dead, and the mariage once consummate and perfite doth a thyng vnlawfull or no? At the last when we had sought for the trueth of the thing and had perceiued and found it out by much labor and studye of euery one of vs by himselfe, and by much and often turning of holy bookes, euery one of vs not corrupt, wherby we might the lesse obey the trueth, began as the holy gost did put in his mind to gene euery man one arbitrement & sentence which was this. I haue well perceiued in very truth wout regard or respect of any person that those persones which be rehersed in ℣ xviii. cha. of ℣ Leuitical law, be forbidden by ℣ very law of nature to cōtract matrimony together and that this lawe cān in no wyse be released by any authoritie of any manne by the whiche there is made an

abhominable discouerynge of his brothers foulnes. And this is the signe of our commen Bedyll or Notarie and the seale of our foresayd facultie put vnto his present writyng the. x. day of Iune, in the yere of our Lorde M.D.xxx. And because the foote of our writyng shall be of one forme and fashion w the head, as we began with praier, so let vs ende after the example of S. Paule that we spake of before, and say, the grace and fauor of our Lorde Iesu Christ, the charitie and loue of God and the communicacion of the holy ghost be with you all. Amen.

The determinacion of the diuines in the popes vniuersitie of Bonony.

Bonony. God best and mightiest taught first the olde lawe & testament with his owne mouth, to forme and fashion accordyng to loue and charitie, the maners and life of men. And secondarely the same God did take afterwardes manhod vpon him for to be the redemer of man and so made the new lawe or newe Testament not onely to forme and fashion accordyng to loue and charitie the life and maners of men, but also to take away and to declare doubtes the whiche did arise in many cases, which when they be once clerely determined shall helpe greatly to perfite vertue and goodnes, that is to say, to perfite loue and charitie. Wherfore we thought it euermore, that it should be our part to folowe these most holy doctrines and lawes of our father of heauen, and that we lightned by the light of God aboue and of the holy ghost should geue our sentence and iudgement in high and doubtfull matters after that we haue once leyserly and sufficiently taken aduisement vpon the cause, & haue clerely serched out and opened the thing by many reasons and writynges of holy fathers as well for the one part as for the other, doyng nothyng as nere as we can rashly or without deliberacion. Therfore where certaine great and noble men did instantly desire vs that we would with all diligence possible loke for this case that after ensueth, and afterwardes to geue our iudgement vpon thesame, accordyng to moste equitie, right, and conscience, stickyng only to the trueth: All the doctors of diuinitie of this Vniuersitie, when we had euery one by himselfe examined the matter at home in our houses, came all together into one place and there treated vpon it many dayes with asmuche connyng & learnyng as we could, we anon loked on the case together, we examined it together, we compared all thyng together, we handelyng euery thing by it selfe, did trye them euen as you would say by lyne and rule, we brought forth all maner of reasons, whiche we thought could be brought for the contrary part and afterward solued them yea euen the reasons of the moste reuerend father Cardinal Caietaine, yea & moreouer the Deuteronomi dispensacion of stirryng vp the brothers sede, & shortly after all other maner of reasons & opinions of ỹ cōtrary part, as many as semed to belong to this purpose, and this question that was asked of vs was this: Whether it was forbydden onely by the ordinaunce of the churche or els by the law of God, that a man might not mary the wyfe left of his brother departed without children? and if it were commaunded by both the lawes not to be done, whether the Pope may dispence with any man to make suche mariage? the whiche question nowe that we haue examined it both by our selfe secretely and also openly & diligently and exactly as we could possible, and discussed it after ỹ best maner that our wittes would serue: we determine, geue iudgement and say, and as stilly as we can we witnes and without any doubt do stedfastly hold that this mariage should be horrible, accursed & to be cried out vpon and vtterly abhominable not onely for a christen mā but for an infidele, vnfaythfull or heathen. And that it is prohibite vnder greuous paynes and punishementes by the lawe of God, of nature and of man, & that the Pope, though that he almoste may do all thinges, vnto whom Christ did geue the keyes of the kyngdome of heauen, hath no power to geue a dispensacion to any man for to contract suche a mariage for any maner of cause, consideracion or suggestion: And all we be ready at all tymes and in all places to defende and maintaine the truth of this our conclusion. In witnes wherof we haue made this present writing, and haue fortefied thesame both with the seale of our vniuersitie and also with the seale of our College of doctors of diuinitie and haue subscri-

deb and signed it with our general & accustomed subscripcion in the Cathedral churche of Bonony the. x. day of Iune, the yere of our Lord. M.D.xxx.

The determinacion of the facultie of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Padua in Italy.

They that haue written for the maintenaunce of the catholike faith, affirme that God best and mightiest did geue the preceptes & cõmaundementes of the olde law with his owne mouthe, to be an example for vs, wherein we might see how we should order our life and maners, and this God had done before he became manne: and after that he had put vpon him our manhod and was become redemer or byer of mankynde. He made the newe lawe or testament, and of his mere liberalitie did geue it vs, not onely for the cause aforesayd, but also to take away & declare all maner of doubtes and questions that might arise, the which once opened & declared what their very true meanyng is, to thentent that therby we might be made perfitely good which be greatly *fruitful to* vs & holesome: and seyng that this was the mind of God in making these lawes, it hath been our entent & euermore shalbe, as it becõmeth christen men to folow these most solẽne ordinaũces of ỹ most high workemaster God, & the help of his light, ỹ is aboue the capacitie of nature, to vtter our iudgement in all maner of doubtes & harde questions. After we had once considered the thing after the best maner, and had by sufficient leysure made it clere by many euident reasons of both parties, and by many auctho̅rities of the fathers of the Church, determinyng nothyng as nere as we can, rashely or without conuenient deliberacion. Seyng therfore that certain great Orators or ambassadors did humbly require and pray vs that we would vouchesafe and serche out with all the diligence that we could this case folowyng & afterwardes to geue our sentence vpon the same, plainly & simply lokyng onely on the trueth. After the Doctors of diuinitie of this Vniuersitie came together, and after that we had euery man examined the thing particulerly in our owne houses and haue beaten it with all learnyng and connyng that we were able: Apon when we wer together, we considered, examined and wayed all thinges by them selfes, and brought in al maner of reasons, which we thought might by any meanes be made to the cõtrary, and without all colour or cloke did wholy & clerely dissolue them and take them away. And amongest al, the dispensacion by the lawe of Deuteronomy of styrryng vp the brothers sede, and al maner other reasons and determinacions to the contrarye, that semed to vs to pertain any thing to that purpose we vtterly confuted & dispatched them. And the question that is put to vs is this: *Whether* to mary the wife of our brother departed without children is forbidden only by ỹ lawe of the Churche or by ỹ law of God also: and if it be forbidden by both these lawes, whither the Pope may dispence wt any mã for such matrimony or no? which question now that we haue discussed it, & as farre as we could, haue made it clere, both priuately euery man by him selfe, & after al togethers opẽly, we say, iudge, decree, witnes & for a truth affirme ỹ such mariage is no mariage, yea and that it is abhorred and cursed of euery christen man, and to be abhominate as a greuous sinne. And that it is as clearely as can be forbidden vnder moste cruel penalties by the lawes of nature, of God and of man: And that the Pope, vnto whom ỹ keyes of the kyngdome of heauen be committed by Christ the sonne of God, hath no power to dispence by the right and law for any cause, suggestion or excuse, that any suche matrimonye should be contract. For those thinges whiche be forbidden by the law of God be not vnderneth his power but aboue it, nor he is not the Vicar of God as concernyng those thynges, but only in such thynges as God hath not determined himselfe in his lawe, but hath lefte them to the determinacion and ordinaunce of man. And to mayntayne the trueth of this our sentence and conclusion, and for moste certaine and vndoubted defence of thesame, we al of one mynde and accorde shall at all tymes and in euery place be redy. In witnes wherof we haue made this writing & haue authorised it with the accustomed seale of our Vniuersitie and also of our College of diuines, Dated at Padway in the Churche of the Hermites of saint Austen the first day of Iuly, in the yere of our Lord M.D.xxx.

The Determinacion of the Vniuersitie of Tholose.

There was treated in our Vniuersitie of Tholose a very harde question: Whether it be lefull for the brother to marye her whiche had ben wyfe to his brother now departed, and that without chyldren? There was besyde this another thyng that troubled vs very sore: Whether, if the pope which hath the cure of Christes flocke would by his dispensacion (as men call it) suffre this, that then at the least wyse it might be lawfull? The Rector of the Vniuersitie called to counseil all the doctors regētes that were that tyme at Tholose for to shew their myndes on this question, & that not once, but twyse: For he iudged that counsell geuyng ought not to be hasted nor doone vpon head, & that we had neede of tyme and space to doo anye thynge conueniently & as it ought to bee. At the last there came togither into one place all the best learned and connyngest doctors, both of holye diuinitie, and also doctors that were best learned in bothe lawes, yea, and finally as many as had any experiēce in any matter & were able to do any thing either by iudgemēt & discresion, or by eloquence or their excellent wyttes. And there dyd swere that they wolde obey the sacre & holy counsels, & would follow the Decrees of the Fathers, which no man that hath any good conscience wyll violate or breake. And so euery man sayde his mynde, and the matter was debated and reasoned diffusely & at large for bothe partes. In conclusion, we fell so fast to this poynte, that this was the sentence & determinacion that oure Vniuersitie, with one voyce of all, dyd determyne and conclude with most pure and cleare couscience and defiled with no maner of leuen or corrupcion: That it is lawful for no man, neither by the law of God, nor by the law of nature, to take her to wyfe that his brother hath lefte: And seeyng that it may not be done by the law of God nor of nature, we answered all: That the Pope can lose no man frō that lawe nor dispence with him. And as for that thing can not be contrary to our sentence & verdyct: that the brother in olde tyme was compelled by the law of Deuteronomy to mary the brothers wyfe departed without issue: For this law was but a shadow and a fygure of thinges to come, which vanyshed away assone as euer the lyght and trueth of the Gospell appeared: And because these thynges be thus, we haue geuen our sentence after this forme aboue, and haue cōmaunded the same to be sygned by our Notary which is our secretory, and to be fortified and aucthorised by the puttyng to of our auteaticall Seale of our Vniuersitie aforesayde, at Tholose the Calendes or fyrst day of Octobre, the yere of our Lorde a thousande. v.C.xxx.

After these Determinacions were read, there were shewed aboue an hundreth bokes drawen by Doctors of straunge Regions, which all agreed the Kynges Mariage to be vnlefull, whiche were not read, for the day was spent. Then the Chauncellor sayd: Now you of this commen house may reporte in your countreys what you haue seen & heard and then all men shall openly perceyue that the Kyng hath not attempted this matter of wyll or pleasure, as some straūgers reporte, but only for the discharge of his cōscience & suretie of the successiō of his realme: This is the cause of our repayre hyther to you, & now we wyl departe.

When these Determinacions were publyshed, all wyse men in the Realme moche abhorred that mariage: but women, & such as wer more wylfull then wyse or learned, spake agaynst the Determinacion, & sayd that the Vniuersities were corrupte & entysed so to doo, which is not to be thought. The Kyng him selfe sore lamented his chaunce & made no maner of myrth nor pastyme as he was wont to do, & dyned & resorted to the quene as he was accustomed, & minished nothyng of her estate, and moch loued & cherysshed their doughter the Lady Mary: but in no wyse he woulde not come to her bed. When Ester began to draw nere, the Parliament for that tyme ended, and was proroged till the last day of Marche, in the nexte yere.

The Acte of Poisonyng.

In the Parliament aforesayde was an Acte made, that whosoeuer dyd poyson any persone, shoulde be boyled in hote water to the death: which Acte was made bicause one Richard Roose, in the Parliament tyme, had poysoned dyuers persons at the Bishop of Rochesters

place,

place, which Richard, according to the same Acte, was boyled in Smythfelde the Teneber wednisday followyng, to the terrible example of all other.

This wynter season, on the. xxvi. day of Ianyuer, in the citie of Luxborne in Portyngale, was a wonderous Earthquake, which destroied many houses and towers, and slew many people by fallynge downe of the same, the Kynges Palace shoke so, that he and the Quene, and the Ladyes fled out of their Palace, without any seruauntes, and sought succour where they myght get it, & sodeinly the quakyng seased: Then the Rockes opened, and out sprange the water, that the shippes in the hauen were lyke to haue perished: Then the earth quaked agayne, and dyd more harme then before, and at night it ceassed: of whiche Earthquake, many men were murthered and destroyed. An erthquake.

When the vniuersitie aforesayd, & a great nombre of clerkes & well learned men had determined the Kynges mariage to be vnlawfull, detestable, & agaynst Gods lawe, as you haue heard, the Kyng wyllyng the Quene to haue knowlege of the same, sent to her dyuers Lordes of the councel the last daie of Maie beyng the wednisday in Whitson weke: the whiche Lordes, in her chaumbre at Grenewyche, declared to her all the Determinacion as you haue hearde, & asked her whether she would for the quyetnes of the Kynges conscience, put the matter to. iiii. prelates, &. iiii. temporall Lordes of this Realme, or abyde by her appele. The Quene answered: The kyng my father which concluded my mariage, I am sure, was not so ignoraunt but he asked councell of clerkes & well learned men before he maryed me the second tyme: for if he had had any doubte in my mariage, he would not haue disbursed so great a treasure as he dyd, & then all Doctors in mauer agreed my mariage to be good, insomoche that the Pope hym selfe, which knew best what was to be dooen, dyd both dispence and ratified my second mariage, agaynst whose doynge I meruayle that any persone wyll speake or wryte: And as to the Determinacion of the vniuersitie, I am a womā and lacke wytte and learnyng to aunswere to them, but to God I commit the iudgemēt of that, whether thei haue done iustly or percially: for this I am sure, that neither the Kynges father, nor my father woulde haue condiscended to our Mariage if it had ben declared to be vnlawfull: and where you say that I shoulde put the cause to. viii. persones of this Relme for quyetnesse of the Kynges conscience, I praye God sende his grace a quyet conscience, and this shall be your answere: That I say I am his lawfull wyfe, and to hym lawfully maryed and by the ordre of holye Churche I was to hym espowsed as his true wyfe, although I was not so worthy, and in that poynte I will abyde tyll the cowrte of Rome which was preuy to the begynnyng haue made therof a determinacion and finall endyng. With this answer the Lordes departed to the Kyng, whiche was sorye to heare of her wylfull opinion, and in especiall that she more trusted in the Popes law, then in kepyng the Preceptes of God. Message sent to the Quene.

The Kyng lyke a politicke Prince, perceyued that the Merchaunt straungers, and in especiall, Italians, Spanyardes & Portyngales daily brought Oade, Oyle, Sylke, Clothes of Golde, Veluet & other Merchandyse into this Realme, and therefore receiued ready money, which money they euer deliuered to other merchauntes by exchaunge, & neuer employed the same money on the cōmodities of this Realme, so that therby the Kyng was hyndered in his Custome outwarde, and also the commodities of his Realme were not vttered, to the greate hynderaunce of his subiectes: wherefore he caused a Proclamacion to bee made in Mydsomer Tearme, accordynge to an olde Estatute made in the tyme of Kyng Rycharde the second: That no persone should make any exchaunge contrary to the trew meanyng of the same Acte and Estatute, vpon payne to be taken the kynges mortall enemy, and to forfayte all that he myght forfayte. After this Proclamacion, many clothes and other commodities of this Realme were well solde, but shortly after Merchauntes fell to exchaunge agayne, and the Proclamacion was shortly forgotten. A Proclamacion of Exchaunge.

The Kyng after Whytsontyde and the Quene remoued to Wyndsore, and there continued tyll the. xiiii. daye of Iulye, on whiche daye the Kyng remoued to Woodstocke and lefte her at Wyndsore, where she laye a whyle, and after remoued to the Moore, and afterwarde to Esthamstede: and after this day, the Kyng and she neuer saw together. Wherfore the Com-

men people dailye murmured and spake their folysh fantasies. But the affayres of Princes be not ordered by the commen people, nor it were not conuenient that all thynges were opened to theim.

After this, the Kyng sent certayne Lordes to the Queene to Estamstede, to aduyse her to be confirmable to the lawe of God, and to shewe vnto her, that all the Vniuersities had clearely determined, that the Pope coulde in no wyse dispence *with* her Mariage, and therefore the Dispensacion to which she most trusted of all, was clearely voyde and of none effecte. These, with manye mo causes and aduysementes were declared to her, whiche nothynge moued her at all, but styll she sayde: Truly I am the Kynges trew wyfe, and to hym maryed: and if all Doctors were dead, or law, or learnyng so farre out of mannes mynde at that tyme of our maryage, yet I cannot thinke that the courte of Rome and the whole Churche of Englande would consent to a thing vnlawfull and detestable (as you call it) but styll I say I am his wyfe, and for him wyl I pray. With *this* answer the Lordes departed, and came to the Kyng and made reporte as you haue hearde.

This mariage was not alonly talked of in England, but in Fraunce, Spayne, Italy, yea, thorough all Christendome in maner, and especially in themperours Courte, insomuche as a great Marques of Spayne sayde to syr Nicholas Heruy knyght beyng the Kynges ambassader in themperours Cowrte at Gaunte: My Lorde Embassador of Englande, I merueyle not a lytell why the Kyng your Master dalyeth so with themperours Aunte, she *is* dissended I assure you of a noble bloode and hye Parentage, themperours Maiestie may not nor wyl not suffre soche iniurye to be doone to his bloode and lynage, that she shoulde whole. xxii. yeres and more serue him as his wyfe and bedfelow and now to reiecte her, what Princely maner is that, therein is neither loue nor loyaltie? For if a poore verlet had so long serued a Prince, what herte coulde haue then reiected hym or put him from hym? it can not be sayd that your Kyng is well councelled: the matter is moch merueyled at amongest Christen Princes & thynke her not to be honestly handeled nor honorably: And *if it* be so that she be not his wyfe (bicause she was once his brothers wyfe) as your Doctors say & affirme, then no man can excuse your Kyng nor saye but that she hath ben cuyll handeled, and kepte lyke a Concubine or Paramour for the bodely appetite, which is a great spotte, shame, & rebuke to her and to her whole lynage, which spot no wayes can be sponged out nor recompenced, for shame in a kynred can by no treasure be redemed: If the Kyng your Maister remembre well this matter, he shall fynde that it transcendeth farre aboue the losse of erthly possessyons, I woulde he woulde be better aduysed.

An Answere. The Englysh Ambassador answered: My Lorde, my cõmission extẽdeth not to answer this matter, but to enforme yon of the truth, I wyl somwhat say besyde my commission: Fyrst I say to you, that the kyng my maister neuer ment in this matter but honorably, truly, and vertuously, bothe for the pleasure of God and the profyte and suerty of his Realme, nor neuer was nor shall be anye Prince that euer was better contented and pleased with a woman then he hath ben with her, nor neuer Prince more loued, cherished, nor honoured a woman, then the king my Maister hath dooen her, & would with herte, mynde, and wyll her styll keepe as his wyfe, if Goddes lawe woulde suffre it: My Lord, if you remembre well all thyng, you shall fynde that this doubt was fyrst moued in the Councell of Spayne, when the Emperour and the Kyng of Englande were agreed, that themperoure shoulde marye the Ladye Marye the Kynges Doughter: Vpon that communicacion this doubte was put to themperours Councell, *whether she were the* Kynges lawfull Doughter or not, because it was well knowen that he had maryed his brothers wyfe.

This matter was not so secrete but it spred into the councell bothe of Fraunce and Flaunders, to the great defamacion of the Kyng of Englande, & to the great vncertaintye of the successyon of his Realme: wherof when he was aduertised, I thynke neuer Prince tooke it more sorrowfully nor more dolenly, and for satisfyynge of his conscience, he called his Cleargie and felte their opinions, and not trustyng his owne subiectes onely (which I ensure you be excellently lerned) sent to all the Vniuersities of Fraunce, Italye, and dyuers other Realmes

Realmes to know their iudgementes in this case, and surely the Kyng my master sore lamenteth his chaunce and bewaileth the tyme myspent if it so succede, for then is his Realme destitute of a lawfull heyre begotten of his body, which is the greatest displeasure that maye come to a Prince: The Mariage was well ment bothe of the kynges father and the Quenes father, and they maryed together by the aduyce and councell of their frendes, and so louyngly continued together as man and wyfe without any scruple or doubte, till you of Spayne moued fyrst the question and put the maryage in ambiguitie, and therfore you can not with honour thynke but that the Kyng hath done lyke a wyse Prince to searche out the solucion of your doubte which so neare toucheth his soule and the suretye of his Realme: And all thynge that he hath done he hath done by great aduysement and with a great deliberacion, wherefore no reasonable man can saye but he hath done lyke a wyse and vertuous Prince. The Marques hearynge this aunswere sayde, that the Kyng dyd wysely to trye the truethe, and was somewhat ashamed of that that he had spoken, as I was informed by them that were present.

You haue hearde before howe the Cleargye in their Conuocacion had graunted to the Kyng the sōme of one hundreth thousand pounde to be pardoned of the Premunire: for leuiyng of the whiche summe, euery Bysshop in his Dioces called before him all the Priestes as well chauntrie and parysh priestes as Persones and Vycars, amongest whom, Doctor Ihon Stokesley Bysshop of London, a man of great wytte and learnyng, but of lytle discresion and humanitie (which caused hym to be out of the fauoure of the common people) called before hym all the preistes within the Citie of London, whether they were Curates or Stipendaries, the first day of Septembre beyng fridaye, in the Chapiter House of Saynt Paull, at whyche daye the Priestes appeared, and the Bysshoppes policye, was to haue onely syxe or eight priestes together, and by perswacions to haue caused them to graunte some porsion towarde the payment of the foresayde One Hundreth. M. pounde, but the nombre of the Priestes was so great, for they were syxe hundreth at the least, & with them came many Temporall men to heare of the matter, that the Bysshoppe was disapoynted of his purpose: for when the Bysshoppes officers called in certayne Priestes by name into the Chapiter house: with that, a great nombre entered, for they putte the Byshoppes Officers that kepte the dore a syde. After this the officers got the dore shut agayne: then the priestes without sayde: We wyll not be kepte without, & our fellowes be within, we knowe not what the Bysshoppe wyll doo with them. The Temporall men beyng present stomaked and conforted the priestes to enter, so that by force they opened the dore, and one strake the Bysshoppes Officer ouer the face and entered the Chapiter house and many temporall men with them, and long it was or any sylence coulde be made: and at last when they were appeased, the Byshop stode vp and sayde: Brethern, I meruayle not a lytell why you be so heddy and know not what shall be sayde to you; therefore I pray you to keepe sylence and to heare me paciently: My frendes all, you knowe well that we be men frayle of condicion and no Angels, and by frailtie and lacke of wysedome wee haue misdemeaned our selfe toward the Kyng our Soueraygne Lord and his lawes, so that all wee of the Cleargy were in the Preminure, by reason wherof, all our Promocions, Landes, Goodes and Catelles were to hym forfayte and our bodyes readye to be emprisoned, yet his grace moued with pittie and compassyon, demaunded of vs what wee coulde say why he shoulde not extende his lawes vpon vs, then the fathers of the Cleargye humbly besought his grace of mercye, to whom he answered that he was euer enclyned to mercye: then for all our great offences we had lytell penaunce for where he might by the rygor of his law haue taken al our lyuelod, goodes & catels, he was contented with one hundreth thousand poundes to be payde in fyue yeres: & although that this sōme be more then we maye easelye beare, yet by the rygor of his lawes we should haue borne the whole burdeyne: Wherefore my bretbren, I charitably exhorte you to beare your partes of your liuelod and salary towarde the payment of this sōme graunted. Then it was shortely sayde to the Bysshoppe: My Lorde, twentye nobles a yere is but a bare liuynge for a priest, for nowe victayle and euery thynge in maner is so deare, that pouertie in maner enforceth vs to saye

The bishopes sayinge.

saye naye: besyde that, my Lord we neuer offended in the Premunire, for we medeled neuer with the Cardinals faculties, let the Bysshoppes and Abbottes whych haue offended paye. Then the Bysshoppes officers gaue to the priestes hyghe woordes, whiche caused them to be the more obstinate. Also dyuers temporall men whych were present conforted the Priestes and bade theim agree to no payment. In this rumor, dyuers of the Bysshoppes seruauntes were buffeted and stryken so that the Bysshop beganne to be a frayde, and with fayre woordes appeased the noyse, and for all thynges whiche were done or sayde there he pardoned them and gaue to them his blessyng and praied them to departe in charitie. And then they departed thynkyng to heare no more of the matter, but they were disceyued, for the Byshop went to syr Thomas Moore then beyng Lorde Chauncellor (which greatly fauoured the Bysshop and the Cleargye) and to hym made a greuouse complaynte and declared the facte very greuously, wherevpon commaundement was sent to syr Thomas Pargitor Mayer of the Citie, to attache certayne priestes and temporall men, and so. xv. priestes and. v. temporall men were arrested, of the whych, some were sent to the Tower, some to the Fleete, and other Prisons, where they remayned long after.

In this season were dyuers Preachynges in the Realme, one contrarye to another concernyng the Kynges Maryage, and in especiall one Thomas Abell clerke, bothe preached and wrote a Booke, that the Mariage was lawfull, whiche caused many symple men to beleue his opinion: This Abell was the Queenes Chaplayne, and wrote this Booke to please her withall: wherfore the Kyng caused a Determinacio of the Vniuersities, & all the iudgementz of gret Clerkes to be compyled into a Booke and to be Printed, whiche Booke dyd satisfie the myndes of all indifferent & discrete persons: but some men were perciall that neither learnyng nor reason could satisfy their wylfull myndes.

This yere the Kyng kepte his Christemas at Grenewyche with great solempnitie, but all men sayde that there was no myrthe in that Christemas because the Queene and the Ladies were absent.

After Christemas the. xv. daye of Ianuary the Parliament began to sytte, & amongest dyuers griefes whych the Commons were greued with, they sore coplayned of the crueltie of the Ordinaries, for callyng men before theym *Ex officio:* that is, by reason of ther office: For the Ordinaries woulde sende for men and ley Accusacions to them of Heresye, and say they were accused, and ley Articles to them, but no Accuser should be brought furth, whiche to the Commons was very dredeful and greuous: for the partie so Assited must either Abiure or be burned, for Purgacion he myght make none.

When this matter and other Exactions done by the Clergy in their Courtes were long debated in the Common House, at the last it was concluded & agreed, that all the griefes which the temporall men were greued with, shoulde be putte in writyng and delyuered to the Kyng, whiche by great aduyce was done: wherfore, the. xviii. day of Marche the Common speaker accompanyed with dyuers Knyghtes and Burgesses of the Common House came to the Kynges presence, and there declared to hym how the temporal men of his Realme were sore agreued with the cruell demeanoure of the Prelates and Ordinaryes, which touched bothe their bodyes and goodes, all whiche griefes, the Speaker delyuered to the Kyng in writynge, most humbly besechyng his grace to take soche an ordre & direction in that case, as to his hygh wysedome myght seme most conuenient. Further he beseeched the king to consider what payne, charge and cost, his humble subiectes of the nether house had susteyned syth the begynnynge of this Parliament, and that it woulde please his grace of his Princely benignitie to dissolue his courte of Parliament, that his subiectes myght repayre into their countreys.

When the Kyng had receyued the Supplicacion of the Commons, he paused a whyle and
The Kynges saiyng. then sayde: It is not the offyce of a Kyng which is a Iudge to be to lyghte of credence, nor I haue not, nor wyll not vse the same: for I wyll heare the partie that is accused speake or I geue any sentence: your booke conteyneth dyuers Articles of great and weyghtye matters, and as I perceyue, it is agaynste the Spirituall persones and Prelates of our Realme, of whiche

whiche thynge you desyre a redresse and a reformacion, whiche desyre and request is mere contrarýant to your last Peticion: For you requyre to haue the Parlyament dissolued and to departe into your countreys, and yet you woulde haue a reformacion of your griefes with all diligence: Although that your payne haue ben great in tariyng, I assure you myne hath ben no lesse then yours, and yet all the payne that I take for your wealthes is to me a pleasure: therefore if you wyll haue profyte of your complaynte, you must tary the tyme, or els to be without remedy: I moche commend you that you wyll not contende nor stand in stryfe with the Spirituall men, whiche be youre Christen brethren, but moche more me thynketh that you shoulde not contende with me that am youre Souereygne Lorde and Kyng, considerýng that I seke peace and quyetnesse of you: For I haue sente to you a byll concernynge wardes and primer season, in the which thynges I am greatly wronged: wherfore I haue offered you reason as I thynke, yea, and so thynketh all the Lordes, for they haue set their handes to the booke: Therfore I assure you, if you wyll not take some reasonable ende now when it is offered, I wyll serche out the extremitie of the lawe, and then wyll I not offre you so moche agayne: with this answere, the Speaker and his company departed. The cause why the Kyng spake these woordes was this: Daily men made Feoffementes of their landes to their vses, and declared their wylles of their landes with soch remaynders, that not alonly the kyng but all other Lordes lost their Wardes, Mariages and relieffes, and the kyng also lost his primer season, & the profyte of the lyuerey, whiche was to hym very preiudiciall and a great losse: wherfore he, lyke an indifferent Prince, not willyng to take all, nor to lose all, caused a byll to be drawen by his learned counsell, in the which was deuysed, that euerye man myght make his wyll of the halfe of his lande, so that he lefte the other halfe to the heyre by discent. When this Byll came fyrst amonges the Commons, lorde how the ignoraunt persones were grened, and howe shamefully they spake of the byll and of the Kynges learned Councell: but the wyse men which vnderstoode & sawe the myschiefe to come, would gladly haue had the byll to be assented to, or at the least to haue put the Kyng in a suretye of the thyrde or fourthe parte, which offer I was credebly informed the Kyng woulde haue taken, but many frowarde and wylfull persones, not regardyng what myght ensue (as it dyd in deede) woulde neither consent to the byll as the Lordes had agreed and set to their handes, nor yet agree to no reasonable qualificacion of the same, whiche they sore repented: For after this, the Kyng called the Iudges and best learned men of his Realme, and thei disputed this matter in the Chaūcery, and agreed that lande coulde not be wylled by the ordre of the common law: wherupon an Act was made, that no man myght declare his wyll of no parte of his land: which Acte sore grened the Lordes and Gentlemen that had many chyldren to setfurth. Therefore you may iudge what mychiefe cōmeth of wylfull blyndnesse and lacke of foresyght in so great causes.

This Parliament was proroged tyll the tenth day of Apryll, in the whiche Parliament was an Acte made, that Bysshops shoulde pay no more Annates or money for their Bulles to the Pope: for it was openly proued that there was payed for the Bulles of Bysshoppes, in the fourthe yere of Kyng Henry the seuenth, the Kynges father, tyll this yere, one hundreth thre score thousand pounde sterlyng, besyde all other Dispensacions and Pardones, wherof the summe was incredible.

When the Parliament was begonne agayne after Ester, there came downe to the Common house the Lorde Chaūcelloure, the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Erles of Arundell, Oxforde, Northumbrelande, Rutlande, Wylshyre and Sussex, and after they were set, the Lorde Chauncellor declared, howe the Kyng was aduertised by his Councell, and in especiall by the Duke of Norffolke, howe on the Marches betwene Englande and Scotlande was very lyteil habitacion on the Englysh syde, but on the Scottysh syde was great habitacion, and the Scottes dwelled euen iust on the border, by the reason wherof they inuaded England dyuers tymes, and dyd to the Kynges subiectes great hurte and displeasure: wherefore the Kyng entended to make dwellyng houses there, and also to make new diuers Pyles and stoppes to let the Scottysh men from their inuasions, to the great commoditie of all his

people there dwellyng, which thynges coulde not be doone without great cost: Wherefore considerynge the Kynges good entente, he sayde, that the Lordes thoughte it conueniente to graunte to the Kyng some reasonable ayde towarde his charges, and prayed the Cõmons to consulte on the same, and then he and all the Lordes departed.

After their departure, the cõmons cõsidering the kinges good entent, louyngly graũted to him a. xv. toward his charges, but this graũt was not enacted at this Sessyon, bicause that sodeinly began a Pestilence in Westmynster, wherefore the Parlyament was proroged tyll the nexte yere.

In this yere was an olde Tolle demaunded in Flaunders of Englyshmen, called the Tolle of the Hounde, which is a Ryuer and a passage: The Tolle is. xii. pence of a Pardell. This Tolle had ben often tymes demaunded, but neuer payed: insomoche that Kyng Henry the seuenth, for the demaunde of that Tolle, prohibited all his subiectes to kepe any Marte at Antwerpe or Barow, but caused the Martes to be kepte at Calyes: at which tyme it was agreed that the sayde Tolle shoulde neuer be demaunded, so that the Englysh men woulde resorte agayne into the Dukes countrey, and after that, it was not demaunded tyll now: Wherefore the Kyng sent Doctor Knyght and other to Calyes, and thyther came thempe-rours Commissioners, and the matter was put in suspence for a tyme.

Ye haue hearde before how the Kyng had purchased the Bysshop of Yorkes place, whiche was a fayre Bysshops house, but not meete for a Kyng: wherefore the Kyng purchased all the medowes about saynt Iames, and all the whole house of s. Iames, and there made a fayre mansion and a parke, & buylded many costly and commodious houses for great pleasure.

Now must I declare to you a noble enterprise, although it were not doone in England, yet bicause diuers Englysh men were at that auenture, I wyll declare it as the Lorde Master of the Religion of Saynt Ihons wrote to the Lorde of saynt Ihons in Englande: The Lorde Master of the Religion, lamentyng sore the losse of the Rodes, whiche he thought not sone to be recouered, consydered that the Turke belde the towne of Modon whiche standeth on the See syde, and is a fayre Porte, and woulde haue gladlye had that towne oute of the Turkes possession, called to him a trusty seruaunt of his, called Caloram, which was well langaged, and to hym declared, that he woulde haue hym to sayle to Modon, and to dwell there as a Turke vnknowen, and if he myght by any meanes to come into seruice with Massie de Huga, which was Capitayne there. Caloram answered, that to go thyther for the accomplyshyng of the Lord masters desyre, he was very well content, but to come in seruyce and fauoure with the Capitayne, must come in processe of tyme and by continuaunce, and that not without great expence: The Lorde Maister promysed hym sufficient treasure and a great rewarde: When Caloram was perfectly enstructed in all thyng he toke his leaue and came priuely to Modon, & there dwelled, & within shorte space he was the Capitayns seruaunt, & for his great diligence was with his master in great fauoure. Then he wrote to the Lorde Miaster all thyng, and assertayned hym that his entent coulde not take effecte hastely, but bade hym euer be readye. Thys matter thus contynued two yeare, in whiche tyme Caloram well perceyued how the towne myght be taken, and therefore wrote to the Lord Master, which shortly came to a place called Mucollutea. The Turkes haue a condicion in August & Septembre, to resorte into the countrey to see the fruytes, and to solace theim selfe, wherfore the Lord Master appoynted the Prior of Rome and the Turcoplyar of England to be Capitaynes of this enterprise, and with them were. lx. knightes of the Religion, and. vii C. and fyftye souldyers in. vi. Galyes & Brigantes, and passed the Cape Blanke in the lande of Calaber, the. xviii. day of August, and there they ankered: and from that place they myght sayle lx. myle to Modon, vnder the hylles of Stroffadces. And in the waye they stopped all the shippes that passed toward Modon: & from thence they sent woorde to Caloram, which sent them woorde, not to be to hastye: for the Venicians had reported in Modon, that the Galyes of the Religion were on the see: and also a Capitayne of the Turkes, called Frombylam was come to Modon with. ii. C.

horsemẽ

horsemē to vew the towne so that Caloram was in great feare of his enterprice. But the same nyght there came to Modon a Gripe or small vessell, in the which were thre knyghtes of the Religion all in marynors arrey, and there sought for fresh water and other victails necessary, which knightes spake with Caloram, and the same day the Capitayne Frombylam departed from Modon. Then Caloram sent worde to the Capitaynes, that he trusted that their iourney shoulde be well sped: which knyghtes departed and came to the Capitaynes, whiche wysely assembled all their people at a Roade called Stroffades, and there declared their commission of their Lord Master, and also shewed Calorams letters, whereof euery man was greatly comforted to know what enterprise they went about. Then it was appoynted that the Prior of Rome shoulde fyrst entre and take the gate of the principall tower, and the Turkeiplier with. vi. English knyghtes were appoynted to defende the Molle or Peere at the hauen mouthe: and to euery gate was a Capitayn appoynted with a nombre for the gates of the towne and the Fortresses were well knowen to the Religion of s. Ihon Baptist. When all this ordre was appoynted, the Galies disancored & came to the Ile of Sapience. iii. myle from Modon. All this whyle Caloram was in great feare, tyll the two Capiteins sent a vessel called a Gripe, & in her, iii.C. men: Thei were no soner entered the peere, but the Turkes came a borde & asked for the merchaūtz (for all the men wer apparelled lyke Mariners) they answered that the Merchauntes which had the charge were gone a land into the towne, & sayde they would bring them to the Merchauntes, & that all their merchaūdise was good wodde, which thyng the Turkes moch desyre: So the christē knyghtes lyke mariners went with the Turkes, which wer to the nombre of. xiii. entendyng to begyn their enterprise, & some went toward the tower, and some went toward the gate followyng the. xiij. Turkes, & after them issued all the souldiers out of the Gripe, & so with force thei got the gate, & after that ẏ molle or pyre, & on that set a bāner of the Religion, to the which Caloram helped moch: with that came all the Galyes and landed. Then began a terrible slaughter of all partes, the Turkes fled, and the Christen men followed, and the Capitaynes tooke the walles: and from thence Caloram lead them to the house of Messyre Huga, in whiche house was a great strength: For his house was lyke a Fortresse or tower, whiche ioyned to the walle of the towne, out of which was a Posterne, wherof issued out certayn Turkes which askryed the Christen men abrode in the countrey. But in the meane season the Christen men assauted the sayde Fortresse, whiche was sore defended: and there the Prior of Rome was by a hackbush slayn, whiche chaunce made the Christen men more furious, & slew in the towne. iii. C. Turkes and aboue. Then they blew to retreite, and councelled together & well perceyued that they coulde not keepe the towne excepte they had the fortresse or tower, which they could not obtayne without a Siege, and then they had no ordinaunce nor people ynough, therfore they determined to take their most aduauntage by pyllage, and so spoyled the towne & tooke. viii.C. prisoners & sent them to the Galyes. And when the Turkes saw the Cristen men styll pylfer (as the vsage of souldiers is) they issued out of their holde & fortresse and fought with the Christē men boldely in the stretes, so that the stretes ranne bloode in the canels, the fyghte was sore: and euer the Turkes came in at the posterne by askry, and assauted the Christen men, which valiauntly defended them and for all the Turkes power came to their Galies with their pray and prisoners, and came to the Ile of Malto with all their booty, not leesyng. xl. persones in all their iourney: wherof the Lorde Master was moche reioyced & well rewarded Caloram, which also came with them to Malto. This enterprise was dooen on a sonday, beynge the. xviii. day of August, the yere of our Lord a thousand, fyue hundreth, thyrtie and one, and this. xxiii. yere of his Reigne.

Modon. takē.

After this enterprise, the. xxii. day of Septembre, dyed Lady Loys Dutchesse of Angulesme and mother to the Frenche Kyng, a wyse and a sad Lady: whereof the Kyng beynge aduertised, caused a solempne Obsequye to be made and kepte for her in the Abbey of Waltham in Essex, at the whiche solempnitie, the Kynge and a great nombre of the Nobles

and Prelates of the Realme were present in mournyng apparell at the Kynges coste and charge.

¶ THE. XXIIII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this. xxiiii. yere, the Lady Anne Bulleyne was so moche in the Kynges fauour, that the commen people which knew not the Kynges trew entent, sayd and thought that the absence of the Quene was onely for her sake, which was not trew: for the king was openly rebuked of Preachers for kepyng company with his brothers wife, which was thoccasyon that he eschued her companye, tyll the truth wer tryed.

The last daye of Aprill the parliamēt sittyng, the kyng sent for Thomas Awdeley, Spekar of the common house, and certain other, and declared to thē, how they had exhibited a boke of their greues, the last yere against the Spiritualtie, whiche at their requestes, he had deliuered to his spirituall subiectes, to make answere there to, but he could haue no answere, till within three daies last past, which answere he deliuered to the Spekar, saiyng: we thynke their answere will smally please you, for it semeth to vs very slender, you bee a greate sorte of wisemen, I doubt not but you will loke circumspectly on the matter, and we will be indifferent betwene you. And for a truth their answere was very Sophisticall, and nothyng auoydyng the greues of the lay people: and farther the kyng saied, that he marueiled not a litle, why one of the Parliament house spake openly of the absence of the Quene frō hym, whiche matter was not to be determined there, for he saied it touched his soule, and wished the matrimony to be good, for then had he neuer been vexed in cōscience, but the docters of the vniuersities said he, haue determined the mariage to be voyde, and detestable before God, whiche grudge of conscience, caused me to abstein from her compaignie, and no folishe or wanton appetite: for I am said he. xli. yere old, at whiche age the lust of man is not so quicke, as in lustie youth: and sauyng in Spain and Portyngall it hath not been seen, that one man hath maried two sisters, the one beyng carnally knowē before: but the brother to mary the brothers wife was so abhorred emongest all nacions, that I neuer heard it, that any Christen man did it but myself: wherfore you se my conscience trobled and so I praie you reporte: so the Spekar departed, and declared to the commons the kynges saiyng, bothe of the Spirituall mennes answere, and also concernyng the kynges mariage, which slight answere displeased the commons.

The occasion why the Kyng spake of his mariage, was because one Temse in the common house, moued the commons to sue to the kyng, to take the Quene again into his compaignie, and declared certain greate mischiefes, as in bastardyng the Lady Marie, the kynges onely childe, and diuerse other inconueniences, whiche woordes were reported to the kyng, whiche was the cause that he declared his conscience.

The. xi. daie of Maie, the kyng sent for the Speker again, and. xii. of the common house, hauyng with hym eight Lordes, and saied to theim, welbeloued subiectes, we thought that ỹ clergie of our realme, had been our subiectes wholy, but now wee haue well perceiued, that they bee but halfe our subiectes, yea, and scace our subiectes: for all the Prelates at their conseeracion, make an othe to the Pope, clene contrary to the othe that they make to vs, so that they seme to be his subiectes, and not ours, the copie of bothe the othes I deliuer here to you, requiryng you to inuent some ordre, that we bee not thus deluded, of our Spirituall subiectes. The Spekar departed and caused the othes to be reilde in the cōmon house, the very tenor whereof ensueth.

Othe to the Pope.

"I Ihon bishop or Abbot of A. frō this houre forward, shalbe faithefull and obedient to sainct Peter, and to the holy Churche of Rome, and to my lorde the Pope, and his successors Canonically enteryng, I shall not be of counsaill nor *concent, that they shall lese* either life or member, or shall bee taken, or suffre any violence, or any wrong by any meanes, their Counsaill to me credited, by theim their messyngers or letters, I shall not willyngly,

willyngly discouer to any person: the Papacie of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and the Regalie of sainct Peter, I shall help and retain, and defende against all men: the Legate of the Sea Apostolicke, goyng and commyng I shall honourably entreate, the rightes, honors, priuileges, auctho[r]ities of the Churche of Rome, and of the Pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserued, defended, augmented and promoted, I shall not bee in counsaill, treatie, or any acte, in the whiche any thyng shalbe imagined against hym, or the Churche of Rome, there rightes, states, honors, or powers. And if I knowe any suche to bee moued or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as sone as I can, I shall aduertise hym or suche as maie geue hym knowlege. The rules of the holy fathers, the Decrees, Ordinaunces, Sentences, Disposicions, Reseruacions, Prouisions, and Commaundementes Apostolicke, to my power I shall kepe and cause to be kept of other: Hereticke, Sismatikes and rebelles to our holy father and his successors, I shal resist and persecute to my power, I shall come to the Sinode, when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonicall impediment, the lightes of the Apostles I shall visite yerely personally, or by my deputie, I shall not alien nor sell my possessions, without the Popes Counsaill: so God me helpe and the holy Euangelistes."

Othe to the Kyng.

"I Ihon Bishop of. A. vtterly renounce and clerely forsake all suche clauses, woordes, sentences and grauntes, whiche I haue or shall haue here after, of the Popes holines, of and for the Bishopricke of A. that in any wise hath been, is or hereafter maie bee hurtefull or preiudiciall to your highnes, your heires, successors, dignitie, priuilege, or estate royall: and also I dooe swere, that I shalbe faithfull and true, and faithe and truth I shall beare to you my souereigne lorde, and to your heires kynges of thesame, of life and lymme, & yearthly worship aboue all creatures, for to liue and dye with you and yours, ageinst all people, and diligently I shalbe attendant, to all your nedes and busines, after my witt and power, and your counsaill I shall kepe and holde, knowlegyng my self to hold my bishopricke of you onely, besechyng you of restitucion of the temporalties of thesame, promisyng as before, that I shalbe faithefull, true, and obedient subiect to your saied highnes heires, and successors duryng my life, and the seruices and other thynges dewe to youre highnes, for the restitucion of the Temporalties, of thesame Bishoprike I shall truly dooe and obediently perfourme, so God me helpe and all sainctes."

The openyng of these othes, was one of the occasions, why the Pope within two yere folowyng, lost all his iurisdiccion in Englande, as you shall here afterward. The. xiiii. daie of parliament was proroged, til the iiii. daie of February next ensuyng. After whiche prorogacion, sir Thomas More Chauncellor of Englãde, after long suites made to the kyng to be discharged of that office, the. xvi. daie of Maie he deliuered to the kyng, at Westminster, the greate Seale of Englande, and was with the kynges fauor discharged, whiche Seale the kyng kept til Whitsontide folowyng, and on the Mondaie in Whitson weke, he dubbed Thomas Awdeley, Speker of the parliament knight, and made hym lorde keper of the great Seale, and so was he called.

Thomas Awdeley keper of the great seale.

The kyng beyng in progresse this Sommer, was aduertised that the Pope and the Frenche Kyng, had appoynted to incte at Marcelles in Prouince, in the beginnyng of the nexte Spryng, wherefore the kyng like a wise and pollitike prince, thought it conuenient to speake with the Frenche kyng in his awne persone, before the Pope and he should come together, and to declare to hym bothe the determinacion, of the Vniuersities and Doctors concernyng his Matrimonie, and also the generall cõsaills, whiche ordeined suche causes, to be tried in the prouinces and countreis, where the doubt should rise, trustyng that the Frenche kyng should cause the Pope to encline to Goddes law, and to leaue his awne tradicions and voyde dispensacions, whereupon bothe the princes concluded, to incte in October folowyng, betwene Calice & Bulleyn: wherfore the kyng of Englande sent out his letters, to his nobilitie, prelates, and seruauntes, commaundyng theim to bee ready at Cantorbury, the xxvi. daie of September, to passe the Seas with hym, for the accomplishyng of the enteruew, betwene hym and his brother the Frenche kyng. Many men were sory to

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here, that the kyng should passe the sea in Winter, and specially in October, when the seas be rough, but their suiynges letted not his purpose: for he marched forward from Ampthill to Wynsore, where on Sondaie beyng the firste daie of September, he created the lady Anne Bulleyn, Marchiones of Penbroke, and gaue to her one thousand pound lande by the yere, and that solemnitie finished, he rode to the College to Masse, and when the Masse was ended, a newe league was concluded & sworne, betwene the kyng and the French kyng, Messire Pomoray the Frenche Ambassador then beyng present. After which othe taken, Doctor Fox the kynges amner, made an eloquent oracion in Latin, in praise of peace, loue, and amitie: whiche dooen the trumpettes blewe, and the kyng returned to the Castle, where was kepte a solempne feast. From thence the kyng remoued to Grenewiche, and so forward to Cantorbury, where at the daie appoynted, he found ready furnished, all suche as were commaunded to passe the sea with hym, well and richely adorned, bothe they and their seruauntes.

A new league.

The. x. daie of October, the kyng came to Douer, and on the. xi. daie in the mornyng beyng Fridaie, at three of the clocke, he tooke shippyng in Douer rode, and before. x. of the clocke thesame daie, he with the lady Marchiones of Pembroke, landed at Caleis, where he was honorably receiued with procession, and brought to saint Nicholas church, where he hard Masse, and so to his place called Thexchequer, where he lodged. And on the Sondaie after came to Caleis, the lorde Roche Baron, and Monsire de Mountpesat, messengers frō the French kyng, aduertisyng the kyng of Englād, that the French kyng would repaire to Abuile thesame night marchyng towarde Bulleyne, of whiche tidynges the kyng was very glad, but sodainly came a messenger, & reported that the great Master of Fraunce, and the Archebishoppe of Roan, with diuers noble men of Fraunce, wer come to Sandifeld, entendyng to come to Caleis, to salute the kyng, from the kyng their Master. He beyng therof aduertised, sent in greate hast the. xv. daie of October, the Duke of Norffolke the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Oxford, Darby, and Rutlande, the lorde Sandes, and the lorde Fitzwater, with. iii. C. gentlemen, whiche honorably receiued the French lordes, at the Englishe pale, and so brought thē to the kynges presence in Caleis, whiche stode vnder a rich clothe of estate of suche value that they muche mused of the riches. The kyng (as he that knewe all honor and nurture) receiued the Frenche lordes, very louyngly and amiably, and with thē toke a daie & place of metyng: these lordes were highly feasted, & after diner departed to Bullein.

While the kyng lay thus in Caleis, he vewed the walles, towers, and Bulwerkes, and deuised certain newe fortificaciōs, for the maintenance and defence of the toune. The toune of Caleis had at this season. xxiiii. C. beddes, and stablyng for. ii. M. horses, beside the villages adiacent.

The. xx. daie of this moneth, the kyng beyng aduertised, that the Frēche kyng was come to a village called Marguisō, nigh to the Englishe pale, marched out of Caleis the next daie after, accompaignied with the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke, and with the Marquesses of Dorcet and Excester, the Erles of Arundell, Oxford, Surrey, Essex, Derby, Rutlande, Huntyngdon, and Sussex, and diuerse Viscountes, Barons, Knightes of the Garter, and Gentlemen, freshely appareled, and richly trimmed, and so passed toward the place, appoynted for the enteruewe, leuyng behind thē the greatest part of ỹ yomen in Caleis, because that Bulleyne was to litle for bothe the traines. For the Frenchemen saied their train was. xx. M. horse, whiche caused the Englishmen to cast many perelles, and especially because it was bruted abrode, that the Frenche kyng should saie, the Kyng of Englande was once his enemie, and mainteined the Emperor and the duke of Burbō against hym, and now he was become his moste frende. The rehersyng of these olde grudges many Englishmen suspected, and very lothe that the kyng should go to Bulleyne, but the kyng continued still in his iorney, and came to Sandyngfelde, and a litle from that place in a valey, was the Frenche kyng nobely accompaignied, with three hundred horse, and not muche more. The Kynges train waued on the lefte bande, to geue the Frenche Kyng

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and his train the right hande: like wise did the Frenche part, to geue the Englishemen the right hande: so the twoo kynges with all louely honor met with bare heddes, and embrased other in suche fashion, that all that behelde them reioysed. The kyng of Englande was appareled, in a cote of great riches, in braides of golde laied lose on Russet Veluet, and set with Traifoyles, full of pearle and stone. The Frenche Kyng was in a coate of crimosin veluet, all to cut, lined with slender cloth of gold plucked out through the cuttes. The noble men on both parties, wer richely apparreled, and as was reported, the Frenche kyng saied openly, to the kyng of Englande: sir you be thesame persone, that I am moste bounde to in the worlde, and sithe it hath pleased you, in persone to visite me, I am bound in persone to seke you, and for the very frendship, that I haue found in you, I am yours and will be, and so I require you to take me, and with that put of his bonet: the kyng of England soberly answered, If euer I did thyng to your likyng I am glad, & as touchyng the pain to come hether to se you, I assure you it is my greate comforte, yea, and I had come farther to haue visited you. Then the kynges embrased the lordes and estates, as the French kyng the lordes of England, and the kyng of England the lordes of Fraunce, and that done they set forward toward Bulleyne, and in ridyng they cast of Haukes called Sakers, to the Kytes, whiche made to theim greate sporte. And in a valey beyonde Sādyngfeld, the kyng of Nauerr met the kynges, and there they a lighted and dranke, and after that they mounted on horsebacke, & with haukyng and other princely pastyme, they came nere to Bulleyn, where on a hill stode ranged in a faire bande, the nomber of fiue hundred menne on horsebacke, of whom the chief wer, the Frenche kynges three sonnes, the Dolphin, the Duke of Orleaunce, and the Duke of Angulesme, and on them gaue attendaunce, the Admirall of Fraūce, and three Cardinalles with diuerse other nobles of Fraunce: these three Princes marched forwarde, and welcomed the kyng of Englande, whiche theim well behelde and louyngly them receiued, as he that could as muche nurture, as any Prince that euer was. Then the Frenche kyng saied to his children opēly: My children, I am your father, but to this Prince here you are as much bound, as to me your naturall father, for he redemed me and you from captiuitie: wherfore on my blessyng I charge you to be to hym louyng alwaies. The kyng of Englande ceassed the Frenche kynges tale, and embrased the young Princes, eche after other: all their three apparelles were blacke Veluet, embraudered with siluer of Damaske. Then all these noble compaignie came to Bulleyne, where was a greate shot of Artilery, for on the one side they shot great pellettes, whiche made a greate noyse: then these twoo Princes offered at our Lady of Bulleyne, and the Frenche kyng brought the kyng of Englande to his lodgyng in the Abbay directly against his awne lodging, where the kyng of Englande had diuerse chambers, the vtter chamber was hanged with faire Arras, and another chamber was hanged with grene Veluet, embraudered with Vinettes of gold, and fret with flowers of siluer, and smal twigges of wrethen worke, & in the middle of euery pane or pece, was a fable of Ouid in Matamorphoseos embraudered, and a clothe of estate of thesame worke, valanced with frettes, knotted and langettes tassaled with Venice golde and siluer: and in this chamber was hanged a great braunche of siluer percell gilte, to beare lightes. Then was there an inner chamber, hanged with riche clothe of golde of Tissue, and the rofe siled with thesame: The. iiii. chamber was with veluet, and hachementes of armes, and diuises of nedle worke very connyngly wrought. Euery man was appoynted to his lodgyng (which there was very straight) accordyng to his degree, and great chere was made to all the Englishemen: the Poultrees, Larders, Spiceries, and Sellars of Wine were all open, and likewise Hay and Litter, and all other thynges, aske and haue, and no man durst take any money, for the Frenche kyng paied for all.

The Kynges apparell.

The saiyng of the French Kyng.

The Kynges commyng to Bulleyn.

The Frenche kyng caused twoo gounes to be made of white veluet pricked with gold of damaske, and the capes and ventes, wer of frettes of whipped gold of damaske very riche, whiche twoo gounes he sent to the kyng of Englande, praiyng hym to chose the one and to weare it for his sake, whiche gladly toke it, and so that Tewesdaie, the twoo kynges were

were bothe in one suite: thesame night the Frēch kyng, made to the king of Englande a supper in his chamber, whiche was hanged with Arras, and siled ouer with riche silke, and two clothes of estates wer set vp, one at the one ende, & the other at the other ende, the one clothe was embraudered with the image of an old man, and a woman with a naked child in her arme, and the woman gaue the old man sucke of her brest, and about was writtē in French: *Better it is children wantonly to wepe, then old men for nede to perishe.* On the other clothe of estate, was embraudered the sunne goyng doune of fine gold, and a beast theron, the hed couered with a helme, and a coronall of a dukes estate, the beastes body was al perle, & the cloth was crimosin satten. A riche cupbord was set vp of plate, with a great nōber of peces of the new fashion. iiii. great braunches hong in the chāber all of siluer & gilt, whiche bare torches of white waxe, al the gētlemen of Fraūce made thenglishemen great chere, and serued them of delicate viandes.

In the Churche of Bulleyne was a Trauerse set vp for the Frenche kyng, opē on euery side, sauyng it was siled with blew veluet, embraudered with flower Delices golde, the pilers were hanged with thesame worke: On the Frenche kynges right hand, was another trauerse siled, and cortened all of white Satten, embraudered with Cables cast, of cut clothe of gold, embraudered and gilted after the fashion that Mariners cast their ropes: this trauerse was valensed of like woorke, and fringed with fine gold. Daily the kynges heard their Masses in these trauerses and commonly they went together to Masse. Diuerse tymes the kynges communed together in counsaill, and sometyme in the mornyng, or the princes wer stirring, their cōsailes met, and sat together a great while.

While the kyng of Englande, lay thus at Bulleyn, the Frenche kyng to shewe hymself louyng to the noble men of Englande, the. xxv. daie of October, called a Chapiter of the compaignions of his Ordre, called Sainct Michell, of whom the kyng of Englande was one, and so there elected Thomas Duke of Norffolke, and Charles Duke of Suffolke, to bee compaignions of thesaied Ordre, whiche were brought into the Chapiter, and had there Collers deliuered to theim, and were sworne to the Statutes of the Ordre, their obeysaunce to their souereigne Lorde, alwaies reserued: whiche Dukes thanked the Frenche Kyng, and gaue to the Officers of Armes twoo hundred Crounes a pece. All this season the Frenche kyng and his court were freshe, and his gard were appareled, in frockes of blewe Crimosin, and yelowe veluet. With the Frenche kyng, was the kyng of Nauerr, the Dolphin of Vien, the Dukes of Orliaunce, Angulesme, Vandosme, Guyse, Longuile, the Erles of Sainct Paule, Neuers, Estampes, Lauall, and many other Erles and Barons and the prince of Melfie, foure Cardinalles, and eleuen bishoppes with their traines and resort, whiche surely was a greate compaignie: so continued these twoo kynges at Bulleyn, Mondaie, Tewesdaie, Wednesdaie, and Thursdaie, and on Fridaie the. xxv. daie of October, they departed out of Bulleyn to Calice: the Frenche kynges train was twelue hundred persones, and so many horse or more, and without Calice twoo mile, met with them the Duke of Richemond, the Kynges bastard sonne of Englande, a goodly young Prince, and full of fauoure and beautie, with a greate compaignie of noble men, whiche wer not at Bulleyne, so the Duke with his compaignie, embrased the Frenche kyng, and so did other noble men, then the lordes of England set forward, as the Dukes of Richemond, Norffolke and Suffolke, the Marques of Excester, the Erles of Arūdell, Oxford, Surrey, Darby, Worcester, Rutland, Sussex, and Huntyngdon, the Viscountes of Lisle, and Rocheforde, the Bishoppes of London, Winchester, Lyncolne, and Bathe, the lorde Williā Haward, the lorde Matrauerse, the lorde Montacute, the lord Cobham, the lord Sādes, the lorde Bray, the lorde Mordāt, the lorde Leonard Grey, the lorde Clinton, & sir William Fitzwillyam knight, tresorer of the kynges house, and sir William Paulet, Cōptroler of thesame with a greate nomber of knightes, beside the lustie Esquires and yong gentlemen. These noble personages and gentlemen of England, accompaignied the Frenche Lordes to Newnam Bridge, where as Thomas Palmer, capitain of the fortresse, with a faire compaignie of souldiours saluted the Kynges, and so they passed towarde Calice: where at their commyng,

that what out of the Toune and the Castle, and what out of Ricebancke, and the Shippes in the Hauen, the Frenche men saied they neuer heard suche a shotte: And when they were entered the Mille gate, all the Souldiours of the Toune, stoode on the one side, appareled in Redde and Blewe, and on the other side of the stretes, stoode all the seruyng meune of Englande, in coates of Frenche Tawney, with their lordes and Masters diuises embraudered, and euery manne a Scarlette cap and a white fether, whiche made a goodly shewe: there were lodged in Caleis that night, beside the toune dwellers, eight thousand persones at the least. The Kyng of England brought the French Kyng to his lodgyng, to the Staple in, where his chamber was hanged with so rich verdore, as hath not been seen, the ground of it was gold and damaske, and all ouer the tuffes and flowers, were of Satten Silke and Siluer, so curiously wrought that they semed to growe, euery chamber was richer and other: the second chamber all of Tissue, with a clothe of estate of nedle worke, set with great Roses of large pearle. The third was hāged with Veluet, vpon veluet pirled grene and Crimosyn, and embraudered ouer with braunches, of flowers of Gold Bullion, and garnished with armes and beastes of thesame gold, set with pearle and stone. If the Frenche Kyng made good chere to the Kyng of Englande, and his trayne at Bulleyne, I assure you he and his trayne, were requited at Caleis, for the plentie of wylde foule, Venison, Fishe, and all other thynges whiche were there, it was marueill to see, for the Kynges Officers of England, had made preparacion in euery place, so that the Frenchemenne were serued, with suche multitude of diuerse fishes, this Fridaie and Saterdaie, that the masters of the French kynges housholde, muche wondered at the prouison. In like wise on the Sondaie, thei had al maner of fleshe, foule, spice, Venison, bothe of falowe Dere and redde Dere, and as for wine they lacked none, so that well was thenglishe man that might well entertain the French man: the lordes of Fraūce neuer fetched their viandes, but thei wer sent to them, and often tyme their proporcion of victaill was so abundaunt, that they refused a greate parte thereof.

The first Chamber.

The seconde Chamber.

The thirde Chamber.

While the kynges were thus in Caleis, they roade euery daie to sainct Marie Churche, where were set twoo trauerses, the one for the Frenche Kyng, whiche was Crimosyn Veluet, replenished with greate Roses of massy Bullion of fine gold, and the seede of thesaied Roses were great orient pearle, and about euery Rose, was a wrethe al of pearle and stone whiche trauerse was muche wondered at by the Frenchemen: the other trauerse of blewe Veluet and clothe of Tissue, raised with flowers of siluer paned, al the blewe Veluet was embrodered with knottes, and subtle draughtes, of leaues and braunches, that fewe men could iudge the cunnyng of the workemanship. The sundaie at night, the French kyng supped with the kyng of England, in a chamber hanged with tissue, reised with siluer, paned with cloth of siluer, reised with gold, & the semes of thesame were couered with brode wrethes, of goldsmithes worke, full of stone and perle. In this chamber was a coberd of. vii. stages high al of plate of gold, & no gilt plate, beside that there hong in thesaid chāber x. braūches of siluer & gilt, x. & braunches al white siluer, euery braūche hangyng by a long chain of thesame sute, berying v. lightes of waxe. To tell the riches of the clothes of estates, the basens & other vessels whiche was there occupied, I assure you my wit is insufficient, for there was nothyng occupied that night, but all of gold. The Frēch kyng was serued iii. courses, & his meat dressed after the Frēch fashion, & the kyng of England had like courses after thenglishe fashion, the first course of euery kyng was. xl. dishes, the second. lx. & third. lxx. which wer costly & plesant.

The trauerse.

The Supper made to the French Kyng.

After supper came in the Marchiones of Penbroke, with. vii. ladies in Maskyng apparel, of straunge fashion, made of clothe of gold, compassed with Crimosyn Tinsell Satin, owned with Clothe of Siluer, lyng lose and knit with laces of Gold: these ladies were brought into the chamber, with foure damoselles appareled in Crimosin sattyn, with Tabardes of fine Cipres: the lady Marques tooke the Frenche Kyng, and the Countes of Darby, toke the Kyng of Nauerr, and euery Lady toke a lorde, and in daunsyng the kyng of Englande, toke awaie the ladies visers, so that there the ladies beauties were shewed,

and after they had daunsed a while they ceased, and the French Kyng talked with the Marchiones of Penbroke a space, & then he toke his leaue of the ladies, and the kyng conueighed hym to his lodgyng: thesame night the Duke of Norffolke feasted all the nobles of Fraunce, beyng there in the castle of Caleis, with many goodly sportes and pastymes.

On the Mondaie beyng Simon and Iudes daie, there dined with the kyng of England, the kyng of Nauerr, & the Cardinall of Lorrain, and the greate Master, & Admirall of Fraunce, on whiche daie the kyng of Englande, called a Chapiter of the knightes of the Gartier, at whiche Chapiter the Frenche kyng ware the Blewe Mantell of the ordre, because he was of thesame ordre, and there wer elected Annas Memorancie Erle of Beaumont, greate Master of the Frenche kinges house, and Phillip de Chabbot Erle of Newblanke, greate Admirall of Fraunce, whiche had to them their Collers and Garters deliuered, for the which they rendered to the kyng greate thankes.

The morowe after beyng the thirtie daie of October, the two kynges departed out of Caleis, and came nere to Sādyngfeld, and there alighted in a faire grene place, where was a table set, and there the Englishemen serued the Frenchemen of wyne, Ypocras, fruite, & spice aboundantly. When the two kynges had communed a litle, they mounted on their horses, and at the very enteryng of the French grounde, they toke handes, and with Princely countenaunce, louyng behauor, and hartie wordes, eche embrased other and so there departed.

The Kynges departure.

While the kyng of Englande was in the Frenche kynges dominion, he had the vpper hand, and likewise had the Frenche kyng, in his dominion, and as the Frenche kyng paied all the Englishmennes charges at Bulleyn, so did the kyng of England at Caleis, so that euery thyng was recōpensed: sauyng that the kyng of England, gaue to the French kyng, diuerse precious Iuelles & great horses, and to his nobles great plētie of plate, for the which I could neuer heare, that he gaue the kyng of Englāde any other thing, but the white goune, as you haue hard, but to the lordes of the kynges counsaill, he gaue certain plate and chaines.

When the kyng was returned to Calice, many gentlemen tooke ship to saile into Englande, but the wynd was so contrariant, that diuerse of them were driuen backe again into Calice, and diuerse into Flaunders, and in Nouember rose suche a Wynde, of the North and North Weste, that al the shippes in Caleis hauen, were in great ieoperdy, and in especial § Hoyes, at whiche season was such a spryng tide, that it brake the walles of Holland and Zelande, and drouned diuerse tounes in Flaūders, in somuche that the water rose three foote aboue the wharfe, where the Key stode in Andwarpe: this storme continued till the fourth daie of Nouember, but for all that the wynd chaunged not. The eight daie rose suche a Wynde tempest and Thonder, that no man could conueniently stirre in the streates of Caleis: muche lamentacion was made for theim that had taken shippe into Englande, for no man knewe what was become of theim. On Sondaie the wether was faire, the kyng caused his bedde and other thynges to be shipped, and entended to departe, but sodainly rose suche a mist, that no Master could guide a ship, and so he taried that daie. On Tewesdaie at midnight he tooke ship, and landed at Douer the morowe after, beyng the. xiiii. daie of Nouember, at. v. of the clocke in the mornyng, wherefore the Saterdaie after, was song *Te deum* in the Cathedrall Churche of sainct Paule in London: the Lorde keper of the great Seale, the Maior of London, (and diuerse other noble and sad persones, whiche made their abode in London, for the gouernaunce of the realme in the kynges absence, beyng present). The kyng after his returne, maried priuily the lady Anne Bulleyn, on sainct Erkenwaldes daie, whiche mariage was kept so secrete, that very fewe knewe it, til she was greate with child, at Easter after.

The Kyng maried to lady Anne Bulleyne.

When the kyng should passe ouer the sea, he cōsidred that the Scottes had robbed his subiectes, bothe by sea and land, and that no redresse was made for thesame, imagined that in his absence, they would attempt some outragious enterprise against his people, wherfore like a prudent prince to be in a suretie, he sent sir Arthur Darcy knight, with thre hundred

dred tall menne to Barwicke, to defende the inuasions of the Scottes. The Scottes hearyng of his commyng, came into Northumberlande, by ỹ middle Marches, and came to a place called Fowbery, and in their iorney fired certain villages and returned. Sir Arthur Darcy hearyng of this auenture, was nothyng contente. Nowe at this season there laie at Berwicke, Archibald Doglas Erle of Angus, whiche had maried the Quene of Scottes, the kynges sister, and was banished Scotlande and she was from hym diuorsed, and maried to another. The Scottes bragged of their enterprise, and saied that sir Arthur had brought them good lucke, and said, that he and the Erle of Angus, slepte well in Barwicke: they hearyng of this bragge, made a roade with. iiii. C. men into Scotland, & set a village on fire: then shortly assembled together. viii. C. Scottes. When thenglishemen perceiued the Scottes, they caused their trompet to blowe a retreate, and the Erle and. xx. with hym, shewed hym self on a hill, euen in the face of the Scottes, and the trumpette blewe at their backes, so that the Scottes thought that there had been ii. compaignies, whiche caused the Scottes to flie, and the Englishemen folowed, and slewe a great nomber, and toke many prisoners, and brought them to Berwicke, the twentie daie of October.

Sir Thomas Awdeley made Chauncellor.

The kyng this yere kepte his Christemas at Grenewiche, and after Christmas sir Thomas Awdeley, lorde keper of the greate Seale, was made Chaunceller of Englande, and when the Parliament begonne, because the office of the Spekar was voyde, Hufrey Wyngfeld of Grais Inne, was elected Spekar of the parliament, whiche was presented accordyng as you haue heard, of the other Spekar before. In the whiche Parliament was made an acte, that no persone should appeale for any cause, out of this realme, to the Courte of Rome, but from Commissarie to the Bishoppe, and from Bishop to the Archebishop, and from Archebishop to the kyng, and all causes of the kyng, to bee tried in the vpper house of the Conuocacion. And in thesame Parliament was enacted, that quene Katheryn should from thence furth, be no more called quene, but princes Dowager, of prince Arthur.

In this Sommer season last past, died Willyam Warham Archebishoppe of Cantorbury, and to that Bishopriche was named, Doctor Thomas Cranmer, the kynges chappelein, a man of good learnyng, and of a verteous life, which also not long before was the kynges Ambassadour to the Bishop of Rome, whiche was consecrate in Lent.

After the Kyng perceiuyng his newe wife Quene Anne, to bee greate with childe, caused all officers necessary, to bee appoynted to her, and so on Easter eue, she went to her Closet openly as Quene, with all solempnitie, and then the Kyng appoynted the daie of her Coronacion, to bee kept on Whitsõ Sondaie next folowyng, and writynges wer sent to all Shriues, to certifie the names of menne of fourtie pounde, to receiue the Ordre of knighthod, or els to make a fine: the assessement of whiche fines, were appoynted to Thomas Cromwell, Master of the Kynges Iuell house, and counsailer to the kyng, and newly in his high fauour, whiche so pollitikely handeled the matter, that he raised of that sessyng of fines, a greate somme of money to the Kynges vse: Also the Kyng wrote letters to the citee of London, to prepare pagiauntes against thesame coronacion.

¶ THE. XXV. YERE.

THe kyng in the beginnyng of this. xxv. yere, kepte the daie of sainct George, at his Manor of Grenewiche, with great solempnitie, and the Courte was greatly replenished, with lordes, knightes and with ladies and gentlewomen, to a great nomber, with all solace and pleasure. You haue hard the last yere, how the Parliament had enacted that no person should after a daie, appele to Rome for any cause, whatsoeuer it wer, and that the Quene now, called the Princes Dowager, had appeled to the Court of Rome, before the acte made, so that it was doubted, whether that appeale were good or not. This question was well handeled in the Parliament house, but muche better in the Conuocacion house, but in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by bokes shewed, that in the Counsailes of Calce-

done, Affricke, Toletane, and diuerse other famous Counsailes, in the primitiue Churche, yea, in the tyme of sainct Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, & determined, that a cause risyng in one Prouince, should be determined in thesame, and that neither the patriarcke of Constantinople, should medle in causes moued in the iurisdicciō of the patriarcke of Antioche, nor no bishop should entermit, within anothers Prouince or countrey: which thynges were so clerkely opened, so connyngly set furthe to all intentes, that euery man that had witte, and was determined to folowe the truth, and not affeccionate nor wilfully wedded to his awne mind, might plainly se that all appeles made to Rome, were clerely voyde and of none effect: whiche Doctrines and Counsailes, were shewed to the lady Katerine Princes Dowager, but she (as women loue to lose no dignitie) euer cōtinued in her old song, trustyng more to the Popes parcialitie, then to the determinacion of Christes veritie. Wherupō the Archebishop of Cantorbury, accompaignied with the bishoppes of London, Winchester, Bathe, Lincolne, and diuerse other great clerkes, in a great nomber rode to Dunstable, whiche is sixe myle frō Ampthil, where the Princes Dowager laye, and there by a Doctor called Doctor Lee, she was ascited to appere before thesaied Archebishoppe, in cause of Matrimonie, in thesaied toune of Dunstable, and at the daie of apparaunce she would not appere, but made defaute, and so she was called peremptorie, euery daie. xv. daies together, and at the laste for lacke of apparaunce, and for contumacie, by thassent of all the learned men there beyng present, she was diuorsed from the kyng, and their Mariage declared to be voyde and of none effecte, whiche sentence geuen, the Archebishop and all the other, returned whether it pleased them.

The Kyng & quene Katherine diuorsed.

After whiche diuorse sued, many wise menne saied, that the kyng was not well counsailed, to mary the lady Anne Bulleyne, before the diuorse were adiudged, for by mariyng before the firste mariage was dissolued, they said, that the second mariage might be brought in question, and verely they saied true, for so it was in the monethe of Maie, three yere folowyng, as you shall here after, when I come to the tyme. Of this diuorse euery man spake, as his discrecion and wisedom was, for wise men saied that it was Godly and honorably done, for the discharge of the Kynges conscience, and profitable for the suretie of the realme, and that God loued this mariage, consideryng that the newe Quene, was so sone with childe. Other saied that the bishop of Rome, would cursse all Englishemen and that themperor and he, would inuade the realme, and destroye the people, and specially the Spanyardes bosted muche, but thankes be to God, their doynges wer muche lesse then their wordes: but after euery man had talked inough, there was no more communyng of the matter, but all was in peace.

Wylliam Tracy.

A litle before this tyme was there a worshipfull esquier in Glocestershyre called Wyllyam Tracy of Todyngton whiche made in his wyll that he would no funeral pompe at his buriyng, neither passed he vpon Masse, and farther sayd that he trusted in God onely & hopyng by him to be saued, and not by no saint. This gentleman dyed and his sonne as executor brought ẏ wil to the bishop of Cauntorbury to proue, whiche he shewed to the cōuocacion and there vnaduisedly they adiudged him to be taken out of the ground and to be brent as an heretike, and sent a commission to doctor Parker chauncelor of the dyoces of Worcester to execute their sentence, whiche accomplished the same. The kyng hearyng his subiect to be exhumate & brent without his knowlege or order of his lawe sent for the Chauncelor and layde the high offence to him, whiche excused him by the archebishop of Caūtorbury whiche was late dead: but in conclusion it cost him CCC. pound to haue his pardon. But yet for a farther trueth to be knowen of this gentlemans death, & the cruel ignoraūcye of the bishoppes, I haue here expressed his wylle worde by worde as foloweth.

In the name of God Amen, I Wyllyam Tracy of Todyngton in ẏ countie of Gloucester esquier make my Testament & last wille as hereafter foloweth. Fyrst and before all other thinges I commit me vnto God and to his mercy, beleuyng without any doubt or mistrust that by his grace and the merites of Iesus Christ, & by the vertue of his passion and of his resurreccion I haue and shall haue remission of my sinnes and resurreccion of body and soule

soule according as it is written, I beleue that my redemer lyueth, and that in the last day I shall ryse out of the yearth and in my flesbe shall see my sauior, this my hope is layde vp in my bosome. Iob. xix.

And touchyng the wealth of my soule, the fayth that I haue taken & rehersed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other mannes worke or workes. My ground and belefe is, that there is but one God & one mediator betwene God and man, whiche is Iesus Christ, so that I accept none in heauen nor in yerth to be mediator betwene me and God, but onely Iesus Christ, all other be but peticioners in receiuyng of grace, but none hable to geue influence of grace. And therfore will I bestowe no part of my goodes for that entent that any man should say, or do, to helpe my soule, for therin I trust onely to the promises of God: he that beleueth and is baptized shal be saued, and he that beleueth not shalbe damned. Marke. xvi.

As touchyng the buriyng of my body, it auaileth me not whatsoeuer be done therto, for saint Augustine sayeth *de cura agenda pro mortuis* that the funeral pompes are rather the solace of them that liue, then for the welth and comforte of them that are dede, and therfore I remitte it onely to the discrecion of myne executors.

And touching the distribucion of my temporal goodes, my purpose is by the grace of God to bestowe them, to be accepted as the fruites of fayth so that I do not suppose that my merite is by good bestowyng of them, but my merite is the fayth of Iesus Christ onely, by whom suche workes are good accordyng to the wordes of our lorde: I was hungry and thou gauest me to eat. &c. and it followeth, that ye haue done to the least of my brethren ye haue done it to me. &c. And euer we should consider the true sentence, that a good worke maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good worke: for fayth maketh the mā both good and righteous, for a righteous man liueth by fayth: and whatsoeuer springeth not of fayth is synne. Math. xxv. Roma. xiiii

And all my temporal goodes that I haue not geuen or deliuered or not geuen by writyng of myne own hand bearyng the date of this present writyng, I do leaue and geue to Margaret my wyfe & to Richard my sonne whom I make myne Executors. Wytnes this myne owne hand, the x. day of October in the xxii. yere of the reigne of kyng Henry the viii.

This is the true copy of his wille, for the whiche as you haue heard before after he was almoste thre yeres dead, they toke him vp and burned him.

In the moneth of Maye Pope Clement sent an Orator to the kyng at Grenewyche certifyng him that he had appointed a generall counsail to be kept at Mantua the yere folowyng, and therof had aduertised all princes Christen, requiryng the kyng likewyse as he did all other princes Christen for the vniuersal welth of all Christendome and for ỹ quietyng of opinions newly growen, to appere there personally: to the whiche it was answered that it was both ieopardeous for ỹ king & for his whole realme to haue their prince absent for feare of inuasions by vtward enemies, but he sayd he would sende thither a sufficient procuracie and conuenient proctors, & desired to see the Orators commission.

When he with an euil will had shewed his commission, there appered neither place nor tyme of the counsail. For the kyng knew well before his commyng that the Marques of Mantua had made a full denial to the pope that he would haue no suche assemble to be kept in his citie nor dominions for diuers great and vrgent causes, & so the popes Orator departed with an vncertain answere to an vncertain demaund but not vnrewarded.

The kyng beyng aduertised by the Frenche kyng how that he and ỹ Pope should mete at Nece in Iune followyng thought it conuenient to sende a solempne Ambassade to ỹ Frenche kyng both to accompany him to Nece and also to comon with the bishop of Rome concernyng his vnlawfull stay in the kynges deuorce: whervpon he appointed the duke of Norffolke, the lorde Rocheforde brother to the newe quene, sir Wyllyam Pawlet comptroller of the kynges housholde, sir Anthonye Browne & sir Fraunces Bryan knightes to be his ambassadors which made great prouision for that purpose and so with the nomber of Clx. horses came to Douer and so to Calys on Whitson eue on whiche day the quene made her entry through the citie of London toward her coronacion) where thei made their abode a certain space

space and passed through all Fraunce till they came to Lyons, where they remayned a space as you shall here after.

This very season was daily skirmishyng betwene the borderers of the Marches of England and Scotland, and yet no warre proclaimed and many robberies, murders and mãslaughters done on both partes, and although the cõmissioners of the realmes of England & of Scotland lay at Newcastle vpõ Tyne entreatyng a truce and amitie, yet duryng the communicacion the Scottes ceased not to robbe both by sea & land, and toke dyuers litle botes laden with corne and fishe, wherof hearyng the kyng of England, he decked and vitailed dyuers shippes of warre and sent them to the North seas to defende his subiectes. The Scottes hearyng that the Englishe nauye was come on their cost, in al hast fled home to their harbor, but yet the Englishemen folowed them & fetched many of their praies out of their hauens maugre of their heades.

In the beginnyng of May the kyng caused open Proclamacions to be made that all men that claimed to do any sernice, or execute any office at the solempne feast of the coronacion, by the way of Tenor, graunt or prescripcion should put their graunt iii. wekes after Ester in the starre chamber before Charles duke of Suffolke for that tyme high steward of England and the lorde Chauncelor and other commissioners.

The duke of Norffolke claymed to be erle Marshall and to exercise his office at that feast. The erle of Arrondell claymed to be high buler and to exercise thesame: the erle of Oxford claymed to be chamberlain: the viscount Lysle claymed to be panter: the lorde Burgaine to be chiefe larderer, and the lord Bray claimed to be almoner, and sir Henry Wiat knight claymed to be ewrer: All these noble parsonages desired their offices with their fees. Besyde these the Maior of London claymed to serue the quene with a cuppe of golde and a cuppe of assay of the same, and that xii. citizens should attende on the cupborde and the Maior to haue the cuppe and cuppe of assay for his labor, which peticion was allowed. The. v. Portes claymed to beare a Canapie ouer the quenes head the daye of the Coronacion with. iiii. gilte Belles and to haue the same for a rewarde whiche also to them was allowed. Dyuers other put in petic claymes whiche were not allowed because they semed only to be done at the kynges coronacion. All this season great puruciaũce was made of all maner of vitailes, and lordes, knightes and squiers were sent for out of all countreys whiche came to London at their day with a great nomber of people.

The receiuyng, conueiyng and coronacion of quene Anne wyfe to the high and mightie prince kyng Henry the eight.

After that the kynges highnes had addressed his gracious letters to the Maior and cominaltie of the citie, signifiyng to them that his pleasure was to solempnise and celebrate the coronacion of his moste deare and welbeloued wyfe Quene Anne at Westminster the *Whits*onday nexte ensuyng, willyng theim to make preparacion aswell to fetche her grace from Grenewyche to the Tower by water as to see the citie ordered and garnished with pageaũtes in places accustomed, for the honor of her grace. When she should be conueyed from the Tower to Westminster, there was a common counsail called, and cõmaundement was geuen to the Haberdashers (of which craft the Maior sir Stephen Pecocke then was) that they should prepare a barge for the Batchelers with a wafter and a foyst garnished with banners and streamers likewyse as they vse to dooe when the Maior is presented at Westminster on the morowe after Symon and Iude. Also all other crafles were commaunded *to* prepare barges and to garnishe them not alonely with their banners accustomed, but also to decke theim with targettes by the sides of the barges, and so set vp all suche semely banners and bannerettes as they had in their halles or could gette *mete to furnishe* their sayd barges, and euery barge to haue mynstrelsie, accordyng to whiche commaundementes great preparacion was made for all thynges necessary for suche a noble triumph.

The commyng by water from Grenewyche the thursday.

The. xix. day of Maye the Maior and his brethren all in Scarlet, and suche as wer knightes

had coliers of Esses & the remnant hauyng good chaynes, and the counsail of the citie with them assembled at saint Mary Hyll, and at one of the clocke discended to the Newstayre to their barge, whiche was garnished with many goodly bāners and stremers, and richely couered, In whiche barge wer Shalmes, Shagbushes & diuers other instrumentes, whiche continually made goodly armony. After that the Maior and his brethren wer in their barge seyng that all the companyes to the nomber of fiftie barges were ready to wayte vpō theim. They gaue commaundement to the companyes that no barge should rowe nerer to another then twyse the length of the barge vpon a great paine. And to see the order kept, there were thre light wheryes prepared, and in euery one of them two officers to call on them to kepe their order, after whiche commaundement geuen they set forth in order as hereafter is discribed.

Fyrst before the Maiors barge was a Foyst or Wafter full of ordinaunce, in whiche Foyst was a great Dragon continually mouyng, & castyng wyldfyer, and round about the sayd Foyst stode terrible monsters and wylde men castyng fyer, and makyng hideous noyses: Next after the Foyst a good distaunce came the Maiors barge, on whose right hand was the Batchelers barge, in the whiche were trumpettes and diuers other melodious instrumentes. The deckes of the sayd barge and the sailyardes and the toppe castles were hanged with riche cloth of golde and silke. At the foreship and the Sterne were two great banners riche beaten with the armes of the kyng and the quene, and on the toppe castle also was a long stremer newly beaten with the sayd armes. The sides of the barge was sette full of Flagges and banners of the deuises of the company of Haberdashers and marchauntes aduenturers, and the cordes were hāged with innumerable penselles hauyng litle belles at ỹ endes whiche made a goodly noyse and a goodly sight wauеryng in the wynde. On the outsyde of the barge were thre dosen Scochyons in metal of armes of the kyng and the quene whiche were beaten vpon square bocrame deuided so that the right side had the kinges colors, and the left syde the quenes, whiche Scochyons were fastened on the clothes of gold and siluer hangyng on the deckes on the left hand. On the left hand of the Maior was another Foyst, in the whiche was a mount & on thesame stode a white Fawcon crouned vpon a rote of golde enuironed with white roses and red, whiche was the Quenes deuise: about whiche mount satte virgyns singyng & playyng swetely. Next after the Maior folowed his felowship the Haberdashers, Next after them the Mercers, then the Grocers, and so euery company in his order, and last of all the Maiors and shiriffes officers, euery company hauyng melodye in his barge by himselfe, and goodly garnished with banners and some garnished with silke and some with Arras and riche carpettes, whiche was a goodly sight to beholde, and in this order they rowed to Grenewyche to the point next beyond Grenewyche, and there they turned backward in another order, that is to wete, the Maior and Shiriffes officers first, and the meanest craft next, and so ascendyng to the vttermost crafies in order and ỹ Maior last as they go to Poules at Christmas, and in that order they rowed douneward to Grenewiche toune and there cast anker makyng great melody. At thre of the clocke the quene appeared in riche cloth of gold & entered into her barge accōpanied with diuers ladies and gentlewomen, and incontinent the Citizens set forwardes in their order, their minstrels continually plaiyng, and the Batchelers barge goyng on the quenes right hand whiche she tooke great pleasure to beholde. Aboute the quenes barge were many noble men, as the duke of Suffolke, the Marques Dorset, the Erle of Wylshyre her father, the Erles of Arrondel, Darby, Rutland, Worcetter, Huntyngdon, Sussex, Oxford, and many bishoppes and noblemen euery one in his barge, which was a goodly sight to behold. She thus beyng accompanied rowed towarde the Tower, and in the meane way the shippes whiche were commaunded to lye on the shore for lettyng of the barges shotte diuers peales of gunnes, and or she landed there was a merualous shotte out of the Tower as euer was harde there. And at her landyng there met with her the lord Chamberlain with the officers of armes and brought her to the kyng, which receiued her with louyng countenaunce at the Posterne by the water syde and kyssed her, & then she turned backe againe and thanked the Maior and the citezens with many goodly wordes,

wordes, and so entred into the Tower. After which entry the citezens all this while houed before the Tower makyng great melody & went not alande, for none wer assigned to land but the Maior, the Recorder and two Aldermen. But for to speake of the people that stode on euery shore to beholde the sight, he that sawe it not would not beleue it.

On Fryday at diner serued the kyng all suche as were appointed by his highnes to be knightes of ỹ bath, which after dyner were brought to their chambers, and that night nere bathed and shreuen accordyng to the old vsage of England, and the next day in the mornyng the kyng dubbed theim accordyng to the ceremonies therto belongyng whose names ensueth.

The Marques Dorset.	Sir Wyllyam Wynsore.
The Erle of Darby.	Sir Fraunces Weston.
The lorde Clyfforde.	Sir Thomas Arrondell.
The lorde Fitzwater.	Sir Ihon Hulstone.
The lorde Hastynges.	Sir Thomas Pownynges.
The lorde Mountaigle.	Sir Henry Sauell.
Sir Ihon Mordant.	Sir George Fitzwyllyam.
The lorde Vaux.	Sir Ihon Tyndall.
Sir Henry Parker.	Sir Thomas Iermey.

Saterday the xxxi. day.

The receiuyng and conueiyng of the quene through London.

To the entent that the horses should not slide on the Pauement, nor that ỹ people should not be hurted by horses, the high stretes where the quene should passe were all grauelled from the Tower to Temple barre and railed on the one side, within whiche rayles stode the craftes along in their order from Grace churche where the marchauntes of the Stylliyard stode till the litle conduite in Chepe where the Aldermen stode, & on the other syde of the strete stode the Constables of the citie apparelled in veluet & silke with great staues in their handes to cause the people to kepe rome and good order. And when the stretes were somewhat ordered, the Maior clothed in a goune of crimosyn Velnet and a riche collor of Esses with two footemen clad in white and red damaske roade to the Tower to geue his attendance on the Quene, on whom the Shiriffes with their officers did wayte till they came to Tower hill, where they takyng their leaue roade doune the high streates commaundyng the Constables to see rome and good order kept, and so went and stode by the Aldermen in Chepe. And before the quene and her traine should come, Cornehill and Gracious strete were hanged with fyne Scarlet, Crimosyn and other grayned clothes, and in some place with riche Arras, Tapestry and Carpettes, and the moste part of the Chepe was hãged with clothe of Tyssue, Golde, Velnet and many riche hangynges whyche made a goodly shewe, and all the wyndowes were replenished with ladyes and gentlewomen to beholde the quene and her trayne as they shuld passe by. The fyrst of the quenes company that set forward were xii. Frenchmen whiche were belongyng to the Frenche Ambassador clothed in coates of blewe velnet with sleues of yelowe and blewe velnet and their horses trapped with close trappers of blewe Sarcenet poudered with white crosses: after them marched gentlemen, squiers knightes ii. and ii. After them the Iudges, and after them the knightes of the bath in Violet gounes with hoddes purfeled with Miniuer lyke doctors, after them abbottes, then Barons, after them bishoppes, then Erles and Marquesses, then the lorde Chauncelor of England, after him the archebishop of Yorke and the ambassador of Venice, after him the archebishop of Cauntorbury and the ambassador of Fraunce, after roade. ii. squiers of honor ẅ robes of estate rolled and worne baudrike wise about their neckes with cappes of estate represẽtyng the dukes of Normandy and Acquitaine, after them roade the Maior of London ẅ his Mace and Garter in his coate of armes, whiche Maior bare his Mase to Westminster halle, after them roade the lorde Wylliam Haward ẅ the Marshals rod deputie to his brother ỹ duke of Norffolke Marshall of England whiche was ambassador then in Fraunce: and on his right hand roade Charles Duke of Suffolke for that day high Constable of England bearyng the verder of siluer appertainyng to ỹ office of

Constableship, and all the lordes for the moste parte were clothed in Crimosyn veluet, and all the Quenes seruauntes or officers of armes in Scarlet. Next before the quene road her chaū-celor bareheded, the sergeaūtes & officers of armes roade on both the sides of the lordes. Then came the quene in a litter of white cloth of golde not couered nor bayled whiche was led by ii. palferies clad in white damaske doune to the ground head & all, led by her fotemen. She had on a circot of white clothe of Tyssue & a mantle of the same furred with Ermyne, her beere hāged doune, but on her head she had a coyffe with a circlet about it ful of riche stones. Ouer her was borne a Canapie of clothe of golde with iiii. gilte staues and iiii. siluer belles. For bearyng of whiche Canapye were appointed xvi. knightes, iiii. to beare it one space on foote & other iiii. another space accordyng to their owne appointment. Next after the quene roade the lorde Borough her chāberlain, next after him Wylliā Coffyn Master of the Horses leadyng a spare horse with a syde saddle trapped doune w̄ clothe of tyssue: after him roade vii. ladyes in crimosyn veluet turned vp w̄ cloth of gold & of tyssue & their horses trapped with cloth of gold, after them ii. chariotes couered w̄ red cloth of gold. In the fyrst Chariot was ii. ladyes which were ỹ old duches of Norfolke & the old marchiones of Dorset. In the secōd chariot wer iiii. ladies all in Crimosyn veluet. After theim roade vii. ladyes in the same suite their horses trappers and all, after theim came the third Chariot all white with. vi. Ladyes in Crimosyn veluet, next after them came the fowerth Chariot all redde with viii. ladies also in crimosyn Veluet, after whō folowed xxx. gētlewomen all in veluet and silke in the liuery of their ladies on whom they gaue their attendaunce. After them folowed the Garde in coates of Goldsmythes worke, in which order they roade forth till they came to Fanchurche, where was made a pageaunt all with children apparelled like marchauntes whiche welcommed her to the Citie with two proper preposicions both in Frenche & Englishe, and frō thence she roade to Gracious church corner, where was a costly and a merueilous connyng pageaunt made by the marchauntes of the Stillyarde, for there was the mount Pernasus with the fountayne of Helycon, which was of white Marble and iiii. streames w̄out pype did rise an ell hye & mette together in a litle cuppe aboue the foūtain, which fountain ranne aboundantly Racked Rennishe wyne til night. On the mountaine satte Appollo and at his feete satte Calliope, and on euery syde of the mountain satte iiii. Muses playyng on seueral swete instrumentes, and at their feete Epigrammes & Poyses were written in golden letters, in the whiche euery Muse accordyng to her propertie praised the Quene: so from thence she passed to Leaden Hall where was a goodly pageaunt with a type and a heauenly roffe, and vnder the type was a rote of golde set on a litle mountaine enuironed with red roses & white, out of the type came doune a Fawcon all white and sate vpō the rote, and incontinent came doune an Angell with great melody and set a close croune of golde on the Fawcons head, and in the same pageaūt satte saint Anne with all her issue beneth her, and vnder Mari Cleoph satte her iiii. children, of the whiche children one made a goodly Oracion to the quene of the fruitfulnes of saint Anne and of her generacion, trustyng that like fruite should come of her. Then she passed to the conduicte in Cornehill where wer thre graces set in a throne, afore whō was the spryng of grace continually ronnyng wyne. Afore the foūtain satte a Poete declaring the properties of euery grace, & that done euery lady by her selfe accordyng to her propertie gaue to the quene a seueral gift of grace. That done she passed by ỹ great cōduite in Chepe which was newly painted with armes of deuises: out of the whiche conduit by a goodly fountain set at the one end rāne continually wyne both white and claret all that after noone, and so she rode to the Standard which was richely painted with ymages of kynges and quenes and hanged with bāners of armes, and in the toppe was merualious swete armony both of song & instrument. Then she went forward to the crosse whiche was newly gilt, til she came where the Aldermen stode, & then Master Baker the Recorder came to her with lowe reuerence makyng a proper and briefe proposicion and gaue to her in the name of the Citie a thousand markes in golde in a Purse of golde, whiche she thankefully accepted with many goodly wordes, and so roade to the lytle conduyte where was a riche pageaunt full of melodye

and song, in whiche pageaunt was Pallas, Iuno and Venus, and before them stode Mercury, whiche in the name of the iii. goddesses gaue to her a balle of gold deuided in thre, signifiyng thre giftes ỹ which thre Goddesses gaue to her, that is to saye, wysedome, ryches and felicitie. As she entred into Paules gate there was a pretie pageaunt in whiche satte thre ladyes richely clothed, and in a circle on their hed was written *Regina Anna prospere procede et regna*. The Lady in the middes had a Tablet in the whiche was written *Veni amica coronaberis*, And vnder the tablet satte an angell with a close croune, and the ladye sittyng on the right hande had a Tablet of sylner in whiche was written *Domine directe gressus meos*, and the third ladye had a Tablet of golde with letters Asure written, *confido in domine*, and vnder their feete was written, *Anna Regina nominum Regis de sanguine natum, cum paries populis aurea secla tuis*. And these ladyes cast doune Wafers, on the whiche the two verses were written. From thence she passed to the East ende of Paules Churcheyarde against the schole, where stode on a Scaffolde two hundreth children well apparelled, whiche sayd to her diuers goodly verses of Poetes translated into Englishe, to the honor of the kyng and her, whiche she highly commended. And when she came to Ludgate, the gate was newly garnished with golde and byse. And on the ledes of sainct Martyns Churche stode a goodly quere of singyng men and children whiche sang newe balades made in praise of her. After that she was passed Ludgate she proceded towarde Fletestrete where the Conduict was newely painted, and all the armes and angels refreshed, and the chyme melodiously sownyng. Vpon the Conduite was made a toune with iiii. Turretes, and in euery Turret stode one of the cardinall vertues with their tokens and properties, whiche had seueral speches, promisyng the Quene neuer to leaue her, but to be aydyng and comfortyng her, And in the myddes of the tower closely was suche seueral solempne instrumētes, that it semed to be an heauenly noyse, and was muche regarded and praised: and beside this the said Conduyte ranne wyne Claret and Red all the afternoone. So she with all her companye and the Maior roade forth to Temple barre, whiche was newly painted and repayred, where stode also diuers singyngmen and children, til she came to Westminster halle, whiche was richely hāged with clothe of Arras and newe glased. And in the myddes of the halle she was taken out of her *littre*, and so led vp to the high dece vnder the clothe of estate, on whose lefte hand was a cupborde of x. stages merueilous riche and beutifull to behold, and within a litle season was brought to the quene with a solempne seruice in great standyng spyce plates, a voyde of Spice and subtilties with Ipocras and other wynes, whiche she sent doune to her ladyes, and when the ladyes had dronke she gaue hartie thākes to the lordes & ladyes, and to the Maior and other that had geuen their attendance on her, and so withdrew her selfe with a fewe ladyes to the Whitehalle and so to her chamber, and there shifted her, and after went into her barge secretely to the kyng to his Manor of Westminster where she rested that night.

Sonday beyng whitsonday the first day of Iune and the day of her coronacion.

On sonday the Maior cladde in crimosyn veluet and with his coller and all the Aldermen and shiriffes in Scarlet and the counsail of the citie tooke their barge at the Crane by seuen of the clocke and came to Westminster where they wer welcomed & brought into ỹ halle by Master Treasorer and other of the kynges house, and so gaue their attendaunce till the quene should come forth. Betwene viii. and ix. she came into the halle and stoode vnder the clothe of estate, and then came in the kynges chapel & the Monkes of Westminster all in riche copes & many bishoppes and Abbottes in Copes and miters whiche went into the middes of the halle, and there stode a season. Then was there a raye clothe spred from the quenes standyng in the halle through the palace & saintuary, which was railed on bothe sydes to the high Aulter of Westminster. After that the raye clothe was cast, the officers of armes appoynted the order accustomed. Fyrst went gentlemen, then esquiers, then knightes, then the aldermen of the citie in their clokes of Scarlet, after them the Iudges in their mantels of Scarlet and coyffes. Then folowed the knightes of the bathe beyng no lordes, euery mā hauyng a white lace on his left sleue, Then folowed Barons & vicountes in their parliament robes

robes of Scarlet. After them came Erles, Marquesses and Dukes in their robes of estate of crimosyn veluet furred with Ermyne poudered accordyng to their degrees. After them came the lorde Chaūcelor in a robe of Scarlet open before bordered with Lettice: after him came the kynges chapel and ỹ Monkes solempnely singyng with procession, then came abbottes and bishoppes mitered, then sergeauntes & officers of armes, then after them went the Maior of London with his mace & garter in his cote of armes, Then went the Marques Dorcet in a robe of estate whiche bare the scepter of gold, and the erle of Arrondel whiche bare the rod of Yuery with the Doue both together: Then went alone the erle of Oxforde high Chamberlain of Englaṅd which bare ỹ croune, after him went the duke of Suffolke in his robe of estate also for that day beyng high steward of England, hauing a long white rod in his hande, and the lorde Wyllyam Hawarde with the rodde of the Marshalship, & euery knight of the Garter had on his coller of the order. Then proceded forth the quene in a circot and robe of purple Veluet furred with Ermyne in her here coyffe and circlet as she had the saterday, and ouer her was borne the Canape by iiii. of the. v. Portes all crimosyn with pointes of blewe & red hangyng on their sleues, & the bishoppes of Lōdon & Wynchster bare vp the lappes of ỹ quenes robe. The quenes traine whiche was very long was borne by ỹ old dutches of Norffolke: after her folowed ladies beyng lordes wyues whiche had circottes of scarlet with narow sleues, the brest all Lettice w̄ barres of borders accordyng to their degrees. And ouer that they had mantels of Scarlet furred, and euery mantle had lettice about ỹ necke like a neckercher likewise poudered, so that by ỹ pouderynges there degre was knowen. Then folowed ladies beyng knightes wyues in gounes of Scarlet w̄ narow sleues without traines only edged with lettice, and likewise had all the quenes gentlewomen. When she was thus brought to the high place made in the middes of the chorche betwene the quere and the high alter she was set in a riche chayre. And after that she had rested a while she discended doune to the high Alter and there prostrate her self while the archebishop of Cauntorbury sayd certaine collettes: then she rose & the bishop anoynted her on the head and on the brest, and then she was led vp againe, where after diuers Orisons sayd, the archebishop set the croune of saint Edward on her head, and then deliuered her the scepter of gold in her right hand, and the rod of Iuery with the doue in the left hand, and then all the quere sang *Te deum, &c.* Which done the bishop toke of the croune of saint Edward beyng heuy and sette on the croune made for her, and so went to Masse. And when the offertory was begon she discended doune and offred beyng crouned, and so ascēded vp again and sate in her chayre till *Agnus*, And then she went doune and kneled before the alter where she receiued of the archbishop the holy sacrament and then went vp to her place againe. After that Masse was done she went to saint Edwardes shryne and there offered, after whiche offeryng done she withdrewe her into a litle place made for the nones on the one side of the quere. Now in ỹ meane season euery duches had put on their bonettes a coronal of gold wrought with flowers, & euery Marquesses put on a demy Coronal of golde, euery counties a plaine circlet of gold wout flowers, & euery kyng of armes put on a croune of Coper & gilte all whiche were worne till night. When the quene had a litle reposed her the company returned in the same order that they set forth, and the Quene went crouned and so did the Ladies aforesayd. Her right hand was sustayned by the erle of Wylshire her father, and her left hand by the lorde Talbot deputie for the erle of Shrewesbury & lorde Foryuſal his father. And when she was out of the saintuary and appered within the palace the trumpettes played meruailous freshely, and so she was brought to Westminster halle, and so to her withdrawyng chamber, duryng whiche tyme ỹ lordes, Iudges, Maior and Aldermen put on their robes, Mantels and Clokes, and toke their hoddes from their neckes and cast them about their shoulders, and the lordes satte onely in their circottes and the Iudges and Aldermen in their gounes. And all the lordes that serued that day serued in their circottes and their hoddes aboute their shoulders. Also diuers officers of the kinges house beyng no lordes had circottes and hoddes of Scarlet edged with Myniuer, as the Treasorer, Comptroller and Master of the Iuel house, but their circottes were not gilte.

The order and sittyng at dner.

While the quene was in her chamber, euery lord & other that ought to do seruice at coronacions did prepare them according to their dutie, as the duke of Suffolke high steward of England whiche was richely apparelled, his doblet and iaket set with orient perle, his goune of crimosin veluet embrodered, his courser trapped with a cloth trapper head and all to the ground of Crimosyn Veluet set full of letters of golde of goldsmithes worke hauyng a long white rodde in his hand, on his left hand roade the lord Wylliam, deputie for his brother as erle Marshal with the Marshals rod, whose goune was Crimosyn veluet, and his horse trapper purple velust cut on white satten enbrodered with white Lyons. The erle of Oxforde was high Chamberlaine, the erle of Essex carued, the erle of Sussex suer, the erle of Arrondel chiefe butler on who xii. citizens of London did goue their attendaunce at the cupbord. The erle of Darby Cupberer, the Vicount Lysle Panter, the lorde of Burgayne chiefe larder, the lorde Bray almoner for him & his coperteners, and the Maior of Oxford kept the buttry barre, and Thomas Wiat was chiefe enrer for sir Henry Wiat his father. When all thyng was ready, the Quene vnder her canapy came to the halle and washed and satte doune in the middes of the table vnder the cloth of estate. On the right side of the chayre stode the countesse of Oxforde wydowe, and on the left side stood the countesse of Worcester all the dyner season, which diuers tymes in the dyner tyme did hold a fyne cloth before the quenes face when she list to spet or do otherwyse at her pleasure. At the tables ende satte the archebishoppe of Cauntorbury on the right hande of the quene, and in the myddest betwene the archebishoppe and the countesse of Oxforde stode the erle of Oxforde with a white staffe all diner tyme, and at the quenes feete vnder the table satte ii. gentlewomen all dyner tyme. When all these thynges were thus ordered came in the Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Wyllyam Haward on horsebacke and the sergeauntes of armes before them, and after them the Sewer, and then the knightes of the bath bringyng in the first course whiche was xxviii. dishes beside subtilties and shippes made of waxe merauilous gorgious to beholde, all whiche tyme of seruice the trumpettes stading in the wyndow at the netherende of the halle played melodiously. When her grace was serued of two dishes, then the archebishoppes seruice was set doune, whose Sewer came equal with the thirde dishe of the quenes seruice on his left hand. After that the quene and the archebishop was serued, the Barons of the portes began the table on the right hand next the wall, next them at the table sat the masters and clerkes of the chaucery, and beneth them at the table other doctors and gentlemen. The table next the walle on the left hande by the cupborde was begon by the Maior and Aldermen the chamberlain and the counsail of the citie of Lodon, and beneth them satte substancial marchantes, & so douneward other worshipfull persones. At the table on the right hand in ȝ middes of the halle sat the lorde Chauncelor and other temporall lordes on the right side of the table, in their circottes: And on the lefte side of thesame table, sat Bishoppes and Abbottes in their Parliament robes, beneth them sat the Iudges, Seriantes, and the kynges counsaill, beneth the the knightes of the Bathe. At the table on the left hande, in the middle part, sat Ducheses, Marqueses, Countesses, Baronesses, in their robes, and other ladies in circottes, and gentle women in goupes. At whiche ladies and gentle women, sat on the left side of the table a long, and none on the rightside: and when all were thus set, they were incontinent serued and so quickely, that it was maruaill, for the seruitors gaue such good attendance, that meate or drynke ne any thyng els, neded not to be called for, whiche in so greate a multitude was maruaill. As touchyng the fare they could be deuised, no more costlier dishes nor subtilties. The Maior of London was serued with xxxiii. dishes at two courses, and so wer all his brethren, and suche as sat at his table. The Quene had at her seconde course xxiiii. dishes, and thirtie at the thirde course: and betwene the twoo last courses, the kynges of Armes cried arges, in three parts of the hall: and after stode in their place, which was in the bekins the kynges Benche. And on the right hande, out of the Cloyster of S. Stephes, was

made a litle Closet, in whiche the kyng with diuerse Ambassadors, stoode to beholde the seruice. The Duke of Suffolke and the lorde Willyam, rode often tymes aboute the hall, cherynge the lordes, ladies, and the Maior and his brethren. After they all had dined, they had Wafers and Ypocras, and then thei washed, and were commaunded to rise, and to stande still in their places, before the table or on the fourmes till the Quene had washed: when she had taken Wafers and Ypocrase, the table was taken vp, and the Erle of Rutlande brought vp the surnap, and laied it at the bordes ende, which immediatly was drawen, and cast by Master Rode, Marshal of the hall: and the Quene washed, and after the Archebishop, and after the Surnap was drawen of, she arose and stode in the middes of the Hall place: to whom the Erle of Sussex in a goodly spice plate, brought a voyde of spice and comfettes. After hym the Maior of London, brought a standyng cuppe of golde, set in a cuppe of assaie of gold, and after that she had dronke, she gaue the Maior the Cuppe, with the Cuppe of assaie, because there was no leyar, accordyng to the claime of the citee, thankyng hym & all his brethren, of their pain. Then she vnder her Canapie, departed to her Chamber, and at the entry of her Chamber, she gaue the Canapy with Belles and all, to the Barons of the Portes, accordyng to their clayme, with greate thankes. Then the Maior of London bearyng his Cuppe in his hande, with his bretheren went through the hall to their barge, and so did all other noble men and gentlemen, for it was sixe of the clocke.

On Mondaie were the Iustes at the Tilte, before the Kynges gate, where the Maior and his brethren had a goodly stadyng: but there wer very fewe speres broken, by the reason the horses would no cope.

On Wednesdaie, the Kyng sent for the Maior and his brethren to Westminster, and there he hymself gaue to theim hartie thankes, with many goodly wordes.

On Midsomer daie after, the lady Mary the Frenche Quene died in Suffolke at the lordship of who was the late wife to Lewes the. xii. and after maried to Charles duke of Suffolk, and was buried at

This season the kyng kept his progresse about London, because of the Quene.

The. vii. day of September beyng Sondaie, betwene thre and foure of the Clocke at after noone, the Quene was deliuered of a faire Lady, whiche daie the Duke of Norffolke came home to the christenyng, & for the Quenes good deliueraunce, *Te deum* was song in continently, & great preparacion was made for the christenyng: and the Maior and his brethren, and. xl. of the chief of the citezens, were commaunded to bee at the Christenyng, the Wednesdaie folowyng, vpon whiche daie the Maior, sir Stephen Pecocke, in a goune of Crimosin Veluet, with his coller of *S. S.* and all the Aldermen in Scarlet, with collers and cheines, and all the counsaill of the citee with theim, tooke their barge after dinner, at one of the clocke, and the citizes had another barge, and so rowed to Grenewiche, where were many lordes, knightes, and gentlemen assembled. All the wailes betwene the Kynges place and the Friers, were hanged with Arras, and all the waie strawed with grene Rushis: the Friers Church was also hanged with Arras. The Funt was of siluer, and stode in the middes of the Churche, three steppes high, whiche was couered with a fine clothe, and diuerse gentlemen with aperns, and towelles about their neckes, gaue attendaunce aboute it, that no filth should come in the Fount, ouer it hong a square Canape of crimosin Satten, fringed with golde, aboute it was a rayle couered with redde saye: betwene the quier and the body of the Churche, was a close place with a panne of fire, to make the child redy in: when al these thynges wer ordered, the child was brought to the hall, and then euery man set forward: Firste the citezens two and two, then gentlemen, Esquiers and chapeleins, next after theim the Aldermen, and the Maior alone: nexte the Maior, the kynges counsaill; the kynges Chapel in copes: then Barons, Bishoppes, Erles, then came the Erle of Essex, bearyng the couered Basins gilte, after hym the Marques of Excester with a taper of virgin waxe, next hym the Marques Dorset, bearyng the salt, behynd hym the lady Mary of Norffolk, bearyng the cresom whiche was very riche of perle & stone, the old Duches of Norffolke

The Christenyng of ye lady Elizabeth.

Norffolke bare the childe, in a Mantell of purple veluet, with a long train furred with Ermine. The duke of Norffolke, with his Marshall rod, went on the right hand of thesaied duches, & the duke of Suffolke on the left hande, and before theim went the officers of armes: the countes of Kent bare the long train of the childes mantell, and betwene the Countes of Kent and the child, went therle of Wilshire on the right hand, and therle of Darby on the left hand, supportyng thesaid train: in the middes ouer thesaid child was borne a Canapy, by the lorde Rocheford, the lorde Huse, the lorde Willyā Haward, and by the lorde Thomas Haward the elder, after the child folowed many ladies, and gentlewomen, when the child was come to the churche dore, the bishop of London met it with diuerse bishoppes and Abbottes mitred, and began the obseruaunces of the Sacrament. The Godfather was the lorde Archebishop of Cantorbury: the Godmothers were the old Duches of Norffolke, and the olde Marchiones of Dorset widowes, and the childe was named Elizabeth: and after that al thyng was done, at the churche dore the child was brought to the Fount, and christened, and this doen, Garter chief kyng of armes cried a loude, God of his infinite goodnes, sende prosperous life and long, to the high and mightie Princes of England Elizabeth: and then the trumpettes blewe, then the childe was brought vp to the aultar, and the Gospell saied ouer it: and after that immediatly the Archebishop of Cantorbury confirmed it, the Marchiones of Excester beyng Godmother, then the Archebishop of Cantorbury, gaue to the Princes a standyng cup of gold: the Duches of Norffolke, gaue to her a standyng cuppe of golde, fretted with peralc: the Marchiones of Dorset gaue three gilt boulles, pounced with a couer: and the Marchiones of Excester, gaue thre standyng bolles grauen, all gilt with a couer. Then was brought in Wafers, Comfettes, Ypocras in suche plentie, that euery man had asmuche, as he would desire. Then they set forwardes, the trumpettes goyng before in thesame ordre, towarde the kynges place, as they did when they came thether warde, sauyng that the giftes that the Godfather, and the Godmothers gaue, wer borne before the child by foure persones, that is to saie: First sir Ihon Dudley, bare the gift of the Lady of Excester: the lorde Thomas Haward the younger, bare the gift of the lady of Dorset: the lorde Fitzwater, bare the gift of the Lady of Norffolk, and the Erle of Worcester, bare the gift of the Archebishop of Cantorbury, and all the one side as thei went, was full of staffe Torches, to the number of fiue hundred, borne by the garde and other of the kynges seruauntes, and about the child were borne, many other proper torches borne by gentlemen: and in this ordre thei brought the princes, to the Quenes chamber, & the Maior & the Aldermen taried there a while, and at the last the Dukes of Norffolke and Suffolke came out from the Kyng, thankyng them hartely, & said the kyng commaunded them to geue theim thankes in his name: and from thence thei wer had to the seller to dryuke, and so went to their Barges.

Pauyer. This yere also, one Pauier toune clerke of the citee of London, hanged himself, which surely was a man, that in nowise could abide to here that the Gospell should bee in Englishe, and I my self heard hym once saie to me & other that wer by, sweareyng a great othe, that if he thought the kynges highnes, would set furth the scripture in Englishe, and let it be red of the people by his auethoritie, rather then he would so long liue he would cut his awn throte, but he brake promes, for as you haue hard he hanged hymself: but of what mynde and intent he so did, God iudge. About this season was espied a newe founde Saincte, & holy Hypocrite, called the maide of Kent, whiche by the great labor, diligence, and pain takyng of tharchebishop of Cantorbury, and the lorde Cromewell, and one called Hugh Latimer a prieste (whiche shortly after was made bishop of Worcester,) the iugglyng and craftie decept of this maide, was manifested and brought to light: wherupon after diuerse examinacions, she with all her adherentes, wer in Nouember brought to the starre chāber: the names of them all shall folowe, firste Elizabeth Barton, whiche was she that called her self ỹ holy maide of Kent, Richard Master priest person of Aldyngton in the Countie of Kent, Edward Bockyng doctor in Diuinite, Monke of Cantorbury, Richarde Deryng Monke also of Cantorbury, Edward Twaites gentleman, Thomas Laurēce re-

The holy Mayde of Kent.

gister to tharchedeacon of Cantorbury, Henry Gold person of Aldermary bachiler of Diuinite, Hugh Riche Frier Obseruaunt, and Richarde Risby, Thomas Gold gentleman. These all beeyng in the starre chāber, before diuerse of the kynges counsaill, confessed their feined hipocrisy, and dissimuled sanctitee, and treiterous purposes and intentes, and then was there by the kynges counsaill adiudged, to stand at Paules crosse, wher thei with their awne handes, should seuerally deliuer eche of them to the preacher that should be appoynted, a bill declaryng their subtile, craftie and superstitious doynges. Whiche thyng the next Sondaie after, they all aboue rehersed, standyng on a stage at Paules Crosse, made for that purpose did accomplishe: but for their treasons committed, the matter therof was respited to the Parliament nexte folowyng, where all thei abouesaid, with other as after ye shall here, wer attainted by act of parliamēt, and suffered death as traitors, by hanging, drawyng, and quarteryng at Tyborne.

In September the kyng of Scottes, sent his Commissioners to the toune of Newe Castle, where wer for the kyng of Englande commissioners, sir Thomas Clifford, and doctor Magnus, and sir Raufe Elderkare. And first the Scottes without any long communicacion, demaunded greate amendes, saiyng, that the Englishmen had robbed and spoyled theim to their losse, and that greatly, and saied that the kyng of England of his honor, must nedes make satisfaccion, if he would be called honorable. Then it was answered, that notwithstandyng the leagues, written, sealed and sworne, the Scottishe nacīō would neuer kepe peace in somuch, while we be here in treatyng, your people are robbyng: wherfore the kyng demaundeth of you, the goodes and prisoners taken contrary to the peace, wherof we here deliuer you a writyng, which the Scottes receiued, and at their next metyng thei saied, that the shippes to them wer lawfull prises, by reason that therle of Anguishe, was maintened in Englande, whiche is rebel to our kyng, and therle and you haue doen to vs muche skathe, & we haue taken a few shippes, in recompence of some part of our greate losses, whiche we maie not deliuer, & therfore we praie you demaunde theim not: but here we deliuer you our boke, which amounteth to a greater somme by tenne thousand marke. The Englishe commissioners receiued the boke, and in thesame the Scottes demaunded, recompence for burning their tounes, and destroiyng many of their strong Piles, aboue. xxiiii. whiche wer destroyed from the. xxiiii. daie of Aprill, in the laste. xxiiii. yere of the kyng to the. xxx. daie of Aprill. The Englishe cōmissioners answered, that if the Scottes would send to the kyng of Englāde, thei doubted not, but thei should haue a good answer for the kyng of Englande had hym chose peace or warre: so they agreed to sende to bothe their kynges letters of their doynges, whiche in haste was dooen. And after muche suite of the Scottes parte, when they had muche demaunded, and litle or nothyng was graunted, thei then beyng wery of warre desired peace, whiche was concluded, duryng bothe the kynges liues, and the twentie daie of Maie, in the next yere of the kyng folowyng, it was openly Proclaimed, to the greate comforte and reioysyng of all louers of peace.

The. xviii. daie of December, the Duke of Suffolke was sent by the kyng and his counsaill, to Bugden beside Huntyngdon, where the lady Katherine Princes Dowager laye. For the Kyng was aduertised, and had good proues of thesame, that she of froward mynde would consent, neither to the determinacion of the Vniuersities, nor yet to the sentence of the whole conuocacion of the realme, but beyng counsailed by a fewe Spaniardes, whiche had litle lernyng, did all that she could to infringe the determinacion of thesaid Vniuersities and clergie. In somuche that she wrote to the Pope and to other potentates, to greue the Kyng and his realme because he would not folowe her mynd, and breake the commaundement of God. Wherefore the Kynges counsaill mocioned the kyng, that suche answer about her, and moued her thereto, should be put from her, for thei thought it no reason, that she should haue suche libertie to woorke that thyng, by the whiche the kyng and his realme, might haue detriment or damage. Wherefore thesaied Duke was sent to her, whiche shewed to her openly, Articles of her suites to the Pope, and howe she soughte meanes to greue the Kyng and his Realme, whiche hereafter she should not be suffered to

doo.

The Pope accursed the Kyng and Realme.

dooe. For thesame tyme was a Cursse sent from the Pope, whiche accursed bothe the Kyng, and the whole Realme, whiche Cursse the bearer therof, beeyng not by like the hardiest manne that euer shewed hymself in front of battaill, thought it a greate deale more better for hym to bestowe it without the Kynges reche, then to aduenture to come within his Dominions, and therefore set it vp in the Toune of Dunkercke in Flaundres, where it was taken doune by Wyllyam Locke, Mercer of London. The Quene answered the Duke very highly and obstinately, with many high woordes, and sodainly in a fury she departed from hym, into her priuie Chamber and shutte the doore. He seeyng that, brake all the ordre of the Quenes Courte, and discharged a greate sorte of her housholde seruauntes, and yet lefte there a conuenient nomber, to serue her like a Princes. There was greate lamentacion emong theim that departed, but there was no remedy. Then thei that remained to serue her, were sworne to serue her as a Princes Dowager, and not as Quene, some saied thei were sworne to her as Quene, and otherwise thei would not serue, and so they departed. Other that wer sworne to serue her as Princes, and remained there, she them vtterly refused for her seruantes, wherfore she remained with the lesse nomber of seruauntes.

Willyā Locke Mercer.

The kyng kept his Christmas at Grenewiche, with great solempnitee, and after Christmas beganne the Parliament. In whiche Parliament Elizabeth Barton, the holy Maide of Kent, with all her adherentes, of whom ye haue heard before was attaynted. And because her offences, were bothe against God and the kyng, so greate and wicked, that the like was neuer heard nor knowen before, I will declare vnto you the processe of her matter, in suche maner as the truthe thereof, is declared in her attainder, by Acte of Parliament. Firste thesaied Elizabeth Barton (beeyng a Nonne professed in the house and Priory of Sainct Sepulcres of Cauntorbury,) whiche long before she was professed Nonne, dwelled with one Thomas Cobbe, in the Parishe of Aldyngton, in the Countie of Kent, and happened to bee visited with sickenes, and by occasion thereof, brought in suche debilitie and weakenes of her brayne, because she could not eate ne drynke, by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmitie, she semed to bee in Traunses, and spake and vttered many foolishe and Idle woordes. And one Richarde Master, Clerke, beeyng Persone of the saied Parishe of Aldyngton, in thesaied Countie of Kent, after that he had made to the late Archebishoppe of Cauntorbury, a farre and a larger reporte, concernyng the Hypocrisy, traunses and speaches of thesaied Elizabeth, then he could iustifie and abide by, and after that he was commaunded by thesaied Archebishop, to geue good attendaunce vpō her, if she should fortune to haue any mo suche traunses and speaches, and to sende hym knowlege thereof, to the intent to mainteigne, vphold and verefy, suche reporte as he had made, aswell to the Archebishoppe aforesaied, as to other, of the wounderfull traunses and speaches of thesaied Nonne, he falsely and craftely informed thesaid Elizabeth, that the merueilous wordes whiche she spake in her traunses, afore his ridyng to the Archebishop aforsaied, proceded of the inspiracion of the holy ghost, and that she was greatly to be blamed if she would hide or dissemble the wonderfull workes of God shewed to her: for afore this his saied informacion and instruccion, she saied constantly, that she could not remember, that she spake any suche notable wordes in her traunses, as were reported vnto her, by thesaied Richard Master. Whiche Elizabeth beeyng in this maner of wise, often tymes perswaded, procured and informed, by thesaied Persone of Aldyngton, tooke boldenes and courage to forge, feigne, and counterfeat suche maner of Traunses, and craftie speaches, as thesaied Persone of Aldyngton told her, that she vsed in her sickenes, afore he went to thesaid Archbishoppe. And when thesaid Elizabeth had vsed this false, feigned counterfeatyng for a ceason, and was perfecte therein (so that the fame thereof, was greatly spred abroade, in those parties) then the saied Person, to the intent aforsaid, and to the intent the people, should geue more faithe and credite vnto her, and because he would haue increased the deuocion of the people, in commyng on pilgrimage to a Chapell, set in Courte at Strete, within thesaied Parishe, dedicate in the honour of our Lady, for his awne

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lucre and auauntage, imagined, deuised, compassed and declared, with the aide, helpe, and counsaill of one Edwarde Bockyng Monke, professed in the Monastery in Christes Churche in Cauntorbury, and Doctor in Diuinitee, that thesaied Elizabeth, being in the extasy and extremitie of her sickenes, in a maner distract in traūses, should saie emongest other wounderfull woordes, that she should neuer take healthe of her body, till suche tyme as she had visited the Image of our Lady, beeyng in thesaied Chapell at Courte at Strete aforesaied: and that our Lady had appered vnto her, and shewed her, that if she came to thesaied Chapell, at the daye appoynted, she should bee restored to her health by Miracle, where in very deede, she was restored to her perfecte health, by diet and Phisike, and by the course of nature, whiche expelled the matter, beyng cause of her sickenes, in the meane tyme while thesaid person of Aldyngton, was with the Archebishoppe, as is afore rehersed. And albeit thesaied Elizabeth, was restored to her healthe, yet she beeyng accustomed and acquainted with the maner and fashion of her distracte Traunses, by the counsaiell, conspiracie, and confederacie of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master, did falsely practise, vse and shewe vnto the people, diuerse and merueilous sondery alteracions, of her sensible partes of her body, craftely vttering in her saied feigned and false Traunses, diuerse and many verteous and holy woordes, tendyng to the rebuke of synne, and in reprouyng of suche newe opinions, as then begamne to spryng in this Realme, whiche she called Heresyes, as she was induced and taught, by thesaied Edwarde Bockyng and Richarde Master, vsyng all the waies of false Hypocrisy, to the intent the people should geue belefe and credence vnto her, whereby they might bee the soner brought, into thedetestable crymes of blasphemie and Idolatrie agaynste almightie GOD. And thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, beeyng maliciously fixed in his opinion, agaynste the Kynges highnes, in his detested Matrimonie with Quene Katheryne, and intendyng in his mynde, afterwardes for his parte, falsely and Trayterously to vse thesaied Elizabeth, as a Diabolicke instrument, to stirre, moue, and prouoke the people of this Realme, aswell nobles as other, to murmoure and grudge, agaynste the Maiestie of oure Souereigne Lorde, and all his iuste and Lawfull procedynges, in thesaied deuorce and seperacion, as after he did in very deede: for the accomplishyng of his saied false, malicious and Trayterous ententes, falsely deuised and conspired, with thesaied Richarde, that thesaied Elizabeth should shewe and manifest her self, to the people, to bee an excellent verteous and an holy woman, and that all her woordes and deedes, should appere to the worlde, to procede of a marueilous holines, rebukyng the common synnes and vices of the worlde, as though she were taught and inspired of the holy spirite of God. And not onely moued and counsailed thesaied Elizabeth, thus to vse her self, surmittyng to her that she spake suche thynges, in the extasy of her sickenes, that came by the inspiracion of God, but also counsailed and procured thesaied Elizabeth, to bee brought and conueighed, to thesaied Chapell of oure Lady, and therein openly in the presence of the people, (that there should be assembled by their procurementes) should vse and experiment suche like Traunses, and alteracions of her face, and other the outward sensible partes of her body, as she vsed in the extremitie and extasy of her sickenes. To whose counsailes and aduertisementes, thesaied Elizabeth agreed. Whereupon at a daie by them appoynted and agreed, thesaied Edward and Richard, laboured, solicited, and procured, aboue the nomber of twoo thousande persones, to repaire to thesaied Chapel, surmittyng that thesaied Elizabeth, whiche as they saied, had marueilous and many Visions and Reuelacions of God, should be brought thether, and there receiue her healthe, by Miracle of oure Lady, whose image was in thesaied Chapell. By reason of whiche false, feigned and detestable conspiracy and Hypocrysy, at the daie by theim appoynted, there assembled to thesaied Chapell, aboue the nomber of twoo thousande people. At whiche daie also, thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master procured, and caused thesaied Elizabeth, to repaire to thesaied Chapell, where thesaied Elizabeth, albeit she at that tyme, and long afore was restored to healthe of her bodie, and discharged of her tormentes and afflictions, whiche she had in the extasy of her sickenes: Yet neuertheles by the procurement and

craftie counsaill of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richard Master, did falsely feigne and shewe vnto the people in thesame Chapell, many alteracions of her face, and other outward sensible partes of her body, and falsely feigned and shewed herself in Traunces, vtteryng wonderous wordes, as she was before subtelly and craftely induced and taught, by thesaied Richarde and Edwarde to dooe. And emonges other thynges she vttered, that it was the pleasure of God, that thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, *should* bee her ghostly father, and that she should bee a Religious woman, as she was taught by thesaied Edward Bockyng and Richard Master. And within a while after demonstracion, of suche false feigned and dissimuled traunces, she appered to the people, to bee sodainly reueled from her sickenes and affliccions, by the intercession and meanes of the Image of oure Lady, beeyng in thesame Chapell. By meanes of whiche false feigned Hypocrysy, dissimuled and cloked Sanctitee, so conspired and craftely imagined by thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, and Richarde Master, thesaied Elizabeth was brought into a meruellous fame, credite and good opinion, of a greate multitude of the people of this Realme. And to increase the fame of thesaid false feigned Hypocrisy, thesaid Elizabeth after wardes, by the counsaill and procurement, of thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, entered into Religion, and became a Nonne, professed in thesaied Priory of Sainct Sepulchres, to whom thesaied Edwarde Bockyng, had commonly his resorte, not without probable, vehement and violent suspicion of incontinencie, pretendyng to bee her Ghostly father, by Goddes appoyntment. And by conspiracy betwene her and him, caused her still to persist and abide, in the practisyng of her said false hipocrisy, and dissimulyng traunces and raptes. And that she should surmit to the people, that when she was in suche simuled alteracīō, of her sensible partes of her body, that she was then rapt by almightie God, from thaffeccions of this worlde, and tolde by the holy spirite of God, many thynges that should folowe to the worlde, for punishement of the synnes of the princes and the people. And that she should also say that she was muche prouoked & tempted, aswell to the synne of the fleshe as otherwise, by her ghostly enemie the deuill, at diuerse and sondry tymes, and in diuerse and sondery waies and fashions. And yet neuer theles that she by the grace of almightie God was preserued, and stedfastly resisted suche temptacion. By occasion of which counsaill and procurement of the said Edward Bockyng, thesaid Elizabeth by continuaunce of tyme, toke suche a courage vpon her, that she falsely feined and saied, that she had many reuelacions, of almightie God and his holy sainctes, with heuenly lightes, heuenly voyces, *heuenly melodies* and ioyes, and specially in a chapell of *S.* Giles, in thesaid Nonnery, to the whiche chapell, she often tymes resorted to receiue visions and reuelacions, as cōmaunded by God, as she falsely reported, and specially by night, saiyng, that the Dorture doore was made open to her by Goddes power, vtteryng thesame, aswell to thesaied Edward Bockyng, as to diuerse other persones. By the whiche her false feigned reuelacions, & cloked hipocrisy, she was reputed emongest many people of this realme, to be a very holy woman, inspired with God, where in very deede, she neuer had vision or reuelacion from God, as she hath plainly and openly confessed her self. And therefore her stealyng furthe of the Dorture in the nighte, whiche was not once or twise wekely was not for spiritual busines nor to receiue reuelaciōs of God, but rather for bodely cōmunicaciō & pleasure with her frēdes, which could not haue so goodleasure & oportunite with her by daie. And for ratificaciō of her false feined reuelaciōs, thesaid Edward by cōspiracy, betwene him & thesaid Elizabeth, reueled thesame to the most reuerēt father, Willyā late Archbishop of Cātorbury, who by false & vntrue surmises, tales and lies of thesaid Edward & Elizabeth, was allured, brought and induced to credite theim, and made no diligent serches, for the triall of their saied falsehodes, and confederacions, but suffered and admitted thesame, to the blasphemie of almightie God, and to the great deceit of the prince, and people of this realme. And for a perpetuall memory of thesaid feined and dissimuled hipocrisy, and false reuelacions of the saied Elizabeth, thesaied Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, and one Ihon Derying, a Monke in thesaid Monastery of Christes churche aforsaied, made, writ, and caused to be written,

sondery bokes bothe greate & small, bothe printed and written, concernyng the particularities of thesaied false and feined hipocrisy, and reuelaciõs of thesaied Elizabeth, or the defẽce or great praise of thesame: surmittyng and puttyng furth thesame false and feined practises, and reuelaciõs of thesaid Elizabeth, to be iust & true miracles, shewed by almightie God, in the fauour of the sanctitee of thesaid Elizabeth, where in dede thei been and wer falsely deuised, compassed, cõspired, written and maintained by thesaid Elizabeth Barton, Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, & Ihõ Deryng, to thonly intẽt to bryng the said Elizabeth, in the fame and credite of the people of this realme, wherby the people should the more be apt and disposed, by her false cloked hipocrisy and sanctitee, to commit the crimes of blasphemie and ydolatrie against God, and also the soner induced, by the false reuelacions of thesaied Elizabeth to murmor, and grudge, and be of euill opinion, againste the Maiestie of our souereigne lorde, to the great perill and daũger of his moste royall person. And one Edward Thwaites gẽtleman, trãslated and wrote diuerse quaiers, and shetes of paper, concernyng thesaid false feined reuelacions, of thesaied Elizabeth. Also one Thomas Laurence of Cantorbury, beyng regester to tharchebishop of Cantorbury, at thinstance and desire of thesaid Edward Bockyng, wrote a great boke of thesaied false & feined miracles, and reuelacions of thesaid Elizabeth in a faire hand, redy to bee a copie to the printer, when thesaied boke should be put to stampe.

Emonges whiche false and feined reuelacions surmised by thesaied Elizabeth, and put in writynges in diuerse bokes, by the false cõspiracie meanes and procurement of thesaid Edward Bockyng, Richard Master, Ihon Deryng, and other their complices, there is expressed that the deuill should appere, to thesaied Elizabeth in diuerse fashions, sometymes like a man wantonly appareiled, sometyme like a birde deformed, and sometyme otherwise. And that Mary Magdalene, should often apere to thesaied Elizabeth, and reuele to her many reuelacions. And at one tyme should deliuer vnto her, a letter written in heuen, part wherof was limmed with golden letters, where in deede thesame letters were written with the hande of a Monke of sainct Augustines in Cantorbury named Hawkhurst.

There was also written and cõteined, emongest thesaid false and feined miracles & reuelaciõs, that when the kynges highnes was at Calice in thenteruewe, betwene his maiestie and the Frenche kyng, and heryng Masse in the Churche of our Lady at Calice, that God was so displeased with the kynges highnes, that his grace sawe not at the Masse the blessed Sacrament in fourme of bread: for it was taken awaie frõ the priest (beyng at Masse) by an Angell, and ministered vnto thesaid Elizabeth, then beyng there present and inuisible, and sodainly conueighed & rapt thence again, by the power of God into thesaied Nonnery, where she is professed, with many other false feined fables, and tales deuised, conspired and defended by thesaid Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng & Ihon Deryng, writtẽ as miracles in thesaid bokes for a memorial, to set furth the false and feined hypocrisy, and cloked sanctitee of thesaied Elizabeth, to the people of this realme, as by thesaied sondery bokes and writynges therof made, seen and examined by the kynges moste honorable coũsaill more plainly apereth: in whiche bokes be written suche termes & sentẽces of reproch and slaunder, against the kynges highnes & the quene, which wer to shameful to be writtẽ against the most vile & vngracious persõs liuyng, whiche to here, would abhorre euery true subiect of this realme.

And after thesaid Elizabeth by suche her false & feined hipocrisy, and dissimuled sanctitee, was brought in a great brute and fame of the people, in soudry parties of this realme, then thesaid Edward Bockyng by procurement & secret conspiracy, of diuerse persones vnknowen, whiche maligned against the kynges procedynges, for the seperacion & deuorse in thesaied detested & vnlawfull mariage, traiterosly intendyng to put the kynges highnes in a murmor, and euil opinion of his people, for thesame, counsailed and stirred thesaid Elizabeth, that she should aske a peticiõ of almightie God, to knowe whether God was displeased with the kynges highnes, for procedyng in thesaid deuorce, and seperacion of the

mariage betwene his highnes, and thesaied lady Katherin, declaryng to her many tymes, that he & diuerse other learned men of this realme, and many of the common people of thesame, were in firme opinions that the kynges procedyng in thesaied deuorce, was against the lawes of God. Wherupon thesaid Elizabeth subtely and craftely, concerning the opinion and mynd of thesaied Edward, willyng to please hym, reueled and shewed vnto the saied Edward, that she had knowlege by reuelacion frō God, that God was highly displeased with our souereigne lorde, for thesame matter. And in case he desisted not from his procedinges in thesaid deuorce and seperacion, but pursued thesame & maried again, that then within one moneth after suche mariage, he should no lenger be kyng of this realme: & in the reputacion of almightie God, should not be a king one daie, nor one houre: and that he should dye a villeines death: saiyng farther, that there was a roote with. iii. braunches, & till they wer plucked vp, it should neuer be mery in England: interpreting the roote to be the late lord Cardinal, and the first braunche to be the kyng our souereigne lorde, the secōd the duke of Norffolke, and the. iii. the duke of Suffolk. Whiche false feined reuelaciōs, by the mischeuous & malicious cōsail and cōspiracie of thesaid Edward Bocking with ỹ said Elizabeth, wer written and expressed, in thesaied bokes and volumes, conteignyng the false and feined reuelacions and Miracles, of thesaied Elizabeth, for a perpetuall memory thereof, to the vtter reproche and perell of destruction of the Kynges persone, his honor, fame and name: and priuely and secretly, set furthe by thesaied Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Ihon Deryng, and Richarde Master, generally to diuerse and many of the kynges subiectes, and specially as to electe persones, to Ihon Bishoppe of Rochester, and Ihon Adeson clerke, chapelain to thesaied bishop, and to one Henry Gold priest, bacheler of Diuinitee, to Hugh Riche Frier Obseruaunt, and late Wardein of the Friers Obseruauntes of Cantorbury, whiche beare malice and malignitie, to all the kynges procedynges, in the saied deuorse and seperacion, because it was contrary to their peruerse and froward opinions, intendyng by colour of thesaied false and feined hypocrisy, and reuelacions of the saied Elizabeth, not onely to let thesaied deuorse and seperacion, but also to bring, and set furth secretly, in the heddes of the people of this realme, aswel nobles as other, that al the kynges actes and procedynges in thesame, were against holy scriptures, and the pleasure of almightie God: whereby the kynges highnes should be brought in a grudge, and euill opinion of his people. And thesaied Ihon Bishoppe of Rochester, Henry Gold, Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, Richard Master, Ihon Deryng, at sondery and seuerall tymes and places, spake with thesaid Elizabeth, and toke relacion of her, of the saied false and feined reuelacions, whiche she feined that she had of almightie God, aswell concernyng the kynges highnes as other, after the fourme and termes aboue specified. And hauyng knowlege therof thesaied Hugh Riche, Richard Risby, and Henry Golde clerke, gaue suche firme and constant credite thereunto, that thei Trayterously conceled it frō the kynges highnes, and trayterously beleued in their hartes, that the Kyng our souereigne Lorde, after the late mariage solempnized, betwene his highnes, and his moste dere and entierly beloued wife Quene Anne, was no lenger rightfull kyng of this realme, in the reputacion of almightie God, whereby in their hartes & willes, thei trayterously withdrewe from his highnes, their naturall dueties of obedience: and secretly taught and moued other persones, (to whom thei reueled thesaid false and feined reuelacions) that thei ought and might lawfully doo in thesame wise: and practised thesaied matters, against the kynges Maiestie, falsely, maliciously, and trayterously, at sōdery places and tymes, with the fathers, and Nonnes of Syon, and diuerse Monkes of the Charter house of London and Shene, and with diuerse Freers Obseruauntes, the places of Richemont, Grenewiche, and Cauntorbury, and to diuerse other, bothe spirituall and temporall persones in greate nomber, to the intent to sowe a secret murmor and grudge, in the hartes of the Kynges subiectes, against the Maiestie of our souereigne lorde, and all his procedynges, in thesaied diuorse and seperacion, intendyng therby to make suche a diuision and rebellyng in this realme, emongest

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the kynges subiectes, whereby the kynges highnes, should not onely haue been put to perill of his life, but also in ieoperdy to be depriued from his croune and dignitie royall.

And for a more playne and perticuler declaracion of the malicious & trayterous intentes of the sayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Thon Deryng, Hugh Ryche, Richard Rysby, & Henry Golde, they concluded by a confederacy among them selfes eche with other, to set forth in sermons & preachynges thesayd Reuelacions to the people of this realme against the kynges Maiestie, whensoeuer it should please § sayd Elizabeth to appoint them the tyme when they should so do, and agreed eche with other secretely, and set forth thesayd false and fayned reuelacions to their acquayntaunce and frendes in this realme, intendyng to make a great multitude of people of this realme, by their secret conspiracies, in an aptnes to receiue and take such their sermons and preachynges which they intended to make, as is aforesayd cōcernyng the premisses, trayterously intēdyng therby to put our sayd souereigne lord, not only in peril of his life, but also in ieopardye of losse and depriuacion of his croune and dignitie royal of this realme, frō him & his lawfull succession for euer. And in accomplishyng their false, trayterous, & malicious intentes against our sayd souereigne lord, they caused the said Elizabeth, at ii. tymes, secretly to declare the said false & fayned reuelacions to ii. of the Popes Orators and ambassadors at the Cities of Cauntorbury and London. At which tyme the sayd Henry Golde tooke vpon him to be interpretor therof, betwene the sayd Elizabeth & the sayd Orators named Anthony Pulleon: and the interpretor to the other Orator named Syluester, was the foresayd Lawrence of Cauntorbury, to the entent the kynges highnes, and all his procedynges in thesayd deuorce and seperacion should be brought into an euil opinion with the Pope and other princes and Potentates. And the sayd Hugh Ryche actually trauailed to soudry places of this realme, and made secrete relacion of the premisses concernyng the kynges highnes to diuers lordes bothe spiritual and temporal, and diuers other persones lay and lerned, seculer and religious. And the sayd Henry Gold ouer this, actually trauailed and made relacion therof to thesayd lady Katheryne princes dowager, to animate her to make commocion in this realme against our sayd souereigne lorde, surmittyng that thesayd Elizabeth should haue by reuelacion of God, that the sayd lady Katheryne should prospere & do well, and that her issue the lady Mary the kynges doughter should prosper and reigne in this realme & haue many frendes to sustaine and maintayne her. And the sayd Elizabeth and Edward Bockyng, Thon Deryng & Richard Master likewise actually trauailed to diuers places in this realme and made secrete relacion of thesayd false fayned hypocrysie and reuelacions of thesayd Elizabeth & gaue knowlege therof to dyuers other sondry persones of this realme.

All whiche conspiracies and confederacies of thesayd Elizabeth, and other her complices aboue mencioned, was trayterously & maliciously deuised and practised by the sayd Elizabeth, Edward Bockyng, Thon Deryng, Rychard Master, Henry Golde, Hugh Ryche, and Rychard Rysby to the entent trayterously to destroy our sayd souereigne lorde, and to depriue him and his lawfull succession frō the croune & dignitie royall of this realme, which matter hath been practised and imagined amongest them for the space of many yeres: whereof the whole circumstaunce were very long to be written in this acte. And the sayd Thon Fysher bishop of Rochester and one Thomas Gold gentleman, and the sayd Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaytes, and Thon Adeson chapelein to thesayd Thon bishop of Rochester, hauyng knowlege of the false fained and dissimuled reuelacions, trayterously cōspired against our sayd soueraigne lorde (as is aforesayd) did neuerthelesse make concelement therof, and vttered not the same to our sayd souereigne lorde, nor any his honorable counsail, against their ducties and allegeaunce in that behalfe.

And furthermore, the sayd Thomas Gold, for the accomplishement of his most trayterous intent, hath of late been a messenger frō thesayd Elizabeth, sithen she was in warde in the Tower of London for thesayd moste false and trayterous offences by her and her said complices committed and done, he then beyng at libertie, by his message hath comforted

dyuerse others to stande stifly by her reuelacions, that they were of God: notwithstādyng that she had confessed all her sayd falshed before diuers of the kynges counsailours, and that they were manifestly proued, found, and tryed moste false and vntrue: whiche thyng he did only to raise and put sedicion and murmur in the people against the kynges highnes, his croune and dignitie royal. And one Thomas Abel clerke beyng of the confederacy aforesayd, and taking suche firme & constant credite to thesayd false and fayned reuelacions and miracles of thesayd Nonne, not onely caused to be Printed and set forth in this realme dyuers bookes against thesayd deuorce and separacion to the dislaunder of our sayd souereigne lord, but also animated thesayd lady Katherine obstinately to persist in her wilful opinion against thesame deuorce and separacion: and after thesayd deuorce lawfully had, to vsurpe and take vpon her still to be quene, and procured diuers writynges to be made by her, by the name of Quene: and also procured *and* abbetted the seruauntes of thesayd Lady Katheryne against the kynges expresse commaundement and proclamacion, to name, call, accept, & repute thesayd lady Katherine for quene of this realme to the intent to make a cōmon diuision and rebellion in this realme to the great peril and daunger of our sayd souereigne lorde.

Thus muche haue I recited vnto you out of the act as it is there expressed worde for worde: now after foloweth the maner of her attainder and of the other as in the act more at large doeth appeare. But to conclude the xxi. day of April next folowyng she with other were drawen to Tyborne and there executed as most iustly they had deserued as you may perceiue by the premisses.

The worder of Elizabeth Barton other wise called ye holy maide of Kent at her death.

And at the place of execucion, and the present tyme that she suffered she sayd these wordes, "hether am I come to dye, and I haue not been the onely cause of myne owne death whiche most iustly I haue deserued, but also I am the cause of the death of all these persones whiche at *this tyme here* suffre: & yet to say the trueth, I am not somuche to be blamed cōsideryng it was well knowen vnto these *lerned men* ȳ I was a poore wenche without learnyng and therefore they might haue easely perceiued that the thinges that were done by me could not procede in no suche sorte, but their capacities and learnyng could right well iudge from whence they proceded, and that they wer altogether fayned: but because the thynges whiche I fayned was proffitable vnto them, therfore they muche praised me and bare me in hande that it was the holy ghost and not I that did theim, and then I beyng puft vp with their praises fell into a certain pryde and folishe phantasie with my selfe and thought I might fayne what I would, whiche thing hath brought me to this case, and for the which now I cry God & the kynges highnes most heartely mercy, and desire all you good people to pray to God to haue mercy on me and on all them that here suffre with me."

In this parliament also was made the act of succession for the suertie of the croune, to the whiche euery persone beyng of lawfull age should be sworne vpon the payne expressed in that acte, as in thesame ye may moste euidently see.

Monday the xxiii. day of Marche in the Parliament tyme, were solempnely receiued into London as ambassadors from Iames the v. king of Scottes, the bishop of Aberdyne, the Abbot of Kynlos & Adam Otterborne the kynges Atturney, with diuers gentlemen on them attēdant whiche were brought to the Taylers hall and there lodged. And on the day of the Annunciacion of our Lady they were brought to the kynges place at Westminster, where they shewed their commission and message, for the which the kyng appointed them dayes to cōsail. And shortly after commissioners were appointed as you shall heare. Duryng the Parliament tyme, euery sonday preached at Paules crosse a bishop, whiche declared the Pope not to be the head of the Churche.

The xxx. day of Marche the Parliament was proroged, and there euery lorde and burges and all other, were sworne to the act of succession, and subscribed their handes to a Parchement fixed to thesame othe. This Parliament was proroged till the third day of Nouember next. After this, commissions were sent ouer all England to take the othe of all men and women to the act of succession, at whiche fewe repyned, except doctor Ihon Fysher, sir Thomas

Thomas Moore knight late lorde Chaūcelor, and doctor Nicholas Wylson parson of saint Thomas Apostles in London: wherfore these thre persones, after long exhortacion to them made by the bishop of Cauntorbury at Lambeth, and expresse denyal of them to be sworne, they were sent to the Tower where they remayned and were often tymes mocioned to be sworne: but the Bishoppe and sir Thomas More sayd that thei had in their writynges written the princes dowager Quene, and thorfore they might not go against that, and the doctor sayd that he in preachyng called her quene, whiche he would *not withsay*, howbeit at length he was very wel contented, and dissembled the matter and so escaped: But the other twayne stode against all the realme in their opinion.

In this yere it chaunced *that two marchaunt* straūgers *fell* in loue with a harlot whiche was called Wolfes wyfe, & this harlot had often haunted the straungers chambers. And so Wolfes wife. one tyme thesame harlot appointed these straūgers to come to Westminster, and she had prepared for them a bote, *in* the whiche bote was but one manne to rowe whiche was a strong thefe, and in the ende of the boate laye Wolfe her husbād couered with a lether that botemen vse to couer their Cusshyns with, and so these straungers satte them doune mistrustyng nothing, & *when* this boteman had brought theim as farre as a place that is called the Turnyng tree, sodainly stepped vp the sayd Wolfe & *with his* dagger thrust the one of theim thorow, the other cryed out to saue his life and offred a great somme of money to the botemā and him to saue his life, but no proferres would be heard, nor mercy would they extende, but as cruel murderers without pitie slew the other also and bound theim face to face and so threw them into the Thames in the foresayd place, where they were long after before they were found. But immediatly the harlot Wolfes wyfe went to the straungers chambers & toke frō thence so muche as she could come by. And at the last she and her husband as they deserued, were apprehended, arraigned & hanged at the foresayd turnyng tree, where she hanged still and was not cut doune, vntil suche tyme as it was knowen that beastly and filthy wretches had moste shamefully abused her beyng dead.

THE. XXVI. YERE.

THE nynth day of Iuly was the lord Dacres of the North arreigned at Westminster of The lorde high treason, where the duke of Norffolke sat as iudge and high Steward of Englād. The Dacres of the North. sayd lorde Dacres beyng brought to the barre with the axe of the Tower before him, after his inditement red, not only improued thesayd inditement as false and maliciously deuised against him and answered euery part and matter therin *contained*, but also so manly, wittily, and directly confuted his accusors whiche there were ready to auouche their accusacions, that to their great shames, & to his great honor, he was found that day by his peres not giltie, whiche vndoubtedly the commons exceedyngly ioyed and reioysed of, insomuche as there was in the hall at those woordes, not giltie, the greatest shoute and crye of ioy that the like no man liuyng may remembre that euer he heard.

The xiiii. day of Iuly one Ihon Frith beyng very well learned and had an excellent goodly Ihon Frith. witte, was brought out of the Tower where he had been long, & was there imprisoned for makyng of a booke against Purgatory, but in the meane whyle that he was there, he was required by one, who heartely loued him and had a very good opinion in him, to declare to him his faith and opinion in the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, & that he would put thesame in writyng, whiche thyng he did. But after it chaūced that thesame persone whiche had this writyng of Ihon Frith was acquainted with a Taylor in London called Wyllyam Holt, whiche outwardely professed muche honestye, but inwardly was a verye spye and a very betrayer of as many menne as he might bring in daungier. This Holt required after he had seen it, to haue this writing, & he had it, and forthwith he presented it to sir Thomas More then lorde Chaūcelor, and he immediatly made answere to thesame in writyng,

writyng, whiche also by the meanes of the sayd Holt, came to the handes of Iho Frith. Iho Frith then perceiuyng that the thing that he was so loth to write or meddle in (for it was a matter that none could get him to talke of, sauyng suche that he as much trusted as him selfe) was nowe so farre spred abroade that it was answered vnto, after he had not a litle rebuked the negligence and folye of his frende whom he trusted, stoode to the defence of his first treatise, and made a farther declaracion of his mynde vpon the same matter as appereth in a booke whiche beareth his name. For the which opinion & other he was after diuers and sondry examinacions (aswell at Lambeth with the Bishop of Cauntorbury as also at Croydon, and likewyse with the bishop of Wynchester) brought vnto the Consistory in Paules Churche in London before diuers bishoppes, where after muche disputyng, for that he would not yelde nor submit himselfe to theim, they cõdempned him and deliuered him to the seculer power to be brent as an heretike.

At thesame time was one Andrew Hewet a very simple and vtterly vnlerned yong mã a Taylor, which was also betrayed by the foresayd Holt: This yong man beyng in like maner accused in the Consistory before thesayd bishoppes for holding opinion against the Sacrament. One of the bishoppes asked him how he beleued in the Sacrament: he answered, he beleued therin as Master Frith did: why sayd they, doest thou not beleue that it is ŷ very body of Christ really fleshe and bloud euen as he was borne of the virgyn Mary; No sayd he, why so sayd the bishop: because sayd he, that Christ byd me ŷ I should not beleue them that say here is Christ and there is Christ, for false Christes & false prophetes shall arise to deceiue you sayth Christ. Then certain of ŷ bishops smyled, and doctor Stokesley then bisliop of Lõdon sayd: Frith is an heretike & is cõdempned & deliuered to the temporal power to be brent, if thou wilt not submit thy selfe & acknowlege thyne errour, thou shalt likewise be condempned & deliuered. I am content sayd he. Wilt thou not abiure thyne heresie q^{d} the bishop: No sayd he, for I will do as Master Frith doth. Then we will condempne thee sayd ŷ bishop: do so sayd he. And so they pronounced sentence on him, and deliuered him to the Shiriffes: and from thence they were sent to Newgate where they remained till the xxii. day of July, & that day were both brent at one stake in Smythfelde. Where at thesame tyme one doctor Cooke which was person of Hony Lane, & one that was the Master of the Temple, willed the people to pray no more for them then they would pray for dogges, at whiche vncharitable wordes Frith smyled & prayed God to forgeue them, and the people sore grudged at them for so saiyng.

The xiiii. day of August was a great fyer at Temple barre & diuers houses brent. And the xvi. day of thesame moneth was burned the kynges stable at Charyng crosse otherwise called the Mowse, wherin was brent many great Horses and great store of haye.

In this yere the third day of Nouẽber the kynges highnes helde his high court of Parliament, in the whiche was cõcluded and made many and sondry good, wholsome, and godly statutes: but among al one special estatute, which auctliorised the kynges highnes to be supreme head of the Churche of Englãd, by the whiche the Pope with all his College of Cardinalles with all their Pardons and Indulgences was vtterly abholished out of this realme, God be euerlastyngly prayised therefore. In this Parliament also was geuen to the kynges highnes the fyrst frutes and tenthes of all dignities & spiritual promocions. And in the ende of the same Parliament the kynges Maiestie mooste graciously graunted (and wylled it by thesame Parliament to be established) his moste gracious and general free pardon.

The Pope abholished.

This yere also came in the great Admyrall of Fraunce: whiche Admyrall was honorably receiued, and at his departyng was liberally rewarded.

In this tyme dyed the Erle of Kyldare prisoner in the Tower. And euen at thesame tyme Thomas Fitzgarard his sonne begãne to rebell against the kyng and tooke all the kynges Ordinaunce, and sent Ambassadors to the Emperor to haue intreated him to take part with him. Also he slewe the bishop of Deuelyn and brent and robbed all suche as would not obeye him; But at the last he was apprehended and had as he deserued as after shall appeare.

THE.

THE. XXVII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this yere the duke of Norffolke and the Bishop of Ely went to Caleys, and thether came the Admyral of Fraunce. And the xix. day of June was thre Monkes of the Charterhouse hanged, drawen, and quartred at Tyborne and their quarters set vp about Lōdon for denyng the kyng to be supreme head of the Churche. Their names were Exmewe, Myddlemore, and Nudigate. These men when they wer arreigned at Westminster, behaued them selfes very stifly & stubbornly, for hearyng their inditement red how trayterously they had spoken against the kynges Maiestie his croune and dignitie, they neither blushed nor bashed at it, but very folishly & hipocritically knowleged their treason whiche maliciously they annouched, hauyng no lernyng for their defece, but rather beyng asked dyuers questions, they vsed a malicious silence, thinkyng as by their examinacions afterward in the Tower of London it did appeare, for so they sayd, ỹ they thought those men which was ỹ lorde Crumwel & other that there satte vpon them in iudgement to be heretiques and not of the Churche of God, and therfore not worthy to be either aunswered or spoken vnto. And therfore as they deserued, they receiued as you haue heard before.

Also the xxii. day of thesame moneth Ihon Fysher bishop of Rochester was beheaded, and his head set vpon London bridge. This bishop was of very many menne lamented, for he was reported to be a man of great learnyng, and a man of very good life, but therin wonderfully deceiued, for he maintained the Pope to be supreme head of ỹ Church, and very maliciously refused the kynges tytle of supreme head. It was sayd that the Pope, for that he helde so manfully with him and stoode so stifly in his cause, did elect him a Cardinal, and sent the Cardinalles hat as farre as Caleys, but the head it should haue stande on, was as high as Lōdon bridge or euer the hat could come to Bishop Fysher, & then it was to late and therfore he neither ware it nor enioyed his office. This man as I sayd was accoumpted learned, yea, and that very notably learned, and yet haue you heard howe he was deceiued with Elizabeth Barton that called herself the holy mayd of Kent, and no doubt so was he in the defence of that vsurped authoritie, the more pitie: wonderfull it is that a man beyng lerned should be so blind in the scriptures of God that proueth the supreme auctboritie of princes so manyfestly. Also the vi. day of Iulye was sir Thomas More beheaded for the like treason before rehersed, which as you haue heard was for the deniyng of the kynges Maiesties supremitie. This manne was also coumpted learned, & as you haue heard before he was lorde Chauncelor of England, and in that tyme a great persecutor of suche as detested the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whiche he himselfe so highly fauored that he stoode to it till he was brought to the Skaffolde on the Tower hill where on a blocke his head was striken from his shoulders and had no more harme. I cannot tell whether I should call him a foolishe wyseman, or a wyse foolishman, for vndoubtedly he beside his learnyng, had a great witte, but it was so mingled with tauntyng and mockyng, that it semed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be wel spoken except he had ministered some mocke in the communcacion insomuche as at is commyng to the Tower, one of the officers demaūded his vpper garment for his fee, meanyng his goune, and he answered, he should haue it, and tooke him his cappe, saiyng it was the vppermoste garment that he had. Lykewise, euen goyng to his death at the Tower gate, a poore woman called vnto him and besought him to declare that he had certain euidences of hers in the tyme that he was in office (which after he was apprehēded she could not come by) and that he would intreate she might haue them agayn, or els she was vndone. He answered, good woman haue pacience a litle while, for the kyng is so good vnto me that euen within this halfe houre he will discharge me of all busynesses, and helpe thee himselfe. Also when he went vp the stayer on the Skaffolde, he desired one of the Shiriffes officers to gene him his hand to helpe him vp, and sayd, when I come doune againe, let me shift for my selfe aswell as I can. Also the hāgman kneled

Ihon Fisher bishop of Rochester.

Sir Thomas Moore beheaded.

doune to him askyng him forgiuenes of his death (as the maner is) to whom he sayd I forgeue thee, but I promise thee that thou shalt neuer haue honestie of the strykyng of my head, my necke is so short. Also euen whén he shuld lay doune his head on the blocke, he hauyng a great gray beard, striked out his beard and sayd to the hangmā, I pray you let me lay my beard ouer the blocke least ye should cut it, thus ẏ a mocke he ended his life.

This yere in the tyme that the kyng went his progresse, whiche was to Gloucester and so Westward, the kyng of Scottes was installed at Wynsore by the lorde Erskyn his Procurator. And in October folowyng Stephyn Gardiner bishop of Winchester was sent ambassador into Fraunce where he remained thre yeres after.

In Nouember was a solempne procession through the citie of London of all the priestes and religious in and about the citie for the recouеryng of the Frenche kyng to his health. And the viii. day of Ianuary folowyng dyed the princes dowager at Kymbalton and was buried at Peterborough. Quene Anne ware yelowe for the mournyng.

Quene Anne brought a bed before her tyme.

And in February folowyng was quene Anne brought a bedde of a childe before her tyme, whiche was borne dead.

Wyllyam

This yere in the moneth of September Wyllyam Tyndale otherwyse called Hichyns was by the crueltie of the clergie of Louayn condempned and burned in a toune besyde Bruxelles in Braband called Vylford. This man translated the New testament into Englishe and fyrst put it in Prynt, and likewise he translated the v. bookes of Moses, Iosua, Iudicum, Ruth, the bookes of the Kynges and the bookes of Paralipomenon, Nehemias or the fyrst of Esdras, the Prophet Ionas, & no more of ẏ holy scripture. He made also diuers treatises, which of many were well lyked and highly praysed, and of many vtterly dispised and abhorred, and especially of the moste part of the bishoppes of this realme, who often by their great labours caused Proclamacions to be made against his bookes, and gatte them condempned and brent, aswell the Newe testament as other woorkes of his doynges. Suche as best knewe him reported him to be a very sobre man, borne vpon the borders of Wales, and brought vp in the Vniuersitie of Oxforde and in life and conuersacion vnreprouable: and at the last beyng in Oxford Luther then settyng foorth certaine woorkes against the Byshop of Rome, Tyndale occasioned by theim to searche the scriptures whether Luther sayd the truth or no, did therby not onely himselfe attaine the knowlege of the vsurped auctboritie of the bishop of Rome, and his superstitious and damnpable doctrynes that he had taught and published through all Christendome, but also lamentyng the ignoraunt state that his natiue countrey of England was in, who altogether were wrapped in errours thought it his dutie, for that God had reueled the light of his Gospell to him, to bestowe his talent to the honour of God and proffite of his countrey, and thought no waye so good to reduce the people from their errour as fyrst to make theim acquaynted with Goddes woorde, that they might knowe what Goddes will was that we should do, and what the bishoppe of Rome sayd that we must do: and therefore fyrst as is aforesayd he translated into Englishe the Newe testament, a woorke no doubt very notable and to him verye paynefull, for that he was forced to flye his owne natiue countrey, and to liue in a straunge lande among people that as well varyed from his maners, as the persones to him were vnknowen. Amongest whom after great paynes by him taken, and many and dyuers treatises by him published, he was at Andwarp this yere by one Philippes an Englisheman and then a scholar at Louayn, betrayed and taken, and as many sayd, not without the helpe and procurement of some bishoppes of this realme: but true it is, that after he had been in prison more then a yere & almost forgotten, he was labored for by letters written by the lorde Cromwell, & then in all hast because he would recāt no part of his doynges, was burned as you haue heard before. But yet this report did the Procurator generall there (whiche we call here the Liuetenaunt) make of him, that he was, *homo doctus, pius et bonus*, that is to say, learned, godly, and good.

The fowerth day of February the kyng held his high court of Parliament at Westminster, in the whiche was many good and wholsomé statutes and lawes made and concluded. And in this tyme was geuen vnto the kyng by the consent of the great and faire abbottes, all religious

houses that were of the value of CCC. marke and vnder, in hope that their great monasteries should haue continued still: But euen at that tyme one sayd in the Parliament house that these were as thornes, but the great abbottes were putrified olde Okes and they must nedes folowe: & so will other do in Christendome q^d doctor Stokesley bishop of London or many yeres be passed.

THE. XXVIII. YERE.

ON May day were a solempne Iustes kept at Grenewyche, and sodainly from the Iustes the kyng departed hauyng not aboue vi. persons with him, and came in the euenyng frō Grenewyche in his place at Westminster. Of this sodain departyng many men mused, but moste chiefely the quene, who the next day was apprehended and brought frō Grenewyche to the Tower of London, where after she was arreigned of high treason, and condempned. Also at thesame tyme was likewyse apprehended, the lorde Rocheforde brother to thesayd Quene, and Henry Norrys, Marke Smeton, Wyliyam a Bruton and sir Fraunces Weston all of the kynges priuy chamber. All these were likewise committed to the Tower and after arreigned and condempned of high treason. And all the gentlemen were beheaded on the Skaffolde at the Tower hyll: But the Quene was with a sworde beheaded within the Tower. And these folowyng were the woordes that she spake the day of her death whiche was the xix. day of May, 1536.

Quene Anne sent to the tower.

Good Christen people, I am come hether to dye, for accordyng to the lawe and by the lawe I am iudged to dye, and therefore I wyll speake nothyng against it. I am come hether to accuse no man, nor to speake any thyng of that wherof I am accused and condempned to dye, but I pray God saue the king and send him long to reigne ouer you, for a gentler nor a more mercyfull prince was there neuer: and to me he was euer a good, a gentle, & soueraigne lorde. And if any persone will medle of my cause, I require them to iudge the best. And thus I take my leue of the worlde and of you all, and I heartely desyre you all to pray for me. O lorde haue mercy on me, to God I cōmende my soule. And then she kneled doune saying: To Christ I commende my soule, Iesu receiue my soule, diuers tymes, till that her head was stryken of with the sworde. And on the Assencion day folowyng, the kyng ware whyte for mournyng.

The wordes of quene Anne Bolleyn at her death.

The weke before Whitsontyde the kyng maryed lady Iane doughter to the right worshipfull sir Ihon Seymour knight, whiche at Whitsontyde was openlye shewed as Quene.

The viii. day of Iune the kyng held his high court of Parliament in the whiche Parliament the kynges two first mariages, that is to say with the lady Katheryne, and with the Lady Anne Bulleyn were both adiudged vnlawful, as more at large appereth in the acte in the booke of statutes.

In the Parliament ceason lorde Thomas Hawarde without the kynges assent affied the lady Margaret Douglas daughter to the quene of Scottes and neece to the kyng: for whiche presumpteous acte he was attainted of treason, and an acte made for like offendors, and so he dyed in the Tower, and she was long there as prisoner.

In the tyme of this Parliament, the bishoppes and all the clergie of the realme helde a solempne conuocacion at Paules churche in Lōdon where after much disputacion and debating of matters they published a booke of religion intitled, Articles deuised by the kinges highnes &c. In this booke is specially mencioned but iii. Sacramentes, with the whiche the Lyncolneshyremen (I meane their ignoraunt priestes) were offended, and of that occasion depraued the kynges doynges. And this was their first beginnyng, as after ye shall plainly heare.

After this booke whiche passed by the kynges auctheritie with the cōsent of the Clergie, was published, the whiche cōtained certaine articles of religion necessary to be taught vnto the people, and among other it specially treated of nomore then thre Sacramentes, where al-

waies the people had been taught vii. Sacramentes, & beside this booke, certain Iniunccions were that tyme geuen wherby a nōber of their holy dayes was abrogated & specially such as fell in the haruest tyme, the keping of whiche was muche to the hinderaunce of the gatheryng in of corne, haye, fruite, and other suche like necessary and profitable commodities.

The insurrection in Lyncolneshyre.

These articles thus ordained and to the people deliuered. The inhabitauntes of the North partes being at that tyme very ignorant and rude, knowing not what true religion meant, but altogether noseled in superstition and popery, and also by the meanes of certayne Abbottes and ignorant priestes not a litle stirred and prouoked for the suppression of certain Monasteries, and for the extirpacion and abholishyng of the byshoppe of Rome, nowe takyng an occasion at this booke, saiyng see frendes nowe is taken from vs fower of the vii. Sacramentes and shortly ye shall lese the other thre also, & thus the fayth of holy churche shall vtterly be suppressed and abholished: and therefore sodaiuly they spred abrode and raysed great and shamefull slaunders only to moue the people to sedicion and rebellion, and to kyndle in the people hateful and malicious myndes against the kynges Maiestie and the Magestrates of the realme, saiyng let vs fully bend our selues to the mayntenaunce of religion, and rather then to suffre it thus to decay euen to dye in the felde. And amongest theim also were so many euen of the nobilitie that did not a lytle prouoke and stirre vp the ignoraunt and rude people the more stifly to rebell and stand therin, faythfully promisyng theim bothe ayde and succour against the kyng and their owne natyue country (like foolishe and wicked menne) thynkyng by their so doing to haue done God high pleasure and seruice. There were also certaine other malicious and busye persones who added Oyle (as the Adage sayeth) to the Fornace: These made open clamours in euery place where oportunitie serued, that Christian religion should be vtterly violate, dispised and set asyde, and that rather then so, it behoued and was the partes of euery true Christen manne to defende it euen to the death, and not to admit and suffre by any meanes the fayth (in the whiche their forefathers so long and so many thousande yeres haue lyued and continued) nowe to be subuerted and destroyed. Among these were many priestes whiche deceiued also the people with many false fables and venemous lyes and ymaginacions (whiche could neuer entre nor take place in the heart of any good man, nor faythfull subiect) saiyng that all maner of prayer and fastyng & all Goddes seruice should vtterly be destroyed and taken away, that no man should mary a wyfe or be partaker of the Sacramentes, or at length should eate a piece of rost meate, but he should for thesame fyrst pay vnto the kyng a certain somme of money, & that they should be brought in more bondage & in a more wicked maner of life, then the Sarazins be vnder ỹ great Turk, with these and such other like errours and slaunderous tales, the people thus instructed (or as I may trulier speake) deceiued and mocked; beyng to light of credite, incontinent to the helpe and maintenaunce of religion once established and confirmed they stifly and stoutly did cōspire and agree: and in a part of Lincolneshire, first thei assembled and shortly after ioyned into an Army, beyng (as it was supposed) of men apte and feete for the warre, in nombre aboute twentie thousand.

Against these trayterous rebelles, with all the haste and spede that might be (after he harde thereof) the kynges royal maiestie, in his awne proper persone, furnished with a goodly and warlike Armie, lackyng nothyng that to suche a company shoulde appertein, marched towarde them. But these rebelles hearyng that his maiestie was present with his power and armie royall, feared what woulde folowe of this matter, and suche as were noble men and Gentlemen, that before fauored them began to withdrawe them selues, so that thei wer destitute of Capitaines: and at the last thei in writyng made certayn peticions to the kynges maiestie, professyng that thei neuer entended hurte toward his royall persone. The kynges maiestie receiued there peticions, and made answere vnto them as foloweth.

The kynges answer to the rebelles.

First we begyn and make answere to the foure and sixe articles, because vpon theim dependeth muche of the rest. Concernyng chosyng of counsaylors, I neuer haue red, hard, nor knowne, that princes counsailors and prelates, should be appoynted by rude and ignoraunt

common

common people, nor that thei wer persones mete, nor of habilitie to discerne & chose mete & sufficiēt cousailors for a prince: how presumpteous then are ye the rude commons of one shire, and that one of the moste brute & beastly of the whole realme, & of the least experience, to fynd faute with your Prince for the electyng of his counsaylours and prelates, and to take vpon you contrarie to Godes lawe and mannes lawe to rule your prince, whome ye are bounde by all lawes to obey and serue with both youre lyues, landes and goodes, and for no worldly cause to withstād? the contrarie wherof you like traytors and rebelles haue attempted & not like true subiectes as ye name youre selfes.

As to the suppression of religious houses and monastaries, we wolle that ye and all oure subiectes should well knowe that this is graunted vs by all the nobles spirituall and temporall, of this oure Realme, and by all the commons in thesame by acte of Parliament, and not set furth by any counsailor or counsaylors vpon there mere will and fantasie, as ye full falsely would perswade oure realme to beleue.

And where ye allege that the seruice of God is muche diminished, the trouth therof is contrarie, for there be no houses suppressed where God was well serued, but where most vice, mischief and abhominacion of liuyng was vsed, and that doth wel apere by there awne confessions subscribed with ther awne handes in the tyme of their visitacions, & yet we suffered a great many of them (more then we neded by the acte) to stand wherin if thei amend not ther liuyng, we feare, we haue more to answer for, then for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitalitie for the relief of the poore, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirme that thei haue bene a great relief of pore people, whan a great many or the most parte hath not past foure or fiue religious persons in them, and diuers but one, which spēt the substaunce of the goodes of ther houses in norishyng of vice and abhominable liuyng. Now what vnkyndnes and vnnaturalitie may we impute to you and all oure subiectes that be of that mynde, that had leauer suche an vnthriftie sorte of vicious persones, shoulde enioy such possessions, profites and Emolumentes, as growe of thesaied houses, to the maintenaunce of there vnthriftie life, then we youre naturall prince, souereigne lorde and kyng, which doth and hath spent more in youre defences of our awne, then six times they be woorth? As touchyng the acte of vses, we maruaile what madnes is in your brayne, or vpon what ground ye woulde take auethoritie vpon you to cause vs to breake those lawes and statutes, which by all the nobles, knightes and gentlemen of this realme (whome thesame chiefly toucheth) hath bene graunted and assented to: seyng in no maner of thynges it toucheth you the basse commons of our Realme. Also the groundes of all those vses were false, & neuer admitted by any lawe: but vsurped vpon the prince, contrary to all equitie and iustice, as it hath ben openlie both disputed & declared by all the well learned men in the Realme of Englande in Westminster hall: whereby ye may well perceiue, how mad and vnreasonable your demaundes be, both in that and in the rest, and how vnmete it is for vs and dishonorable, to graūt or asset vnto, and lesse mete and decent for you in such a rebellious sort to demaunde thesame of your prince.

As touchyng the fiftene which ye demaūd of vs to be released, think ye that we be so faintharted, that perforce ye of one shire (wer ye a great many mo) could compell vs with youre insurreccions and such rebelleous demeanor to remit thesame? or thinke ye that any man wil or may take you to be true subiectes, that first make and shewe a louyng graūt and then perforce woulde compell youre souereigne lorde and kyng to release thesame? the tyme of payment whereof is not yet come, ye, and seyng thesame will not coūtreuaile the tēth peny of the charges, which we do & daily sustein for your tuicion & safegarde: make you sure, by your occasiōs of these your ingratitudes, vnnaturallnes & vnkindnes to vs now administred, ye geue vs cause whiche hath alwaies bene asmuche dedicate to your wealth as euer was kyng not so much to set or studie for the setting forward of the same, seyng how vnkyndly and vntruly ye deale now with vs, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you haue no grace nor naturalnes in you to consider your dutie of allegiaunce to your kyng, and souereigne Lorde, the rest of oure Realme we doubt not hath: and we

and

and they shall so loke on this cause, that we trust it shalbe to your confusion, if accordyng to youre former letters you submit not your selfes.

As touching the first frutes, we let you wit, it is a thing graunted vs by act of parliament also, for the supportacion of parte of the great and excessiue charges, which we supporte and beare for the maintenaunce of youre wealthes and other oure subiectes: and we haue knowen also that ye our commons haue much complayned in tymes passed, that the moste parte of our goodes, landes and possessions, of the realme, were in the spiritual meanes handes: & yet bearyng vs in hand that ye be as louyng subiectes to vs as may be, ye cannot fynd in your hartes that your prince and souereigne lorde shoulde haue any parte thereof (and yet it is nothyng preiudiciall vnto you our commons) *but* to rebel and vnlaufully rise agaynst youre prince, contrary to the *duetie* of allegeaunce and Goddes commaundement, Sirs, remembre youre folies and treiterous demeanours, & shame not your natiue countrey of England nor offend no more so greuously youre vndoubted kyng and naturall prince, which alwaies hath shewed him self most louyng vnto you, and remembre your duetie of allegeance, and that ye are bound to obey vs youre kyng, both by Goddes commaundement and law of nature. Wherefore we charge you eftsones vpon the forsaied bondes and paynes, that ye withdraw your selfes to your awne houses, euery man, and no more to assemble contrarie to oure lawes and youre allegeaunces, and to cause the prouokers of you to this mischief, to be deliuered to oure liftenauntes handes, or oures, and you your selues to submit you to suche condigne ponishment as we and oure nobles shall thinke you worthy: for doubt you not els that we and our nobles can nor wil suffre this iniurie at youre handes vnreuenged, if ye geue not place to vs of souereigntie, and shewe your selfes as bounden and obedient subiectes, and nomore to entermeddle your selues from henceforth with the weightie affaires of the Realme, the direction whereof only apperteigneth to vs your kyng & suche noble men & counsailours, as we list to elect & chose to haue the orderyng of thesame: & thus we pray vnto almighty God, to geue you grace to do your duties, to vse your selfes towardes vs like trew and faythfull subiectes, so as we may haue cause, to order you thereafter, and rather obediently to consent amongest you to deliuer into the hādes of our liuetenaunte a hundreth persones, to be ordered accordyng to their demerites, at our will and pleasure, then by your obstinacy and wilfulnes, to put your selfes, your wiues, children, landes, goodes and cattalles, besides the indignacion of God, in the vtter aduenture of total destruccion, and vtter ruine, by force and violence of the swerd.

After the Licolneshire men had receiued this the kynges answer aforsaied, made to their peticiōs, eche mistrusting other who should be noted to be the greatest medeler, euen very sodenly thei began to shrink, and out of hand they were all deuided, and euery man at home in his awne house in peace: but the capitaines of these rebelles eskaped not all clere, but were after apprehēded, and had as they deserued: he that toke vpon him as capitain of this rowte, named him selfe capitain Cobler, but it was a Monke called Doctor Makerel, with diuerse other which afterward were taken and executed.

All these thynges thus ended, the contrey appeased, and all thinges in quiet the kynges maiestie retired, and brake vp his army.

A new insurrection.

But se, euen within six dayes folowyng, was the king truly certefied that there was a new insurreccion made by the Northren men, which had assembled them selfes into a houge and great army of warlikemen & wel appointed both with capitaines, horse, harneis and artillary to the nombre of fourtie thousand men, which had incamped them selfes in yorkeshire: And these men had eche of theim to other bound them selfes by their othe to be faithfull and obedient to his capitaine: they also declared by their proclamaciōs solemply made, that this their insurreccion, should extend no farther but only to the maintenaunce and defence of the faith of Christe and deliueraunce of holy Churche sore decaied & oppressed, and also for the furtheraūce aswel of priuate as publik matters in the realme touchyng the wealth of al the kynges poore subiectes. They named this there sedicious and traiterous voiage, an holye and blessed Pilgrimage; they had also certaine banners in the felde, whervpon was painted

Christ

Christ hāgyng on the Crosse on the one side, and a chalice with a painted kake in it on the other side with diuerse other banners of like hipocresie and fained sanctitie: the souldiars also had a certain cognisaunce or badge, embroudered or set vpon the sleues of there coates which was the similitude of the fiue woundes of Christ, and in the middest thereof was written the name of our lorde, and this the rebellious Guarrison of Sathan with his false and coūterfeated signes of holines set forth and decked thē selues, only to delude and deceiue the symple and ignorant people.

After that the kynges highnes was credebly certefied of this new insurged insurreccion, he makyng no delay in so weightie a matter, caused with al spede the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Marques of Excetter, the Erle of Shrewsburie with other, accompanied with his mightie & royal army, which was of great power & strength, forthwith to set vpō the rebelles: but whē these noble capitaines & cōsailors approched the rebelles & perceiued their nombre & saw how they wer bent to battail, they practised with great pollicie to haue pacefied al without bloudshedyng, but the Northrenmen wer so stif necked that thei would in nowise stoupe, but stoutly stode and mayntayned there wicked entreprise, wherefore the nobles abouesaied perceiuyng and seyng none other way to pacefie these wretched rebelles, agreed vpon a batayll, the battail was apoincted, & ỹ day was assigned: but, se ỹ same night which was the night before the day of ỹ battail appointed, fel a smal raine nothing to speak of: but yet as it wer by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very smal forde, & ỹ mē in maner the day before, might haue gon dryshod ouer, sodenly roase of suche a height, depnes, & bredth that the like noman that ther did inhabit could tell that euer thei saw it so afore, so that the day, euen when the houre of battail should come, it was impossible for the one armye to come at the other. A tree miraculously cast of God.

After this appointment made betwene both the armies (disapointed as it is to be thought only by God who extended his great mercie and had compassion on the great nomber of innocent persones, that in that deadly slaughter had like to haue bene murdered) could take no place: Then, by the great wisedome and pollecy of thesaied capitaines, a communicacion was had, and a pardon of the kynges Maiestie obteined, for all the Captaines and chief doers of this insurreccion, and thei promised that such thynges as they founde them selues agreued with all they shoulde gently be heard, and their reasonable peticions graunted and that there articles should be presented to the kynges Maiestie, that by his highnes auctboritie, and wisedome of his Counsaill, all thinges should be brought to good ordre and conclusion: and with this ordre euery man quietly departed, and those which before were bent as hote as fyer to fight, beyng letted therof by God, went now peaseably to their houses, and were as colde as water. *A domino factum est istud.*

In this tyme of insurrection, and in the rage of horley borley, euen when the kynges armie and the rebelles were ready to ioyne, the kynges banner being displaied, & the kynges maiestie then liyng at Winsore, ther was a boocher dwelling within. v. myle of Winsore which caused a priest to preach that all such as toke parte with the yorkeshiremen whome he named Goddes people, did fight and defend Goddes quarell & farther thesaied bocher in sellyng of his meat, one did bid him a lesse price of a shepe thē he made of it, he āswered nay by Godes soul, I had rather ỹ good felowes of the north had it amōg them and askore more of ỹ best I haue: this priest & bocher wer accused to the kynges maiesties counsayl, of the tresōs abouesaied on the Monday in the mornyng, and the same day were both sent for, which confessed there treason, and so accordyng to the law marshal they wer adiudged to die: & so the saied Monday, they wer both examined, condempned and hanged, the boocher was hanged on a newe paire of Gallowes set at the bridge ende before the castel gate: and the priest was hanged on a tree at the foote of Winsore bridge. A bocher and a priest hanged.

This yere in Decembre was the Thamis of London all frozen ouer, wherefore the kynges Maiestie with his beautifull spouse quene Iane, roade throughout the citie of London to Grenewich: And this Christmas the king by his messengers & heraulds sent doune into the North his general pardons to all capitall offendours: and shortly after came Aske to london,

and

Aske the rebel of the North.

and so to the court to the kyng: this Aske was the chief capitain of the last rebellion in the North, and now bothe pardoned of the kyng, and his grace receaued him into his fauor & gaue vnto hym apparel and great rewardes, but as after ye shall perceaue Aske enioyed not the kyng his newe frendes kyndnes a yere and a day, and pitie it was that he had any fauor at all, for there liued not a veriar wretch aswell in parson as in condicions and dedes, specially agaynst his anointed gouernour and souereigne lorde.

The third day of February was Thomas Fitz Garrad late Erle of Kildare and fiue of his vncles drawen, hanged, and quartered at Tiborne, for high treason.

Also in thesaied moneth, Nichol Musgraue, Thomas Tylbie, with other began a new rebellion at Kirbie Staphā in Westmerland, with eight thousand persones, and beseged the Citie of Carlisle, from whence thei were beaten, with the only power of the citie, and in their returning the Duke of Norffolke who then was made liuctenauut of the North, encountred with them and toke the Capitanes, & accordyng to the law marcial, arreigned threscore and fouretene of them, and hāged them on Carlile walles, but Musgraue escaped. And in thesame moneth of Februarie began yet another insurrecciō, by the intysement of sir Fraunces Bigod, a man no doubt that loued God, & feared his prince, with a right obediēt & louyng feare: but now beyng deceaued & prouoked ther vnto by false rebellyous persones it was his fortune to last of the ende which apperteigneth to rebelles: such are men when God leaueth them to them selues, and when they will entreprise the doyng of that thyng which Goddes most holy word vtterly forbiddeth. This Bigod was apprehended and brought to the Tower of London: this last rebellion began in Setrington, and in Pikeryn Leigh, and Scarborough.

Sir Frances Bigod.

Robert Aske taken.

Also in the latter ende of this yere, the lord Darcy, Aske, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Ihon Bulmer and his wife, Sir Thomas Percie brother to the Erle of Northumbreland, Sir Stephyn Hamelton, Nicholas Tempest Esquier, William Lomley, sonne to the Lord Lomley began agayn to coospire, although they before had euery one of theim their pardons: and now they were all taken and brought to the Tower of London.

Robert Packyngton.

In this yere one Robert Packyngton, Mercer of London, a man of good substaunce, and yet not so riche as honest and wise, this man dwelled in Chepeside at the signe of the legg, and vsed daily at foure of the clock Winter and Sommer to rise and go to Masse at a churche then called saint Thomas of Acres (but now named the Mercers chapel) and one mornyng emong all other, beyng a great Mistie morning such as hath seldome be sene, euen as he was crossing the strete from his house to the churche, he was sodenly murdered with a gonne, whiche of the neighbors was playnly hard, and by a great nombre of laborers at the same tyme standyng at Soper lane ende, he was both sene go furth of his house, and also the clap of the gonne was hard, but the dede doer was neuer espied nor knowen, many were suspected, but none could be found fauty: howbeit it is true, that forasmuch as he was knowen to be a man of a great courage and one that both could speake & also woulde be harde: and that thesame tyme he was one of the Burgeses of the parliament, for the Citie of London, and had talked somewhat against the couetousnes and crueltie of the Clergie, he was had in contempt with theim, and therefore mooste lyke by one of theim thus shamefully murdered, as you perceiue that Master Honne was in the sixte yere of the reigne of this kyng.

THE. XXIX. YERE.

The Lorde Darcy, Lord Hosey.

IN Iune the lord Darcy and the lord Hosey wer arreigned at Westminster before the Marques of Exceter, then high steward of England, and thei were both found giltie and had there iudgment as in caces of high treson.

Shortly after wer also arreigned Sir Robert Constable, Sir Thomas Percy, Sir Fraunces Bigod, Sir Stephen Hamelton, Sir Ihon Bulmer and his wife, which some reported was not his wife but his paramour, also William Lomley, Nicholas Tempest, and the Abbotes of Ierney and Riuers, and Robert Aske, and all founde giltie of high treason, and all put to

death at Tiborne, sauyng Sir Robert Constable, which was hāged in chaines on Beuerley gate at Hull and Aske was also hanged in chaynes at Yorke on a Tower, and Sir Ihon Bulmers Paramour, was brent in Smithfelde in London: And in the latter ende of Iune, was the Lord Darcy behedded at Tower hil and shortly after was the lord Hosey behedded at Lincolne.

This yere at the Feast of Saint George, was the Lorde Cromewell made knight of the Gartier.

The birth of Prince Edward, nowe our soueraign Lorde & kyng Edward the sixte.

In Octobre on saint Edwardes euen was borne at Hampton Courte the noble Impe prince Edward, whose Godfathers at the Christenyng were the Archebishop of Caunterburie, and the Duke of Norffolk and his Godmother the Lady Mary the Kynges daughter, and at the bishopyng was Godfather the Duke of Suffolk: At the birth of this noble prince was great fires made through the whole realme and great Ioye made with thankes geuyng to almightie God whiche hath sent so nobie a prince to succed in the croune of this Realme: But Lorde what lamentacion shortly after was made for the death of his noble and gracious mother queue Iane, whiche departed out of this life the fourtene day of Octobre, next folowyng: and of none in the Realme was it more beauelier taken then of the kynges Maiestie him self, whose death caused the kyng imediatly to remoue into Westminster wher he mourned and kept him selfe close and secret a great while: and the eight daye of Nouembre the Corps of the Quene was caried to Winsor withe greate solempnitie, and there was buried in the middes of the queer in the Castell churche: And at the same tyme was made in Poules a solempne herce for her, where was Masse and dirigie, and in like maner was song Masse and dirige in euery parish churche in London.

Queue Iane deprered.

Queene Iane buried.

The kinges maiestie kept his Christmas at Grenewich in his mournyng apparell, and so was all the Courte till the morow after Candlemas day and then he and all other chaunged.

Also this yere the viscoūt Beauchamp was created Erle of Hertford and Sir William Fitzwilliam high admirall created Erle of Southampton.

This yere Iames kyng of Scottes, maried the lady Magdalene, the French kynges eldest daughter.

THE. XXX. YERE.

IN Maye there was a Freer, called freer Forest, one of the obseruaunt Freers, but he might haue bene more trulier named as after shall appere, an obstinate Freer, this obstinat Freer had secretly in confessions declared to many of the kynges subiectes that the kyng was not supreme head, and beyng therof accused and apprehēded, he was examined how he could say that the kyng was not supreme hed of the church, when he him selfe had sworne to the contrary, he answered that he toke his oth with his outward man, but his inward man neuer consented thervnto: At this answer the Lordes who examined him loked very straūgelye at the dissimulacion of the Freer, but being farther accused of diuerse heretical and dampnable articles, that he held contrary to the scripture of God, he was after soundry examinacions conuinced and confuted, & gladly submitted him selfe to abide the ponishment of the church: But vpon this his submission, hauyng more libertie then before he had, aswell to talke with whome he would, as also who that would to talke with him, certeyn suche outward men as he was so talked with him and so incensed him, that the outward Freer was as far from his open submission as euer he was, and when his abiuracion was sent to him to read & looke vpon, he vtterly refused it, and obstinately stode in all his heresies and treasōs before cōspired: al gētle meanes that was possible to be sought for his reconciliacion was had, but the more gentler that the Magestrates were to him, the more obstinat was the freer, and would neither argue nor answere: wherfore iustly he was cōdēpned, & after for him was prepared in Smithfelde in Londō a Gallowes on ꝑ which he was hāged in chaines by the middle & armholes al quicke, & vnder ꝑ galowes was made a

FreerForest.

fire, & he so cōsumed & brēt to death. At his commyng to the place of execution, there was prepared a great skaffolde, on which sat the nobles of the Realme, and the kynges Maiesties moost honorable counsayle, only to haue graunted pardon to that wretched creature, if any spark of repentaunce woulde haue happened in him: ther was also prepared a Pulpit where a right reuerend father in God and a renoumed and famous Clerk the bishop of Worceter called Hugh Latimer, declared to him his errours and opēly and manifestly by the scripture of God confuted them, and with many and godly exhortacions moued him to repētaūce, but such was his frowardnes that he neither would here nor speke: And a litle before the Execuciō, a houge & great Image was brought to the Galowes, which Image was brought out of Wales, and of the Welshmen much sought and worshiped: This Image was called Daruell Gatheren, and the Welshmen had a prophesy that this Image should set a whole Forest a fyre, which prophesic now toke effect, for he set this freer Forest on fyre and consumed him to nothyng. This Freer when he sawe the fyre come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold vpon the ladder, which he would not let go, but so vnpaciently toke his death, that no man that euer put his truste in God neuer so vnquietly nor so vngodly ended his life: if men might iudge hym by his outward man, he appered to haue litle knowlege of God and his sincere truth, and lesse trust in him at his endyng. Vpon the gallowes that he died on, was set vp in great letters these verses folowing.

A prophesie.

Dauid Daruell Gatheren.	And Forest the Freer
As saith the Welshmen	That obstinate lyer
Fetched Outlawes out of Hell.	That willfully shalbe dead.
Now is he come, with spere & shilde	In his contumacie
In harnes to burne in Smithfelde	The Gospell doth deny
For in wales he may not dwell	The kyng to be supreme head.

In Iuly was Edmond Coningsbey attainted of treason, for counterfeatyng of the kynges Signe Manuell: And in August was Edward Clifford for thesame cause attainted, and both put to execucion as traitors at Tiborne. And the Sonday after Bartelmew day, was one Cratwell hangman of London, and two persones more hanged at the wrestlyng place on the backesyde of Clerkenwel besyde Londō, for robbyng of a bouthe in Bartholomew fayre, at which execution was aboue twentie thousand people as I my self iudged.

A hangman hanged.

In this moneth of August, the Kyng of Scottes maried the lady Mary late duches of Lo[illegible]uile. And in Septembre by the speciall mocion of the lorde Cromewel al the notable Images vnto the whiche were made any speciall Pilgrimages and Offerynges, were vtterly taken awaye, as the Images of Walsyngham, Ypswiche, Worceter, the lady of Wilsdon, with many other. And lykewise the Shrines of counterfeated Sainctes, as the Shrine of Thomas Becket and dyuerse other. And euen forthwith by the meanes of the saied Cromwell, al the ordres of supersticious and beggyng Freers, as White, Gray, Black, Augustine, Croched Freers, & likewise al the puling Nonnes, with their Cloysters & houses wer suppressed & put doune.

Images suppressed.

All coūterfeat relions suppressed.

In this season, sute was made by the Emperour to the kynges Maiestie, that he would take to wife the duches of Millayn, but in this matter the Emperors counsaill so dalied with the kyng, that shortly he left of that suit: of the which breakyng of with the Emperour, the Duke of Cleaue hard, and therefore forthwith he made suite to the kynges Maiestie, for his fayre sister the Lady Annē: vndoubtedly the Emperours counsayl thought by a cautel to haue brought the kyng to sue to the bishop of Rome for a licence, which thing the kynges Maiestie sone smelled & perceiued wher about thei wēt. In the moneth of Nouember one Ihō Nicholsō otherwise called Lambert a priest, was accused of heresy, for deniyng the Sacrament of the Aultare to be Christes naturall body: This man appealed to the kynges Maiestie, who graciously consented to heare him, and a day was apoincted: against whiche daie was made in the kynges palace at Westminster called the white hall, in the kynges

Ihon Lambert otherwise called Ihō Nicholson.

kynges hall a throne or siege royall for the kynges Maiestie, and skaffoldes for all the lordes, and a stage for Nicholson to stand on: this Nicholson was a man named to be learned, but that day he vttered no suche learnyng, as he was of many supposed, that he both coulde and would haue done, but was excedyng fearful and timerous. The kynges Maiestie accompanied with his lordes and nobles of the Realme and diuerse of the bishops and clergy kept the day appoincted, wher before his maiestie was brought the forsaied Nicholson, to whome certein of the bishops ministred diuerse argumentes, but specially the kynges maiestie him selfe did most dispute with him, howbeit Nicholson was not perswaded nor woulde not reuoke although the Kynges maiestie graunted hym his pardon, wherfor there was he condempned and had iudgement, and shortely after was drawen and burned in Smythfeld. The third daie of Nouembre were Henry Marques of Excester & earle of Deuonshire and sir Henry Pole knight and lorde Mountagew and Sir Edward Neuell brother to the Lorde Burgany sent to the tower which thre wer accused by sir Gefferei Pole brother to the lord Mountagew, of high treason, and the two lordes were arreigned the last day of Decembre, at Westminster before the lord Awdeley of Walden, lord Chauncelor, and then the high stuard of England, and there found giltie, likewise on the third day after was arreigned Sir Edward Neuel, Sir Gefferey Pole and two priestes called Croftes and Collins, and one holand a Mariner and all attainted, and the ninth day of Ianuarie, were the saied two lordes and Sir Edward Neuell behedded at the tower hill, and the two priestes and Holande were drawen to Tiborne, and there hanged and quartered, and sir Gefferey Pole was pardoned.

The Lorde Marques of Excester & other accused & condempned of high treason.

On Ashwednesday, were Ihon Iones, Ihon Potter, and William Maneryng, hanged in the princes liueries, beeause thei were the princes seruauntes, on the Southside of Paules churchyard for killing of Roger Cholmeley esquier in thesame place of malice prepensed. Also on the third day of Marche, was sir Nicholas Carew of Bedington, in the countie of Surrey knight of the Gartier, and Master of the kynges horse, before attainted of treasō, behedded at the tower hil, wher he made a goodly confessiō, both of his folie and superstitious faith, geuyng God most hartie thākes that euer he came in the prisō of the tower, where he first sauored the life & swetenes of Gods most holy word meaning the Bible in English, whiche there he read by the meane of one Thomas Phelips then keper of that prison, but before he was a citezen and poyntmaker of London, which Phillips two yeres before had ben there prisoner him selfe, & sore troubled aswell by sir Thomas More as also by Doctor Stokslei bishop of Londō, who often tymes examined thesaid Phelips, & laied many articles to his charge, but he so wisely and coldly vsed him selfe, that he maugre their euel willes, eskaped clerly their handes.

Sir Nicholas Carew beheded.

Thomas Phelips.

The ninth day of Marche, the kyng created at Westminster sir William Pawlet knight treasorer of his householde, Lord Sainte Ihon, & Sir Ihon Russell comptroller of his house, Lorde Russell.

The same tyme the kyng caused all the hauens to be fortefied, and roade to Douer, and caused Bulwarkes to be made on the sea coastes, and sēt commissions throughout al the realme, to haue his people muster: and at the same seasō ou Easter day, was there thre score vnknowē shippes liyng in the downes, wherfore all Kent arose, and mustered in harneis thesame day.

THE. XXXI. YERE.

THE eight and twentie daie of Aprill, began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margaret countesse of Salsbury Gertrude wife to the Marques of Excester, Reignold Poole, a Cardinall brother to the lorde Mountagew, Sir Adrian Foskew, & Thomas Dingley Knight of saynt Iohnes, & diuerse other wer attainted of high treason, which Foskew & Dynglei

wer the tenth daie of Iuli behedded. In this parliamēt was an act made which bare this title: *An act for abolishyng of diuersitie of opinions, in certain articles concernyng Christen religion,* this act established chiefly sixe articles, wherof among the commō people it was called the act of sixe articles, & of some it was named the whip withe sixe strynges, and of some other and that of the moste parte, it was named the bloudy statute, for of truth it so in shorte time after skourged a great nombre in the citie of Londō, wher the first quest for the inquirie of the offendors of the saied statute sat at a church called Beckets house, now named the Mercers Chappel, that the said quest beyng of purpose selected and picked out emong all the rest of the inhabitauntes of the citie, that none might thereof be admitted which either had red any part of the holy scripture in English, or in any wise fauoured such as either had red it, or loued the preachers of it: insomuch as this quest was so zelous & feruent in the execuciō of this statute, that they among them selues thought it not only sufficiēt to inquire of the offendors of the saied statute, but also by ther fine wittes & willyng mindes, thei inuented to inquire of certayn braunches of the same statute as they termed it, which was not only to inquire who spake again masses, but who thei wer that seldome came vnto them: and also not only who denyed the Sacramente to be Christes very naturall body, but also who helde not vp their handes at sacryng tyme, and knocked not on there brestes: And thei not only inquired who offended in the sixe articles, but also who came seldome to the churche, who toke no holy bread nor holy water, who red the Bible in the churche, or in communicacion contemned priestes, or Images in the Churches. &c. with a great nombre of suche braunches: this appointed quest so sped them selues with the sixe Articles, and ther awne braunches, that in fourtene daies space there was not a preacher nor other persone in the citie of name, whiche had spoken against the supremacie of the bishop of Rome, but he was wrapped in the sixe articles, insomuche as thei indited and presented of suspicion to the nombre of fiue hundred persones and aboue: so that if the kynges maiestie had not graunted his pardon, for that by the good lord Awdeley lord chauncelor his grace was truly infourmed that thei were indited of malice: a greate many of them whiche all ready was in prison, had bene shortely after skourged in Smithfelde with firy fagottes, that would haue made the best bloud in ther bodies to haue sprong, but most graciously at that time his grace remitted all: although in the tyme that these sixe Articles indured whiche was eight yeres and more, thei brought many an honest and simple persone to there deathes, for suche was the rigour of that lawe, that if two witnesses false or true, had accused any and auouched that thei had spoken agaynst the sacramēt, ther was then no way but death, for it boted not to confesse that his faith was cōtrarie, or that he saied not as the accusors reported: for they would beleue the witnesses ye and sometime certain of the clergie, when ther had no witnesses would procure some, or elles thei were slaundered.

The act of six articles.

The first quest that inquired of the sixe Articles.

The kynges highnes whiche neuer ceased to study and take payne both for the auaunce-ment of the common wealth of this his Realme of Englād, of the which he was the only supreme gouernour and hed, and also for the defence of al thesame, was lately enfourmed by his trustie & faithfull frendes ẏ the cākerd & cruel serpēt the bishop of rome, by that Archetraitor Reignold Poole, enemie to Godes worde and his natural contrey, had moued and stirred diuerse great princes and potentātes of Christendome to inuade the Realme of England, and vtterlie to destroy the whole nacion of thesame: Wherefore his Maiestie in his awne persone, without any deley tooke very laborious and payneful iourneyes towardes the sea coastes. Also he sent dyuers of his nobles and counsaylours to view and searche all the Portes and daungiers on the coastes where any meete or conuenient landing place might be supposed, aswell on the borders of Englande as also of Wales. And in all soche doubtfull places his hyghnes caused dyuers & many Bulwarkes & fortificacions to be made. And further his hyghnes caused the Lorde Admirall Erle of Southampton to predare in redynesse Shippes for the sea, to his great coast and charges.

And beside this, to haue all his people in a redynesse, he directed his Commissions

thorough out the Realme to haue his people mustered, & the harneyes & weapons seene and viewed, to thentent that all thynges should be in a redynesse if his enemyes wouldе make any attempte in to this Realme: And amongest other, one Commission was directed to the right worshipfull syr Thomas Forman Knight Mayer of Londō and his brethren, for to certifie all the names of all men betwene the ages of. ix. and, xvi. and the nombre of harnesses, weapons, with their kyndes and diuersities: Whereypon the sayde Lorde Mayer and his brethren, euery one hauyng with them one of the Councell or learned men of the Citie repaired to their wardes, and there by the othe of the Common Counsayll & Constables of the same wardes tooke the nombre of the men, harnesses and weapons, accordinge to their Commission. And after that they had well viewed their Bookes and the nombre of the persones, they thought it not expedient to admyt the whole nombre of soche as were certefied for able and apte persones for to Muster: Wherefore then they assembled theym selfes agayne and chose out the most able persones and put by thother, and specially all soche as had no harnesse, nor for whome no harnesse coulde be prouyded. But when they were credebly aduertysed by the Kynges Counsellor Thomas Lord Cromewell Knyght of the Noble Ordre of the Gartier Lorde Preuye Seale (to whose prudence and goodnesse the Citie was moche bounden) that the Kyng hym selfe wouldе see the people of the Citie Muster in a conuenient nombre, and not to set furthe all their power, but to leaue some at home to keepe the Citie. Then eftsones euery Alderman repayred to his warde, and there put a syde all soche as hadde lackes, coates of plate, coates of mayle and bryganders, and appoynted none but soche as had whyte Harnesse, excepte soch as should beare Morysh Pykes, which had no harnesse but skulles: and they appoynted none but soche as had whyte harnesse, neither dyd they admyt any that was a Straunger, although they were Denyzens. When it was knowen that the King would see the Muster, lorde how glad the people were to prepare, and what desyre they had to do their Prince seruyce, it would haue made any faythfull subiectes herte to haue reioysed. Then euery man beyng of any substaūce prouyded hymselfe a coate of white sylke, and garnyshed their bassenetes with turues lyke cappes of sylke set with ouches, furnished with chaines of gold & fethers: other gylted their harnesse, their halberdes & pollaxes. Some, & especyall certayne goldsmythes had theyr brest plates yea & their whole harnesse of syluer bullyon. The Constables were all in Iornettes of white sylke with chaynes & Battell Axes. The meaner sorte of people were all in coates of white cloth very curiously trymmed with the Armes of the Citie before & behynde. The lord Mayer him selfe was in a fayre Armour, the crestes therof were gylte, & ouer that a coate of Blacke veluet with half sleues, & so was syr Robert Cholmley knight Recorder of Londō, and all thother Aldermen & Shiriffes & such as had ben Shiriffes, all wel mounted on stirryng horses rychely trapped & couered, with battel axes in their handes & Mases & chaynes about their neckes. The lorde Mayer had. iiii. footemen all in whyte sylke, cutte, ruffed & pounced: he had also. ii. Pages well mouted on stirryng coursers, rychely trapped and apparelled in coates of Crymosyn veluet & cloth of golde paled, with chaynes of gold, the one bearyng his Helme & the other his Axe. He had also, xvi. tall men on foote with gylte halbardes, whose dobletz were whyte sylke, & hosen, doblettes & shoes all whyte, cut after the Almayne fassyon, puffed & pulled out with red sarcenet, euery one hauyng a whyte lether Ierkyn all to cutte & chaines about their neckes, with fethers & broches on their cappes. The Recorder and euery Alderman had about hym. iiii. Halbardes trymmed warlike.

The Chamberlayne of the Citie & the Councellors of the same & the Aldermēs deputies, which wer appointed to be wyfielers on horsbacke were all in whyte dāmaske coates on their harnesse, mounted on good horses well trapped, with great chaynes about their neckes, & propre Iauelyns or battel axes in their hādes & cappz of veluet richely decked.

The Wifielers on foote, iiii.C. propre and lyght persones all apparelled in whyte sylke or Ierkyns of lether cutte, with white hose and shoes, euery man hauyng a iauelyn or slaughsword to keepe the people in aray & chaynes about their neckes, & white fethers in their cappes.

The greet Muster in London.

The

The Minstrels were all in white with the Armes of the Citie, and so was euery other person at this Muster without anye diuersite, sauyng the lorde Mayer, the Recorder and his brethren who had crosses of veluet or satten pyrled with golde.

The Standarde bearers were the tallest men of euery Warde, for whō wer made. xxx. new stādardz of the deuise of the citie besyde bāners.

Whē euery thyng was prepared, euery Alderman mustered his owne warde in the feldes, viewyng euery man in his harnesse, & to cause such as could shote, to take bowes in their hādes, & thother bylles or pykes.

The. viii. day of Maie, accordyng to the Kynges pleasure, euery Alderman in ordre of battell with his warde came into the common felde at Myle ende, & then all the gonnes seuered them selues into one place, the pykes in another, & the bowmen in another, & likewise the byllmen, & there rynged & snayled, which was a goodly syght to beholde: for all the feldes from Whyte chappell to Myle ende, & from Bednall Grene to Ratclif & to Stepney were all couered with harnesse, men & weapōs, & in especial the battell of pykes semed to be a great forest. Then euery parte was deuided into. iii. partes, the pikes in three partes & so the other. Then were appoynted. iii. battels, a forward, myddleward & rereward.

The Ordre in goyng.

About. viii. of the clocke marched forward the lyght peces of Ordinaunce, with stone & powder, after them followed the Drōmes & fyffes, & imediatly after them a Guydon of the Armes of the Citie. Then folowed master Sadeler captain of the gōners vpō a good horse in harnesse & a coate of veluet with a chayne of golde &. iiii. Halbardes about him apparelled as before is rehersed. Then folowed the Gonners. iiii. in a ranke, euery one goyng. v. foote a sōnder, euery mans shoulder euē with another, which shot altogether in dyuers places very cherefully, & especially before the Kynges Maiestie, whyche at that tyme sate in his new gate house at his Palace at Westminster where he viewed all the whole company: In lyke maner passed the second & third battels al wel & rychely appointed. They passed as is sayde, the formost Capitayn at ix. of the clock in the mornig by the lytle conduite entryng into Pauls churchyarde, & so directly to Westmynster, & so thorough the sanctuary and round about the parke of s. Iames, & so vp into the felde & came home thorough Holborne: & as the first Capitayne entered agayne to the lytle conduyte, the last of the Muster entered Pauls churcheyarde, which then was. iiii. of the clocke at after noone. The nombre was. xv. thousand, besyde Wyffelers and other wayters.

Isurrection in Gaunt.

In this yere about the Feast of s. Ihon Baptist, the cōmon people of the town of Gaunt in Flaūders, began to grudge against the Officers of the Emperour, & thoccasion was this: The cōmon people being supported of dyuers ryche Merchauntes of the towne, complained that the Excyse of the Wyne was so great, that they payed of euery pottell. ii.d. for thexeise that they solde by retaile, besyde the price of the wyne, & likewyse payed the Merchauntes which solde it in great: and yet that more greued them that the Abbots, Friers, Chanons & other Religious persones & men of the Church (of the whiche was gret store in that towne) the which among them had the greatest ryches & wealth of that towne, shoulde be exempt & dronke Wyne free without paiyng Excise, whych thyng turned to the charges of other, and therwith the cōmons founde them selues sore greued, and sayde that they were oppressed contrarye to their olde and auncient Priuileges. The Rulers made promise that an ordre & way should be taken therin, but they desyred respyte that they might know the mynde of the Queene of Hungary, Regent for the Emperoure of the lowe countrey, which Quene at that tyme was at Bruxell, and euen then was goyng to vyset the countrey of Holand. The Queene consented to nothyng that the commons desyred, but sent them a very cruell and frowarde answere not without great threates, that if they would not euery man quietly remayne in their houses, and pay their excyse as they had ben accustomed to do, they should lyke rebels as they were be forced thervnto whether they would or not: wherfore the Cōmons assembled, & when they had well digested the answer of the Quene, they determined to seke another meanes, & fyrst they assembled themselues into a battel to the nōbre of. x. or xii. M.

wel armed mẽ, night and day watching & warding the towne, in such sorte that themperours Officers bare no rule: & he whom they called the chiefe Bailyf or Gouernour of the towne durst not once shew his face amongest them, but by the helpe of a boy he cõueied himself by a Postern and so got out of the towne. The people of Gaunt perceiuyng their Rulers thus departed, the chiefest of them that wer in the towne condiscẽded & agreed to write vnto the Frenche Kyng for ayde, & caused a Gentleman of their towne to deuyse a Letter, for the whiche afterwarde he lost his head.

The sute and request of the sayde men of Gaunt was, that it would please the Frenche Kyng to sende vnto theim men & munitions, and to succour them as the auncient subiectes to the Crowne of Fraunce, and to delyuer them from the bondage that they were in, & to remoue from the great Exactions & imposicions, that the Officers of the sayde Emperour had oppressed them with all, and they woulde yelde & delyuer all vnto him as to their Souereigne Lord, & in lyke maner would other townes to them adioynynge do. And for a truth (sayth the writer of the Annales of Aquitayn) if the Frenche Kyng woulde haue herkened vnto their request & sute, it had ben an easy thyng for him both to haue enioyed the possession of the greatest nombre of all the townes in the lowe countrey: as Flaunders, Arthoys and the rest of that countrey, & also to haue put the Emperour in great hazarde. But the French Kyng willing to kepe and holde the Truce which was concluded and sworne, hauyng a greater respect to his faith and promyse then to his profite & gayne, thinkyng that if he should consent to the request of the Gauntoys, he should begin a new Warre to the noiaunce of the cõmen people of Christendome, wherfore he refused vtterly either to ayde or succour them.

The Queene of Hungarye thynkynge to haue pacifyed all this rumor, sent vnto the Towne of Gaunt her ryght trustye and valyaunt Knight, the Lorde of Sempy, of the House of Crouy, accompanyed with the Lorde Lyquerque and one of her Preuy Councell: but these men amongest the cõmons wer not so well entertained as they thought they should haue ben, and therfore taryed not long amongest them, but were glad to conney them selues from them in dissimuled apparell.

The Emperoure beyng aduertysed of all this busynesse, and perceiuyng his lowe countrey by the reason of sedicion was in daunger, deuised meanes how he might come to them, for then he was in Spain. He thought he would not hazarde hymselfe vpon the sea: and he durst not trust the Almaynes, because he had broken promyse with theim so often concerning their Generall Councell that he promised to haue assembled: wherfore he determyned to moue the French King and to sue for a safeconduyte to passe thorough Fraunce, which very gladly the Frenche Kyng graunted hym, insomuch that after the French kyng knew of his desire, both he and the Dolphyn entreted most hertely the Emperour to passe that way, trusting therby that it should haue ben an occasion of peace betwene them.

All thynges meete for themperours assuraunce was so appoynted by the Constable of Fraũce, that the Emperour departed out of Spain, & came to Bayon, frõ thence to Burdeaux & so to Poyters: after he came to Loches where he met with the French kyng & the Quene, & then they together passed frõ thence to Orleaunce, & so to Paris, into which Citie they entered the first day of Ianuary in the yere of our Lorde a 1539. and so from thence after great chere & royall enterteynment he passed thorough the lower coũtreys, & at last came to Bruxelles in Braband.

And first the Emperour vnder colour to haue pytie & to remedy the poore cõmons of Gaũt & saiyng that he wold not only pardõ their offẽces, but also he could not blame them being oppressed to complayn, & by this meanes he obteined licence that the County of Reux accõpanyed w ii.C. men of armes &. v.M. Launceknightes entered the towne. saiyng to thinhabitantes that this power was only to kepe the towne in peace & quiet till a good & profitable ordre should be taken for the Cõmons. The poore inhabitantz beleuig al that was promised & said vnto them & mistrustyng nothyng, threw of their harnesse, & euery man peaceably went to their houses. Then entered into the towne themperour accompanyed with his brother the kyng of Hongary, & his sister the Quene Dowager of Hongary, the Duke of Sauoy and

and many other Princes, Lordes and Gentlemen, and a great power of men of warre, whyche entery was about Mydsomer, in the yere a. M.v.C.xl.

Themperour beyng in Gaunt & hauyng thupper hand of them, that is to say, beyng stronger within the towne then thinhabitantes were, in the place of his gret pytie that he semed to haue on the poore inhabitātz as his first entery, he immediatly began to do execucion, & that of a gret nombre of them, and without all mercy executed them, insomuch that among all other, the Gentleman which the Cōmons enforced to write the letter to the Frēch kig was beheded, as before is expressed: & afterward themperour caused an Abbey of. s. Banon to be suppressed, & in the same place at the charges of the Gauntois, he made a Castell of a meruelous largenesse, for it was. ix.C. foote long, &. viii.C. large: & not contented with such as he put to death, but also of a great nomber he confiscated ther landes and goodes, and finally he brake all their Priuileges and Ordinaunces, and left the poore inhabitāntes of Gaunt in a miserable case: But now to returne to thaffayres of England.

In August the great Onele & Odouele entered into the English pale in Ireland, and brent almost. xx. myle within the same: wherfore the Lorde Grey thē Deputie there, assembled a great power and met with them the. xxx. day of August and put them to flight, wherfore the Kyng sent ouer fyue hundreth fresh souldyers to ayde his Deputie.

In the ende of Septēbre the. xvi. day of that moneth came to London Duke Frederyke of Bauyre Countye Palantyne or Palsgraue of the Ryne, & the. xviii. daye came to Londō, the Marshal of Duke Ihon Fredericke Prince Elector of Saxony, & the Chauncellor of William Duke of Cleue, Gulycke, Gelder & Berry, The Palsgraue was receyued & conducted to Wynsore by the Duke of Suffolke: & thother were accōpanyed with other nobles, & the. xxiii. day of the same moneth thei al came to Wynsore, where. viii. dayes they continually were feasted and hunted, with all pleasure that might be shewed vnto them: & the Palsgraue shortly departed & was honorably rewarded: & at that seasō was cōcluded the mariage betwene the Kyng & the lady Anne, syster to duke Wilhyā of Cleue, & great preparaciō was made for the receiuyng of her.

The. xiiii. day of Nouembre Hugh Feringdon Abbot of Redyng & two Priestes, the one called Rugg, and the other named Onyon, were attainted of high treason, for deniyng the Kyng to be supreme head of the Churche, & was drawen, hanged, & quartered at Redyng. This Abbot was a stubborne Monke & vtterly without lerning. The same day was Richard Whityng Abbot of Glascenbury likewise attainted and hāged on Tower hyl besyde his monastery, for the seid case & other gret treasons, which also was quartered: & the first day of Decēb. was Ihon Beche Abbot of Colchest. put to execusiō for ȳ same cōfederacy & treasō.

In December were appointed to wayte on the Kynges highnes person fyftie Gentlemen called Pencioners or Speares, lyke as they were in the first yere of the Kyng.

The Receiuyng of the lady Anne of Cleue.

The. xi. day of Decembre at the Turnepyke on thyssyde Graueslyng was the Lady Anne of Cleue receyued by the Lorde Lysle Deputie of the town of Calice & with the Speres & horsemen belongyng to the retinue there, all being fresh & warlike apparelled, & so marchig toward Calyce a myle & more frō the towne met her Grace the Erle of Southhampton gret Admirall of England, & apparelled in a coate of purple velues cut on cloth of golde & tyed with great aglettes and treifoiles of golde, to the nomber of. iiii.C. & baudrickwise he ware a chayne, at the whych did hang a whistle of gold set with ryche stones of a great value. And in this company. xxx. gentlemen of the Kynges houshold very rychly apparelled with great & massy chaynes, & in especial syr Fraūcis Bryan & sir Thomas Seymers chaynes were of great valure and straunge fassyon. Beside this, the Lorde Admirall had a great nombre of gentlemen in blew velues & crymosyn sattyn & his yomen in dāmask of the same colours, & the Maryners of his ship in sattyn of Bridges, both coates & sloppes of the same colours, whych Lorde Admyrall with low obeysaunce welcomed her, & so brought her into Calyce by the lanterne gate, where the Shippes laye in the Hauen garnyshed with their banners, pencelles & flagges, pleasauntly to beholde. And at her entry was shot such a peale

of

of gõnes, that all the retynew much meruailed at it. And at her entery into the towne, the Mayer of the towne presented her with an. C. marke in golde. And before the Staple hall stoode the Merchauntes of the Staple well apparelled, which lykewyse presẽted her with an. C. souereyns of golde in a ryche purse, which hertely thanked them, & so she rode to the kinges place called the Checker, & there she laye. xv. dayes for lacke of prosperous wynde. Duryng whyche tyme goodly iustes & costly banketes wer made to her for her solace & recreacion. And on s. Ihons day in Christmas, she with. l. sayle toke passage about noone and landed at Deele in the dowues about. v. of the clocke, where sir Thomas Cheiny lord Warden of the Portes receaued her, & there she taryed a space in a Castell newly buylte, and thyther came the Duke & Dutches of Suffolke & the bisshop of Chichester, with a great nombre of Knyghtes & Esquiers & Ladies of Kent & other which welcomed her Grace, & so that nyght brought her to Douer Castell, where she rested tyll monday: on whych day for all the storme that then was she marched toward Caunterbury, and on Baram downe met her the Archbishop of Caũterbury accõpanyed with the bishop of Ely, Saynt Asse, Saynt Dauyes & Douer, & a great cõpany of gentlemen well apparelled, & so brought her to s. Austens without Caũterbury, where she lay that nyght: and on the next day she came to Sytyngburne & there lodged that nyght. And as she passed toward Rochester on Newyeres euen, on Reynam down met her the duke of Norffolke & the lord Dacre of the South, & the lord Mountioye with a gret cõpany of Knyghtes & Esquiers of Norffolke & Suffolke, & the Barons of thexchequer, all in coates of veluet with chaynes of gold, which brought her to Rochester where she lay in the Palace all Newyeres day. On which day the kyng which sore desyred to see her Grace accõpanyed with no more then. viii. persons of his preuy chamber, & both he & they all apparelled in marble coates preuely came to Rochester, and sodainly came to her presence, which therwith was sumwhat astonied: but after he had spokẽ & welcomed her, she w̃ most gracious & louyng coũtenance & behauiour him receiued & welcomed on her knees, whom he gently toke vp & kyssed: & all that after noone cõmoned & deuised with her, & that night supped with her, & the next day he departed to Grenewich, & she came to Dartford.

On the morow being the third day of Ianuary, & saturday, in a fayre playne on black heth more nerer the foote of shoters hyl, then the ascendent of the hyll called blacke heth hyl, was pitched a riche cloth of gold & dyuers other Tentes & Pauilions in the which were made fyers and perfumes for her and suche Ladies as should receyue her Grace: and from the Tentes to the parke gate of Grenewych were all busshes and fyrres cutte downe, and a large and ample waye made for the shew of all persones. And fyrst nexte to the parke pale on the East syde, stoode the Merchauntes of the Stillyard: and on the West syde stoode the Merchaũtes of Iean, Florence and Venyce, and the Spanyardes, in coates of veluet. Then on bothe sydes of the waye stoode the Merchaũtes of the Citie of London & Aldermen with the councellors of the sayd Citie to the nõbre of a C.lx. which were myxed with the Esquyers: Nexte vpward toward the tentes stoode Knyghtes: thã the. l. gentlemẽ Pencioners, & all this sort were apparelled in veluet & chayns of gold, truly accompted to the nombre of. xii.C. & aboue besyde them that came with the kyng & her Grace, whych wer. vi.C. in veluet cotes & chaines of golde. Behynd the gentlemen stoode the seruyngmẽ in good ordre, well horsed & apparelled, that whosoeuer had well viewed theim might saye that they for tall & comely personages & clene of lym & body, wer able to geue the greatest Prince in Christendome a mortall brekefast if he wer the kynges enemy: And of this sorte the gentlemen appertainyng to the lord Chaũcellor, the lord Preuy seale & the lord Admiral & diuers other lordes, beside the costly lyuereys & comely horses, ware chayns of gold.

Thus was the lane ordered in rankes from the parke gate towarde the crosse on the Heth, whych was betwene the Rankes and the Tentes, and in this ordre they contynued tyll the Kyng and she were returned.

About. xii. of the clocke her grace with all the company which were of her owne nacion to the nombre of a. C. horse, & accompanyed with the Dukes of Norffolke & Suffolke, the Archebishop of Caunterburye & other bysshops, lordes & knyghtes which had receeyued &

conueyed her as you haue heard before, came doune shoters hyll toward the Tentes & a good space from the Tentes met her the Erle of Rutland her lorde Chaumberleyn, syr Thomas Denyce her Chauncellor, & all her councellers and officers, amongest whom, Doctor Daye appoynted to her Almoner, made to her an eloquent Oracion in latin, presentyng to her on the Kynges behalfe all the Officers & Seruauntes: which Oracion was answered vnto by the Duke her brothers Secretarie there beyng present: which done, the Lady Margarete Doglas, doughter to the Quene of Scottes, the lady Marques Dorcet, daughter to the French Quene being Nieces to the Kyng, & the Dutches of Rychemond, & the Coūtesse of Rutland & Herfford with dyuers other ladies & gentlewomen, to the nōbre of. lxv. saluted & welcomed her Grace, which alighted out of her Chariot in the which she had rydden all her long iourney, & with most goodly demeanor & louyng coūtenaūce gaue to them hertye thankes & kissed them all, & after all her coūcellors & officers kyssed her hand, which done, she with all the Ladies entered the tentes, and there warmed them a space.

When the Kyng knew that she was arriued in her tent, he with all diligence set out thorough the parke. And first issued the Kynges Trompettes, then the Kynges Officers beyng sworne of his Councell, next after them followed the Gentlemen of the Kynges Preuy Chaumbre, some apparelled in coates of veluet enbrodered: *other* had their coates garded with chaynes of golde, very ryche to beholde, whiche were well horsed & trapped: after them ensued Barons, the yongest first, and so sir Willyam Hollys knyght Lorde Mayer of London rode with the Lord Par beyng yongest Baron. Then followed Bysshops apparelled in blacke satten. Then immediatly followed the Erles, & then duke Philyppe of Bauyer and Countie Palantyne of the Rhyne, rychely apparelled *with the* lyuerey of the Toysant or Golden Fleece aboute his necke. Then followed the Ambassadours of the French Kyng & themperour, next followed the Lorde Preuy Seale Lorde Cromwell and the Lord Chauncelior: then Garter kyng of Armes, and the other Officers of Armes & the Seriēantes at Armes gaue their attendance on euery side of the Lordes: which Lordes for the moast parte were apparelled in Purple veluet, the Lord Marques Dorcet in the same suyte bare the Kynges swoorde of estate. After hym a good distaunce followed the Kynges highnesse mounted on a goodly courser, trapped in ryche cloth of golde trauerced latyce wyse square, all ouer enbrodered with gold of dammaske, pearled on euery syde of the enbroderye, the buckles and pendentes were all of fyne golde. His persone was apparelled in a coate of purple veluet, somewhat made lyke a frocke, all ouer enbrodered with flatte golde of Dammaske with small lace mixed betwene of the same gold, and other laces of the same so goyng trauerse wyse, that the ground lytle appered: about whyche garment was a ryche garde very curiously enbrodered, the sleues and brest were cut lyned with cloth of golde, and tyed together with great buttons of Diamondes, Rubyes, and Orient Perle, his swoorde and swoorde gyrdle adorned with stones and especiall Emerodes, his night cappe garnished with stone, but his bonnet was so ryche of Iuels that fewe men coulde value them. Besyde all this he ware in baudricke wyse a coller of such Balystes and Perle that few men euer saw the lyke: and aboute his persone ran. x. footemen all rychely apparelled in goldsmythes worke. And notwithstandynge that this ryche apparell and precious Iuelles wer plesaunt to the Nobles & all other being present to beholde, yet his Princely countenaunce, his goodly personage and royall gesture so farre exceded all other creatures beyng present, that in comparyson of his persone, all his ryche apparell was lytle estemed. After him folowed his lord Chaūberlein, thā came sir Anthony Browne master of his horse, a goodly gētleman & a comly personage, wel horsed, trapped & rychely apparelled, leadyng the Kynges horse of estate by a long reyne of golde, whyche horse was trapped in maner lyke a barde with crimosin veluet & satten, al ouer enbrodered with gold after an antyke fassiō, very curiously wrought. Then followed the pages of honor in coates of riche tynsell & crimosyn veluet paled, ridyng on great coursers, *al trapped in crimosyn veluet*, enbrodered w̄ new deuyses & knottz of gold which were both pleasant & costly to beholde.

Then followed syr Anthony Wyngfeld Captayne of the Garde & then the Garde well horsed & in ryche coates. In this ordre the kyng rode to the last ende of the ranke where the Speares or Pencyoners stoode: and there euery persone that came with the Kyng placed hymselfe on the one syde or the other, the Kyng standyng in the myddes.

When her Grace was aduertysed of the Kynges cõmyng, she issued out of her tent beyng apparelled in a ryche goune of cloth of golde reised, made rounde without any trayne after the Dutche fassyon, and on her head a kall, & ouer that a rounde bõnet or cappe set full of Orient Perle of a very propre fassyon, & before that she had a coruet of blacke velues, & about her necke she had a partelet set full of riche stone which glystered all the felde. And at the dore of the Tente she mounted on a fayre horse richely trapped, with her fotemen about her in goldsmithes worke enbrodered with the blacke Lion, & on his shoulder a Carbuncle golde, and so she marched towarde the Kyng: whych perceiuyng her to approche came forwarde somewhat beyonde the crosse on Blacke Heth, and there paused a lytle in a fayre place tyll she came nerer: then he put of his bonnet & came foreward to her, & with most louely countenaũce and Princely behauyour saluted, welcomed & enbrased her to the great reioysyng of the beholders: and she lykewyse not forgettyng her duty, with most amiable aspecte & womanly behauyour receyued his Grace with many sweete woordes and great thankes and praisynges geuen to hym. And whyle they two were thus communynge, the fyftye Pencioners and the Garde departed to furnysh the Courte and Halle of Grenewyche. And when the Kyng had talked with her a lytle whyle, he put her on his ryght hande, and so with their footemen they rode as though they had ben coupeled together. O what a syght was this to see so goodly a Prince & so noble a Kyng to ryde with so fayre a Lady of so goodly a stature & so womanly a countenance, & in especial of so good qualities, I thynke no creature could see them but his herte reioysed.

Now when the Kyng and she were mette and bothe their companyes ioyned together, they returned thorough the rankes of Knyghtes and Esquyers which stoode styl all this while & remoued not, in this ordre: Fyrst her Trompettes went forwarde, whyche were twelue in nombre besyde two kettle Drommes on horsebacke, then followed the Kynges Trompettes, then the Kynges Councellours, then the Gentlemen of the Preuy Chamber, then the Gentlemen of her Graces countrey in coates of velues, all on great horses: after them the Mayer of London in crimosyn velues with a riche collor, coupled with the yongest Baron, then all the Barons, nexte followyng Bysshoppes, then Earles, with whom rode the Earles of Ouersteyn and Waldocke of her countrey, then Dukes and the Archbysshop of Caunterbury and Duke Phillip of Bauire, nexte followed the Ambassadors, then the Lorde Preuye Seale and the Lorde Chauncellor, then the Lorde Marques with the Kynges sworde, nexte followed the Kyng himselfe equally ridyng with his faire Lady, & behind him rode syr Anthony Browne with the kyngz horse of Estate as you hearde before, and behynde her rode syr Iohan Dudley Master of her horses leadynge her spare Palferaye trapped in ryche Tyssue downe to the grounde: after them followed the Henxemen or Pages of Honoure, then followed the Ladye Margarete Doglas, the Ladye Marques Dorset, the Dutches of Richmond & Suffolke, the Countesses of Rutland & Hertforde, & other Countesses: then followed her Graces Chariot in the which she rode all her iourney, well carued & gylte with Armes of her coũtrey curiously wrought & couered with cloth of gold, all the horses were trapped with blacke velues, & on them rode Pages of Honor in coates of velues, in the which Chariot rode. ii. auncient Ladies of her countrey: nexte after the Chariot followed, vi. Ladies & Gentlewomen of her countrey all richely apparelled with cappes set with Perle, & great Chaynes of dyuers fassyons after the vsage of their countrey, whiche were very fayre of face, & with them rode. vi. Ladies of England well besene. Then followed another Chariot lykewyse gylte & furnyshed as thother was: after that Chariot followed. x. Englysh Ladyes well apparelled, next them another Chariot all couered with blacke cloth, & in that. iiii. gentlewomen which were her Graces Chamberers: then followed all the remnaunt of the Ladies, Gentlewomen & Maydens in a gret nombre which dyd

weare that day Frenche whodes: last of all came another Chariot all blacke with. iii. Launders appertaynyng to her grace: next after followed a Horselytter of cloth of golde & Crymosyn veluyt vpon veluet paled, with horses trapped accordigly which the king sent her, Then followed the seruyng men of her trayne, all clothed in blacke & on great horses.

In this ordre they rode thorough the rankes, & so thorough the parke and at the late Freers walle all men alyghted sauyng the Kyng, the. ii. Masters of the Horses & the Henxmen whych rode to the halle dore, & the Ladies rode to the Courte gate. And as they passed they beheldc on the wharfe bowe the Citizens of London were rowyng vp & down on the Thames euen before them, euery crafte in his Barge garnished with Banners, Flagges, Stremers, Pencelles and Targettes, some paynted & beaten with the Kynges Armes, some with her Graces Armes, and some with the Armes of their Crafte or Mistery. Besyde the Barges of euery crafte, there was a Barge made like a ship, called the Batchelers barke, decked with cloth of gold, penons, pencels, & targetz in great nombre, on whō wayted a Foyst that shot great peces of Artillary. And in euery barge was dyuers sortes of Instrumentes & children & men syngyng, which sang & plaied altogether as the King & the Lady passed on the wharfe, which syght & noics they much praised & allowed.

When the Kyng & she wer within the vtter court, they alyghted from their horses, & the Kyng louyngly embrased her & kissed her, byddyng her welcome to her owne, & led her by her lyfte arme thorough the halle which was furnished beneth the harth with the Kynges Garde, and aboue the harth with the fyftye Pencioners with their Batell Axes, & so brought her vp to her preuy chamber, where he lefte her for that tyme.

And assone as the Kyng & she was entered the Courte, was shot out of the Tower of Grenewyche & there about, a great peale of Gonnes.

When the Kynges company and hers was entered the parke, as you haue heardc, then all the horse men on Blacke Heath brake their aray and had licence to departe to London, or to their lodgyng. To se howe longe it was or the horsemen coulde passe, and howe late it was in the nyght yer the footemen coulde get ouer London brydge, I assure you it was wonderous to beholde, the nombre was so great.

Thus the Noble Lady remayned vnmaryed vntyll the tuysday followyng beyng the day of the Epiphany: On whych day about. viii. of the clocke in the mornyng, his Grace beyng apparelled in a gowne of cloth of gold, raised with great flowers of syluer, furred with blacke Ienettes, his coat Crymsyn sattyn all to cutte and enbrodered & tied with great Diamondes, & a ryche Coller about his neeke, came solemly with his Nobilitie into the galery next the closettes, and there paused.

Then the Lordes went to fetche the Ladye Anne, whiche was apparelled in a gowne of ryche cloth of gold set full of large flowers of great & Orient Pearle, made after the Dutche fassion rownde, her here hangyng downe, whych was fayre, yelowe and long: On her head a Coronall of gold replenished with great stone, and set about full of braunches of Rosemary, about her neeke and middle, Iuelles of great valew & estimacion. In this apparell she goynge betwene the Erle of Ouersteyn & the Graunde Master Hostoden, which had the conduyte & ordre of the performaunce of her maryage, with most demure countynaunce & sad behauiour passed thorough the Kynges chamber, all the Lordes goyng before her tyll they came to the galery where the Kyng was, to whom she made three low obeysaunces & curteisyes. Then the Archebysshop of Caunterbury receyued them & maried them together, and the Erle of Ouersteyn did geue her: & about her mariyng ryng was written: GOD SEND ME WEL TO KEPE.

When the Mariage was celebrate, they went hande in hande into the Kinges closet and there hard Masse and offered their tapers, & after Masse had wyne and spyces, and that done, the Kyng departed to his chamber, & all the Ladies wayted on her to her chamber, the Duke of Norffolke goyng on the ryght hande, and the Duke of Suffolke on the lefte hande on her grace.

After. ix. of the clocke, the Kyng with a gowne of ryche Tyssue lyned with Crymosyn

Veluet enbrodered, came to his closet, & she in her here in the same apparell that she was maryed in, came to her Closet with her Serieant of Armes and all her Officers, lyke a Queene, before her. And so the kyng & she went openly on Procession and offered and dyned together. And after dyner she chaunged into a gowne lyke a mannes gowne, of Tyssue with longe sleues gyrte to her, furred with ryche Sables, her narrowe sleeues were very costly, but on her head she had a cap as she ware on the saturdai before with a cornet of laune, which cap was so ryche of Perle and Stone, that it was iudged to be of great valew. And after her fassyon, her Ladies and Gentlewomen were apparelled very riche and costly with chaynes of dyuers fassions, and in this apparell she went that nyght to Euensong, and after supped with the Kyng: and after supper were Banketies, Maskes, and dyuerse dysportes, tyll the tyme came that it pleased the Kyng and her to take their rest.

The sonday after were kepte solempne Iustes, whyche mochе pleased the straungiers. On whiche daie she was appareiled after the Englishe fassiō, with a Frenche whode, whiche so set forth her beautie and good visage, that euery creature reioysed to behold her.

When the erle of Ouerstein, and other lordes and ladies whiche had geuen their attendaūce on her grace al that iornay, and had been highly feasted of the kyng & other nobles very sūpteously, thei toke their leaue and had greate giftes geuen to theim, bothe in money and plate, and so returned toward their countrey, leauyng behynd them the erle of Waldocke, and diuerse other gentlemen and damoselles, which wer reteined with her grace, till she wer better acquainted in the realme.

The fourth daie of February next ensuyng, the kyng and she came to Westminster by water accompaignied with many nobles and preiates in Barges, on whom the Maior and his brethren in skarlet, and. xii. of the chief compaignies of the citee all in Barges garnished with Banners, Penons, and targettes, richely couered and replenished with mynstrelsy, gaue their attendaonce, and by the waie all the shippes shot their ordinaunce, and out of the tower was shot a greate peale of Gonnes. in goodly ordre.

The. xii. daie of February, the Duke of Norffolke was sent in Ambassade to the Frenche kyng, of whom he was well enterteigned, and in thende of thesame moneth, he returned again into Englaude.

The. xxiii. daie of February, wer foure readers sent for to the Starre Chamber, of euery house of the foure principall Innes of Courte one, where sat the lorde Chauncellor, the lorde Preuie seale, and. xiiii. of the chief of the kynges counsaill, and there the lorde Chauncellor declared, how sir Ihon Shelto knight, had by the aduise of sir Humfrey Broune Knight, the Kynges Seriaunt, sir Nicholas Hare Knight, the Kynges counsailor, and Speaker of the Parliament, and Willyam Coignesby Esquire, attornay of the Duchie of Lancastre, all beyng his seruauntes and of his Fee, declared a fraudulent will of his landes, contrary to the statute made, anno. xxvii. to the greate hynderaunce of the Kynges prerogatiue, and the true meanyng of thesaied statute, and also to the euill example of all other, that should defraude the lordes of their seigniories. Wherefore thesaied sir Humffrey Browne, and sir Nicholas Hare, wer that daie by the whole Counsaill of the kyng, dismissed of their Offices and seruice to the kyng, and sent to the tower: and within three daies after was William Coignisby sent thether, where thei remaigned ten dayes, and after wer deliuered: but thei three lost all their offices, that thei had of the kyng.

The first Sondaie in Lent, Stephyn Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, preached at Paules crosse, and there intreated of the Gospell of that daie: and in his sermon especially, he touched the article of Iustificaciō, and so he handeled it, that the third Sondaie in Lent next folowyng, one Doctor Barnes, of whom before you haue heard, reproued in thesaied pulpit at Paules, the doctryne of thesaied Bishoppe: and beeyng vexed with the Bishoppes Doctrine, he vsed many tauntes against hym, but one specially whiche was this, that he saied if the Bishoppe and he, wer together in Rome with the Pope, he knewe that great sommes of money could not saue his life, but for the Bishoppe, there was no feare, but that a little intreataunce, should purchase fauour enough for hym: By this he noted the Bishop to

Stephē Gardiner Bishop of Wynchester.

Doctor Barnes.

to bee but a Papist, whiche the Bishop so vnquietly tooke, that he complained of Barnes to the kyng, and there had hym examined, and at the last by the Kynges commaundement, he came to the bishoppes house, where likewise the bishoppe not onely examined hym, but also toke vpon hym to be his skolemaster, and as moste menne and specially suche, as muche knewe and least cause had to lye reported, he prepared the tower for his skole house, and made suche a rod to beate his skoler, that he beate hym as small as ashes, or he left hym: although Barnes, with twoo other persones, that is to saie, Iherom and Garret, of whom in the nexte yere folowyng, ye shall here more, were by the Bishoppes procurement, appoynted in the Easter weke folowyng, to preache at sainct Mary Spittle beside London, the three solempne sermons in one of the which sermons, that Barnes made, Barnes openly and before al the people, asked the Bishop forgeuenes, for speaking so vnreuerently of him in his former sermon, and he required the bishop if he forgaue hym, in token thereof to holde vp his hande, whiche like as it was long before he did, so it appered afterwarde to many, that it was but a counterfeat forgeuenes.

The. xii. daie of Aprill began a Parliament, and sir Nicholas Hare restored to the office of speaker, in the whiche was frely graunted, without cõtradicciõs, foure fiftenes & a Subsedy, of twoo. s. of landes, and. xii. d. of goodes, toward the greate charges of Bulwarkes.

Thomas lord Crõwel created Erle of Essex.

The. xviii. daie of Aprill, at Westminster was Thomas lorde Cromewell created Erle of Essex, and made greate Chamberlain of England, whiche euer the Erles of Oxenford had, whiche promocions he enioyed short tyme, as after in the nexte yere maie appere.

¶ THE. XXXII. YERE.

A Iustes.

THe first daie of Maie, sir Thõ Dudley, sir Thomas Seimour, sir George Carew, sir Thomas Ponynges, sir Richard Cromewell, sir Anthony Kyngston knightes, enterprised a royall Iustes, Tornay, and Barriers, whiche wer in white Veluet barded and based. The Iustes began the first daie of Maie, the Tornay the third daie, and the Barriers the fifth which chalenge thei valiantly performed, against all commers, and also they kept open housholde at Duresme place, and feasted the kyng and Quene, and all the Lordes. Beside this, on Tewesdaie in the Rogacion weke, thei feasted all the Knightes and Burgesses of the Cõmon house: and the morowe after thei had the Maior, the Aldermen and all their wifes to dinner, and so the Fridaie thei brake vp honshold.

In this Parliament whiche began the. xviii. daie of April, as is afore rehersed, the religion of sainct Ihones in Englande, whiche of most mẽ was named the knightes of the Rhodes, was dissolued, wherof hearyng sir Willyam Weston knight, Prior of sainct Ihones, for thought died on the Assencion daie, beyng the fift daie of Maie.

Richard Farmer Grocer condempned in a Premunire.

In this monethe was sent to the Tower, Doctor Wilson, and docter Sampson bishop of Chichester, for releuyng of certain traiterous persones, whiche denied the kynges supremacie, & for thesame offence was one Richard Farmer Grocer of London, a riche and welthy man, and of good estimacion in the citee, committed to the Marshall See, & after in Westminster hall was arraigned and attainted in the Premunire, and lost all his goodes.

Thomas lord Crõwel committed to the Tower.

The. ix. day of Iuly, Thomas lorde Cromewel, late made erle of Essex, as before you hane hard, beyng in the counsaill chãber, was sodainly apprehended, and committed to the tower of London, the whiche many lamented, but mo reioysed, and specially suche, as either had been religious men, or fauored religious persones, for thei banqueted, and triumphed together that night, many wisshyng that that daie had been seuen yere before, and some fearyng least he should escape, although he were imprisoned, could not be mery. Other who knewe nothyng but truth by hym, bothe lamented hym, and hartely praied for hym: But this is true that of certain of the Clergie he was detestably hated, & specially of suche as had borne swynge, and by his meanes was put from it, for in dede he was a man, that in all his doynges, semed not to fauor any kynde of Popery, nor could not abide the snoffyng pride

of

of some prelates, whiche vndoubtedly whatsoeuer els was the cause of his death, did shorten his life, and procured the ende that he was brought vnto: whiche was that the. xix. daie of thesaied monethe, he was attaynted by Parliament, and neuer came to his answere, whiche lawe many reported, he was the causer of the makyng thereof, but the truthe thereof I knowe not: The Articles for whiche he died, appereth in the Record, where his attaynder is written, whiche are to long to bee here rehersed, but to conclude he was there attainted of heresy, and high treason. And the. xxviii. daie of Iuly was brought to the skaffold on the tower hill, where he saied these wordes folowyng.

I am come hether to dye, and not to purge my self, as maie happen, some thynke that I will, for if I should so do, I wer a very wretche and miser: I am by the Lawe condempned to die, and thanke my lorde God that hath appoynted me this deathe, for myne offence: For sithence the tyme that I haue had yeres of discrecion, I haue liued a synner, and offended my Lorde God, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forgeuenes. And it is not vnknowne to many of you, that I haue been a great traueler in this worlde, and beyng but of a base degree, was called to high estate, and sithēs the tyme I came thereunto, I haue offended my prince, for the whiche I aske hym hartely forgeuenes, and beseche you all to praie to God with me, that he will forgeue me. O father forgeue me. O sonne forgeue me, O holy Ghost forgeue me: O thre persons in one God forgeue me. And now I praie you that be here, to beare me record, I die in the Catholicke faithe, not doubtyng in any article of my faith, no nor doubtyng in any Sacrament of the Churche. Many hath sclaundered me, and reported that I haue been a bearer, of suche as hath mainteigned euill opinions, whiche is vntrue, but I confesse that like as God by his holy spirite, doth instruct vs in the truthe, so the deuill is redy to seduce vs, and I haue been seduced: but beare me witnes that I dye in the Catholicke faithe of the holy Churche. And I hartely desire you to praie for the Kynges grace, that he maie long liue with you, in healthe and prosperitie. And after him that his sōne prince Edward, that goodly ympe, maie lōg reigne ouer you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaigneth in this fleshe, I wauer nothyng in my faithe. And then made he his praier, whiche was long, but not so long, as bothe Godly and learned, and after committed his soule, into the handes of God, and so paciently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and Boocherly miser, whiche very vngoodly perfourmed the Office.

The wordes of the Lorde Cobwell spoke at his deth.

On saincte Peters euen, was kept the Serieantes feast at saincte Ihones with al plentie of victaile. At which feast wer made ten Serieauntes, three out of Greyes Inne, and three out of Lyncolnes Inne, and of euery of the Temples twoo. At whiche feaste were present, all the lordes and commons of the Parliament, beside the Maior and the Aldermen, and a greate nomber of the commons of the citee of London.

Sergeauntes Feaste.

The morowe after Midsomer daie, the kyng caused the Quene to remoue to Richemond, purposyng it to bee more for her health, open ayre and pleasure: but the sixt daie of Iuly, certain Lordes came doune into the neither house, whiche expresly declared causes, that the mariage was not lawfull, and in conclusion, the matter was by the Conuocacion clerely determined, that the kyng might lawfully mary where he would, & so might she: and so were thei clerely deuorsed and seperated, and by the Parliament enacted and concluded, that she should bee taken no more as Quene, but called the Lady Anne of Cleue.

Quene Anne deuorced, and called Ladie Anne of cleue.

In this yere the lord Leonard Grey, brother to Thomas lord Marques Dorset, beyng the kynges lieuetenaunt in Ireland, practised soudery feates for his proffite, as in deliueryng treytors beeyng hostages, and especially his nephew Fitzgarard, brother to Thomas Fitzgarard before executed, and also caused suche of the Irishe menne, as he had intelligence with all, to inuade suche of the kynges frendes, whiche he fauored not: Wherefore the kyng sent for hym, and he mistrustyng and seyng no refuge, wrote to the kynges enemies, to inuade thenglishe pale after his departure. And also he kepte the kynges Treasure, to his awne vse, without reteignyng soulidiours, acordyng to his commission, whereupon when he came to London, he was sent to the Tower.

The Lorde Graye sent to the Tower.

In

In Iuly the Prince of Salerne, in the Realme of Naples, and the lorde Lois Deuola, came into England to se the kyng, whiche had high chere and greate rewardes, and so departed. And after them came Done Fredericke Marques of Padulla, brother to the Duke of Farrar, and the Prince of *Macedouia*, and the Marques of *Terra Noua*, and Mounsire de Flagy, and sixtene other gentlemen, from the Emperours Courte into Englande, to see the Kyng, whiche on the daie of Mary Magdalene, came to the Court to Westminster, and wer highly feasted and well entertcined, and with greate rewardes departed.

Lorde Hungerford beheded.

The twentie and eight daie of Iuly as you haue heard before in this yere, was the Lorde Cromewell beheadded, and with him likewise was beheadded the Lorde Hongerford of Heytesbury, whiche certainly at the tyme of his death, semed to bee very vnquiet in mynde, and rather in a frenesy then otherwise.

Barnes, Garrard & Ierom.

The thirtie daie of Iuly, were drawen on herdelles out of the Tower to Smithfeld, Robert Barnes Doctor in Diuinitee, Thomas Garard, and Wyllyam Ierome Bachelers in Diuinitee, Powell, Fetherston and Abell. The firste three were drawen to the stake, there before set vp, and were burned: and the latter three drawen to the Galowes, likewise there set vp, and were hanged, hedded, and quartered. Here ye must note, that the first three, wer menne that professed the Gospell of Iesu Christ, and were Preachers thereof: But wherefore they were now thus cruelly executed, I knowe not, although I haue searched to knowe the truth. But this I finde in their atteindor, for ye muste vnderstande, that after thei had Preached at sainct Mary Spittle, as before I haue declared, Barnes for learnyng his lesson no better was committed to the Skolehouse before prepared, whiche was the Tower, where he was kepte, and neuer called to examinacion, till his rod that he should bee beaten withall, was made, whiche was a sharp and greate Fire in Smithefelde: and for compaignie sake was sent to the Skolehouse with hym, the fornamed Garet, and Ierome, whiche dronke all of one cuppe. And as I saied before, thus muche I finde in their attaindor, that they were detestable and abhominable Hereticks, and that thei had taught many heresies, the nomber whereof was to greate in the atteindor to be recited, so that there is not one alleged, whiche I haue often wondered at, that their heresies wer so many, and not one there alleged, as special cause of their deathe. And in deede at their deathe, thei asked the Shirifes, wherfore thei were condempned, who answered, they could not tell: but if I maie saie the truthe, moste menne said it was for Preachyng, against the Doctryne of Stephen Gardiner Bishoppe of Wynchester, who chiefly procured this their death, God and he knoweth, but greate pitie it was, that suche learned menne should so bee cast awaie, without examinacion, neither knowyng what was laied to their charge, nor neuer called to answere.

Powell, Fetherston, and Abell.

The laste three whiche were Powell, Fetherston, and Abell, were put to death for Treason, and in their attaindor, is speciall mencion made of their offences, whiche was for the deniyng of the kynges supremacie, and affirmyng that his Marriage with the Lady Katheryne was good: These with other were the treasons, that thei wer attainted of, and suffered death for.

The fourthe daie of August Thomas Epsam, *sometyme* Monke of Westminster, whiche had been prisoner for treason, three yeres and more in Newgate, came before the Iustices of Gaole deliuery at Newegate, and would not aske the kynges pardon, nor be sworne to be true to him wherefore his Monkes garment, was plucked from his backe, and he repried till the kyng knewe his malicious obstinacie: and this was the last Monke that was seen in his clothyng in Englande.

In this monethe were certain Commissioners, sent by the kyng into Ireland to inquire of the lorde Leonard Gray, *whiche certefied* diuerse articles against him, as ye shall here in the nexte yere folowyng.

Katheryn Haward shewed as Quene.

The eight day of August, was the Lady Katheryn Haward, nece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to the lord Edmond Haward, shewed openly as Quene at Hampton Court, whiche dignitie she enioyed not long, as after ye shall here.

In

In ỹ latter ende of this moneth, was vniuersally through the realme greate death, by reason of newe hote agues and Flixes, and some Pestilence, in whiche season was suche a drought, that Welles and small Riuers were cleane dried, so that muche cattell died for lacke of water: and the Thamis was so shalowe, and the freshe water of so small strength, that the Salt water flowed aboue London bridge, till the raine had encreased the freshe waters.

On the. xxii. daie of December, was Raufe Egerton seruaunt to the Lorde Audeley, lorde Chauncellor, hanged, drawen, and quartered, for counterfetyng of the kynges greate Seale, in a signet, whiche was neuer seen, and sealed a greate nomber of Licenses for Denizens, and one Thomas Harman that wrote theim, was executed: for the statute made the last parliament sore bounde the straungiers, whiche wer not Denizens, whiche caused theim to offre to Egerton, greate sommes of money, the desire whereof caused hym to practise that whiche brought hym to the ende, that before is declared. Egerton hanged.

In the ende of this yere, the Frenche Kyng made a strong Castle at Arde, and also a Bridge ouer into the Englishe pale, whiche bridge the Crewe of Calice did beate doune, and the Frenchmen reedified thesame and the Englishemen bet it doune again. And after the kyng of Englād sent fiftene hundred woorke men, to wall and fortefie Guysnes, and sent with them fiue hundred men of warre, with capitaines to defende them. The noyes ranne in Fraunce, that there wer fiftie thousande Englishemenne, landed at Calice with greate ordinaunce: wherefore the Frenche kyng sent in all hast. the Duke of Vandosme, and diuerse other capitaines, to the Frontiers of Picardy, to defende thesame. The kyng of Englande hearyng thercof, sent the Erles of Surrey and Southampton and the lorde Russell, his greate Admirall, into the Marches of Calice, to set an ordre there: and after them sent. CC. light horsemen, of the borders of Scotlande: whom the Frenchmen called stradiates, whiche lordes when they had set all thynges in a good ordre, shortly returned.

In this yere was burned in Smithfeld, a child named Richard Mekins, this child passed not the age of. xv. yeres, and somewhat as he had heard some other folkes talke, chaunced to speake against the Sacrament of the aultar. This boye was accused to Edmond Boner Bishop of London, who so diligently folowed the accusacion, that he first found the meanes to Indite hym, and then arreigned hym, & after burned him And at the tyme he was brought to the stake he was taught to speake muche good, of the Bishop of London, and of the greate Charitee, that he shewed hym: and that he defied all heresies, and cursed the tyme that euer he knewe Doctor Barnes, for of hym had he learned that heresie, whiche he died for: the poore boye would for the sauegarde of his life, haue gladly said that the twelue Apostles taught it hym, for he had not cared of whom he had named it, suche was his childishe innocencie and feare. But for this deede many spake and saied, that it was great shame for the Bishop, who thei saied ought rather to haue labored to haue saued his life, then to procure that terrible execucion, seyng that he was suche an ignoraunt soule, as knewe not what the affirming of an heresie was. Richard Mekyns brent.

You haue hard before in the beginning of this yere, that doctor Wilson, and doctor Sampson Bishop of Chichester, wer sent vnto the Tower: who now wer pardoned of the kyng and set again at their libertie.

¶ THE. XXXIII. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this yere, v. priestes in Yorke shire began a newe rebelliō, with thassent of one Leigh a gentlemā, and. ix. temporall men, whiche were apprehended, & shortly after in diuerse places put in execucion, insomuche that on the. xvii. daie of Maie, the said Leigh & one Tatersall, and Thornton wer drawen through London to Tiborne, and there wer executed. And sir Ihon Neuell knight, was executed for the same at Yorke. A newe rebellion.

On the same daie was Magaret Countesse of Salisbury, whiche had been long prisoner in

in the Tower, behedded in the Tower, and she was the last of the right lyne and name of Plantagenet.

The. ix. daie of Iune, wer Damport and Chapman, twoo of the kynges Garde hanged at Grenewiche by the Friers Wall, for roberies in example of all other.

The lorde Graye condemned.

Duryng this ceason, the commissioners that before wer sent into Ireland, to inquire of the lord Gray, certified. xx. articles of high treason against hym, wherupon he was arreigned & tried by knightes, because he was a lorde of *name*, but no lorde of the parliamēt: howbeit he discharged the Iury, & confessed the inditement, & *therupon* was iudged & after behedded at the tower *hill*, *where he* ended his life very quietly & godly.

In this ceason was arreigned and condempned three gentlemen, called Mantell, Roydon, and Frowdes, and were hanged at sainct Thomas of Waterynges. Likewise was Thomas Fines Lorde Dacres of the Southe, arreigned before the lorde Awdeley of Walden, then Chauncellour of Englande, and that daie high Stuard of the same at Westminster, and there before the saied Lorde Chauncellour and his Peres, he confessed the Inditement and so had Iudgement to bee hanged. And so the twentie and nyne daie of Iune, beeyng Sainct Peters daie at after None, he was led on foote, betwene the twoo Shirifes of London, from the Tower through the citee to Tyborne, where he was strangled, as common murderers are, and his body buried in the churche of sainct Sepulchres. The cause of the death of this noble manne and the other gentlemen, was a murder of a symple manne, and an vnlawful assemble made in Sussex. Greate moane was made for them al, but moste specially for Mantell, who was as wittie, and as towarde a gentleman, as any was in the realme, and a manne able to haue dooen good seruice.

The Lorde Dacres of the South hāged.

Submissions.

This Sommer the Kyng kepte his progresse to Yorke, and passed through Lyncolne Shire, where was made to hym an humble submission by the temporaltie, confessyng their offence, and thankyng the kyng for his pardon: and the Toune of Staunforde gaue the Kyng twentie pounde, and Lyncolne presented fourtie pounde, & Boston fiftie pound that parte whiche is called Lynsey gaue three hundred pounde, and Kestren and the Churche of Lyncolne gaue fiftie pounde. And when he entred into Yorke Shire, he was met with two hundred gentlemen of the same Shire in coates of Veluet, and foure thousande tall yomen, and seruyng men, well horsed: *whiche on* their knees made a submission, by the mouthe of sir Robert Bowes, and gaue to the Kyng nyne hundred *pounde*. And on Barnesdale met the kyng, the Archebishoppe of Yorke, with three hundred Priestes and more, and made a like submission, and gaue the kyng sixe hundred pounde. Like submission was made by the Maior of Yorke, Newe Castle and Hull, and eche of theim gaue to the Kyng an hundred pounde. When the Kyng had been at Yorke twelue daies, he came to Hull, and deuised there certain fortificacions, and passed ouer the water of Homber, and so through Lyncolne Shire, and at Halontide came to Hampton Court.

Quene Katheryne behedded.

At this tyme the Quene late before maried to the kyng called Quene Katheryne, was accused to the Kyng of *dissolute liuyng before* her mariage, with Fraunces Diram, and that was not secretely, but many knewe it. And sithe her Mariage, she was vehemently suspected with Thomas Culpeper, whiche was brought to her Chamber at Lyncolne, in August laste, in the Progresse tyme, by the Lady of Rocheforde, and were there together alone, from a leuen of the Clocke at Nighte, till foure of the Clocke in the Mornyng, and to hym she gaue a Chayne, and a riche Cap. Vpon this the kyng remoued to London and she was sent to Sion, and there kept close, but yet serued as Quene. And for the offence confessed by Culpeper and Diram, thei were put to death at Tiborne, the tenth daie of December. And the twentie and two daie of the same monethe, were arreigned at Westminster, the Lorde Wyllyam Hawarde and his wife, whiche lorde Wyllyam was Vncle to the Quene, Katheryne Tilney whiche was of counsaill of her hauyng to dooe with Diram, Elizabeth Tilney, Boulmer, Restwould, the Quenes women, and Walgraue, and Wyllyam Asby, and Damport gentle menne, and seruauntes to the olde Duches of Norffolke, and Margaret Benet a Butter wife, all indited of misprision, for counsailyng the euill demeanor of the Quene, to the slaunder of the Kyng, and his succession: all thei confessed it and had Iudge-

ment to perpetuall prison, and to lose their goodes, and the proffite of their lãdes, during their lifes: howbeit shortely after, diuerse of them wer deliuered by the kynges Pardon.

The sixtene daie of Ianuary the Parliament began, in the which the Lordes and Commons assented, to desire of the kyng certain pencions. First, that he would not vexe himself, with the Quenes offence, and that she and the lady Rocheford, might be attainted by Parliament. 1.

Also, because of protractyng of tyme, whiche the more should bee to his vnquietnes, that he would vnder his greate Seale, geue his royall assent, without tariyng the ende of the Parliament. 2.

Also, that Diram and Culpeper, before attainted by the common law might also be attainted by Parliament. 3.

Also, that Agnes Duches of Norffolke, and Katheryn Countesse of Brigewater her daughter, whiche were for counsailyng the saied offence committed to the Tower, Indited of misprision, and the lorde William and other, arreigned of the same, might be likewise attainted. 4.

Also that whosoeuer had spoken or doen any act, in the detestacion of her abhominable liuyng should be pardoned.

To the whiche peticions the kyng graunted, saiyng, that he thanked the Commons, that thei tooke his sorowe to bee theirs. Whereupon the Quene and the Lady Rocheforde, were attainted by bothe the houses. And on Saturdaie beyng the leuenth daie of February, the Kyng sent his royall assent, by his greate Seale: and then all the Lordes were in their Robes, and the Common house called vp, and there the acte redde, and his assent declared. And so on the thirtene daie, these twoo Ladies were beheded on the Grene, within the Tower with an axe, and confessed their offences, and died repentaunt. Quene Katherin and the Lady Rocheford beheded.

At this Parliament the Kyng was Proclaymed kyng of Irelande, whiche name his predecessors neuer had, but wer alwaies called lordes of Irelande. The Kyng Proclayned Kyng of Irelande.

In the beginnyng of Marche died sir Arthur Plantagenet viscount lisle bastard to Kyng Edward the fourth, in the tower of London vnattainted, when he should haue been deliuered and put at his liberty. And the twelue daye of the saied moneth, sir Ihon Dudley sonne and heire to the saied Lorde Lisles wife was at Westmynster created Viscount Lisle.

The Parliament sittyng, in Lent one George Ferreis Bourgeoys for the toune of Plimmouth, was arested in London vpon a condempnacion, at the suite of one White. Whereupon the Seriaunt at armes, of the Common house, was sent to the Counter in Bredestrete to fetche hym: but the Clerckes would not deliuer hym, wherfore the Seriaunt and his manne, would haue brought him awaie perforce. Diuerse of the Shiriffes officiers there present, withstoode the Serieaunt, so that they fell to quarellyng, and the Seriauntes man was sore hurte. After the Fraie ended, the Shiriffes of London whose names wer Rowland Hill, and Henry Suckely came to the Counter, and first denied the deliuerey of the prisoner, howbeit afterward they deliuered hym. But this matter was so taken in the Common house, that the Shiriffes and the Clercke, and fiue Officiers, and the partie plaintife, were sent to the tower, and there laye twoo daies, and were deliuered again by the Speaker and Common house. George Ferreys.

Although I haue not vsed muche to declare of priuat thynges doen, in other forreine Realmes, yet will I now tell of one because the thyng was so reported to me, and the matter it self so writtē and deliuered me that I must nedes iudge it to be a truthe, and the like in all this woorke is not expressed, therefore I purposed woorde by woorde, as it was written vnto me, here to expresse it. The matter is of a certein Gentelman in Scotlande, who for contemning of the Bisshop of Romes vsurped auctoritie, and for praisyng and commendyng the affaires and procedinges of Englande and reprouyng the naughtie life of the Scottishe Clergie, was as an hereticke accused and conuented before diuerse of theim, as after maie appere, there to make answere to suche Articles as should bee obiected against hym. He knowyng their accustomed fauor, fled from theim into Englande. Against whom after he was gone,

they proceded in suche sort, as by this that foloweth whiche is the true copie of the processe maie appere.

Sir Ihon Borthwike. Sir Ihon Borthwike, commonly called Capitain Borthwike, accused, suspected, defamed and conuicted by witnesses, whiche were men of suche honestie, against whom could none excepcion bee taken the yere of our lorde a thousande fiue hundred and fourtie, the. xxviii. day of May in the Abbay of sainct Androwes, in the presence of the moste worshipfull fathers in Christ, Gawyn Archebishoppe of Glasgue, Chauncellor of Scotlande, William of Aberdowyn, Henry Bishoppe of Galloway and of the kynges Chapell of Sterlyng, Ihon Bishoppe of Brecth. William bishop of Dunblan: Andrew Abbot of Melros, George Abbot of Dumfermelyng, Ihon Abbot of Passay, Ihon Abbot Lundros, Robert Abbot of Kyllos, and Willyam Abbot of Culros: Malcolme Prior of Whitytern, and Ihon Prior of Pettywerin. Master Alexander Balfour Vicar of Kylmane, and Rector of the Vniuersitie of sainct Androwes. And afore the cunnyng Masters, Master Ihon Mair, and Master Peter Chapilain Professors, and doctors of Diuinitee, Master Marten Balfour, Bachelar of Diuinitie, and of the lawe, and Official principall of sainct Androwes, Ihon Wyrem Supprior, Ihon Wannand, and Thomas Cunnynghā, Chanones of the Abbay of sainct Androwes, Ihon Thomson with his folowe, Prior of the blacke Friers of sainct Androwes, Ihon Tullidaff Wardein of the Grey Friers, of. S. Androwes, & Ihon Patersone, vicar of the same couent. And also before the noble mightie & right worshipfull lordes, George erle of Huntley, Iames erle of Arrain, Willyam erle Marshall, William erle of Montrosse, Malcolme lorde Flemmyng, Chamberlain of Scotlande, Ihon lorde Lindesay, Ihon lorde Erskyn, George lorde Seiton, Hugh lorde Symeruall, sir Iames Homilton of Finnart, & Walter lorde of. *s.* Ihones of Torphecten *knightes*, master Iames Foules of Colynton clerke of the Register, *to* our moste souereigne Lorde the Kyng and many and diuerse and soudery other lordes, barons, and honest persones required to be witnesses in the premisses, doth affirme that he hath holdē these errors folowyng, openly taught them, and instructed them, that is to saie.

1. First, that our moste holiest lorde the Pope, the Vicar of Iesu Christ, cannot haue nor exercise, any more auctoritie emongest christians, then any other bishop or priest.

2. Secondly, that indulgencies and Pardons, graunted by our moste holiest lord the *Pope, is of* no value strength and efficacie, but vtterly to the abusion of the people, and the deceiuyng of our soules.

3. Thirdly, he said that the Pope was a Simoniack, euer sellyng gyftes, and that all priestes might mary.

4. Fourthly, that all Englishe heresies (as thei are called) or at the least, the greater and better part obserued by Englishemen, hath been and is good, and to be obserued by christen men, as true and consonant to the law of *God: in* so much ẏ he perswaded very many people to accept the same.

5. Fifthly, that the people of Scotlande, & the clergie therof hath been and is vtterly executed and blinded, by affirmaciō that thei had not the true catholike faith, affirmyng and opēly saiyng, that his faith was of more value & better, then all the Ecclesiasticalles, of the realme of Scotland.

6. Item, likewise accordyng vnto tholde opinions of Ihō Wiclif and Hus, heresiarches and Master heretikes, condempned in the counsail of Constantine, he hath affirmed and farther declared, that Ecclesiasticall persones, should not possesse, haue nor enioye, any temporall possessions neither exercise iurisdicciō, or any kind of auctoritie, in temporall matters neither vpon their awne subiectes, but that all should vtterly bee taken awaie from them, as it is in these daies in Englande.

7. Item, he hath saied, holden and affirmed falsely, and contrary to the honor state and reuerence, of our sacred kynges maiestie of Scotlande that our kynges maiestie of Scotland, the moste clerest defendor of the Christian faith, would contrary to the lawe and libertie of the holy churche, vendicat and chalenge vnto his priuat vses, all ecclesiasticall possessions, landes,

landes, and yerely rentes, geuen by his fore fathers, and also by hymself, and to inforce this matter he hath also by writyng perswaded our moste noble kyng, with all his endeuor.

Item, he hath willed and sought and many times hath desired hartely, *that* the Churche of Scotlande should come, and be brought to thesame poynt and ende, and to suche like fall, as the Churche of England is now come to in deede. 8

Item, he hath saied, affirmed, and taught openly the Cannon lawes and the Decrees of our holy fathers, approued by the Catholike and apostolike Churche, is of no valewe nor strength, bryngyng in and affirmyng the same, for to be made and set furth, contrary to the lawe of God. 9

Itē, he hath said holden & affirmed, many waies ẏ no religion should be kept, but that should be abolished and destroyed, and to bee as it is now destroyed in Englande, and vilipendyng all holy Religion, affirmyng it to bee an abusion of the people, whose clothyng sheweth manifestly, to be deformed mōsters, hauyng no vtilitie or holines, bryngyng in by this and perswadyng, as muche as in hym lay, all adherentes of his opinion, that all the religion in this realme of Scotlande, should be destroyed and vtterly taken awaie to the moste greatest losse of the Catholike Churche, and to the deminishyng of Christen religion. 10

Item, it is plainly knowen by lawfull probacions, that the same Ihō Borthwike, hath had and actually hath, diuerse bokes suspect of heresy dampned, aswell by the Papall, as by the Regall and ordinary auctho rities forbidden (that is to saie) firste of all the newe testament in Englishe, printed in Englande, Oecolampadius, Melanchthon, & diuerse tractes of Erasmus, and other cōdempned hereticke s, and also the boke of *Vnio Discidentium*, conteinyng moste manifest errors, and that he hath red, studied, and communicated, and presented the same to other men, aswell openly as priuatly, and that he hath instructed and taughte, very many Christians in the same, to the effect, to turne them from the very true and Catholike faithe. 11

Item, it is openly knowen, the same Ihon Borthwike, to be so stubburne in all these foresaid errors and heresies, and to haue sustained and taught the same, with suche an indurate mynde, so that he would not declyne by no maner of meanes frō the same, for diuerse of his frendes, and persons whiche loued hym, and would haue had hym conuert, to the catholike faithe, neither would he consent to theim in any wise, but rather vnmoueably persist in his errors. 12

For the whiche said articles, and many other errors holden, saied, publicated and taught by hym and (as the common voyce is) whiche he stil holdeth and teacheth, the forsaid Ihon Borthwike to bee taken, holden and coumpted as an heretike, and a Master heretike, and as a very cuil iudger of the Holy faithe. 13

Therefore we Dauid of the title of sainct Stephyn in the mount Celo of the holy churche of Rome priest Cardinal, archebishop of sainct Androwes, Primate of this whole realme of Scotland and of the Apostolike seate Legate create, sittyng in our seate of iustice in nature of Iudges, the holy Euangelistes of God set afore vs, that our iudgementes procede frō the sight of God, and our eyes must loke to equitie, hauyng onely God and the Catholike faith afore our eyes, the name of God being called vpon and folowyng the counsail aswell of the deuines as lawyers, this foresayd Ihon Borthwike called capitain Borthwike condempned of the foresayd heresies, accused, suspected and infamed by lawfull probacions had and brought against him in all ẏ foresaydes, conuicted, cited, called and not appearyng but absentyng him selfe like a runaway; Therfore let vs thinke, pronoūce and declare him to be conuicted and to be punished worse then an heretike, And further more all his moueables and vnmoueables by whatsoeuer title they be gotten and in whatsoeuer parties they lye, they to be geuen to the secular power. And all offices had by dower or by his wife to be confiscat & spent to the vse and custome of the law. Also we do declare by these presentes the image of the foresayd Ihon to be made to the likenes of him, and to be brought into the metropolitan Churche of saint Andrewes & after that to ẏ market crosse of the citie, there to be brent as a signe and a memorial of his condemnyng to the example and feare of all other. Lykewise we do declare that if thesame Ihon be taken within our liber-

The sentence or iudgement.

ties.

ties to be punished accordyng to the lawe of heretikes. Also we warne all true beleuers in Christ of whatsoeuer state & condicion they be, that they frō this day do not receiue or admit ito their houses, tētes, villages or townes Ihon Borthwike to eat or to drynke or to preferre any kynd of humanitie in paine of suche like punishment: Further, if there be any founde culpable in these foresayd that they shalbe accused as fautors and maintayners of heretiques, and they shalbe punished accordyng to the law. This sentence red and made and put in writyng in the Metrapolitan Churche of saint Androwes we sittyng in our Tribunals seate, the yere of our Lorde 1540. the. xxviii. day of Maye drawen out of the Regester made against heretikes and agreyng with the sentence of Ihon Borthwike.

THE. XXXIIII. YERE.

IN this yere Iames erle of Desmōd came to the kyng and was honorably entertained & wel rewarded. And in Septembre the great Onele came to the kyng to Grenewyche, where he and a capitaine of the North partes of Ireland called Maganysse and the bishop of Cloar, made their submission in writyng, cōfessyng their offences, and promisyng to serue the kyng and his heyres truely: whiche submission by the kyng considered, he vpon the first day of October created at Grenewyche thesayd sir Eustace Onele called great Onele (because he was the chiefe of his linage called Oncle) Erle of Tyreowen, commonly called Tyron and gaue him a great chayne, and made Magannysse and his eosyn knightes and gaue them both chaynes, & he gaue to the lorde Mathias sonne to the erle, the Barony of Duncan.

At this ceason the kynges Maicstie prepared for warre into Scotlande, the cause why this warre was made is most manifestly declared by that whiche foloweth, which the kynges Maiestie published by this title, *A declaration conteignyng the iust causes and consideracions of this present warre with the Scottes: wherin also appeareth the true and right title that the kynges moste royal maiestie hath to his soucreigntie of Scotland.* And it beginneth thus.

A declaracion of the cause of warre with Scotland set forth by the kyng.

BEYNG now enforced to the warre, whiche we haue always hitherto so muche abhorred and fled, by our neighbour and nephieu the kyng of Scottes, one, who aboue all other, for our manyfolde benefites towardes him, hath moste iust cause to loue vs, to honor vs, and to reioyce in our quietnes: We haue thought good to notify vnto the world his doynges and behauour in the prouocacion of this warre, and likewise the meanes and wayes by vs vsed to exchue and aduoyde it, and the iust and true occasions, wherby we be now prouoked to prosecute thesame, & by vtterance and diuulgyng of that matter, to disburden some part of our inwarde displeasure and griefe, and the circumstaunces knowen, to lament openly with the worlde, the infidelitie of this tyme, in whiche thinges of suche enormitie do brest out and appeare.

The kyng of Scottes our Nephieu and neighbour, whom we in his youth and tender age preserued and maintained from the great daunger of other, and by our authoritie and power cōduced him safely to the reall possession of his estate, he nowe compelleth and forceth vs for preseruacion of our honor and right, to vse our puissāce & power against him. The like vnkindnes hath been heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Goddes lawe, mannes lawe, and all humanitie: but the oftener it channeth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persones of princes for the raritie of theim can so happen but seldome, as it hath nowe come to passe.

It hath been very rarely and seldome seen before, that a kyng of Scottes hath had in mariage a daughter of England: We can not, ne will not reprehend the kyng our fathers act therein, but lament and be sory it toke no better effect. The kyng our father in that matter minded loue, *amitie*, and perpetual frendship betwene the postery of both, which how soone it fayled, the death of the kyng of Scottes, as a due punishment of God for his iniust

iniust inuasion into this our realme, is & shalbe a perpetual testimony to their reproche for euer, and yet in that present tyme could not the vnkyndnesse of the father extynguyshe in vs the natural loue of our Nephieu his sonne, beyng then in the miserable age of tender youth: but we than forgetting ỹ displeasure that should haue worthyly prouoked vs to inuade that realme, norished and brought vp our Nephieu to achieue his fathers possession and gouernement, wherin he nowe so vnkyndly vseth and behaueth him towardes vs, as he compelleth vs to take armour and warre against him.

It is specially to be noted, vpon what groundes, & by what meanes we be compelled to this warre, wherin among other is our chiefe griefe and displeasure, that vnder a colour of fayre speche and flatteryng wordes, we be in dede so iniured, cõtempned and dispised, as we ought not with sufferaunce to pretermitte and passe ouer. Woordes, writynges, letters, messages, ambassiates, excuses, allegacios, could not more pleasauntly, more gently, ne more reuerently be deuised and sent, then hath been made on ỹ kyng of Scottes behalfe vnto vs, and euer we trusted the tree would bryng forth good fruite, that was of the one partie of so good a stocke, & continually in apparaunce put forth so fayre buddes: and therfore would hardely beleue or geue eare to other, that euer alleged the dedes of the contrary, beyng neuerthelesse thesame dedes so manyfest, as we must nedes haue regarded theim, had we not been so lothe to thynke euill of our Nephieu, whom we had so many wayes bound to be of the best sorte towarde vs. And therfore hauyng a message sent vnto vs the yere past from our sayd Nephieu, and a promise made for the repairing of thesayd kyng of Scottes vnto vs to Yorke, & after great preparacion on our part made therfore, thesame metyng was not onely disappointed, but also at our beyng at Yorke, in the lieu therof, an inuasion made by oure sayd Nephieu his subiectes into our realme, declaryng an euident contempt and dispite of vs: We were yet glad to impute the defaute of the metyng to the aduise of his counsail, and the inuasion to the lewdnes of his subiectes: and accordyng there vnto gaue as benigne & gentle audience to suche ambassadors, as repaired hither at Christmas afterwarde, as if no suche causes of displeasure had occurred, specially consideryng the good woordes, swete woordes, pleasaunt woordes, eftsones proponed by the sayd Ambassadors, not onely to excuse that was past, but also to persuade kyndnes and perfite amitie to ensue. And albeit the kyng of Scottes hauyng contrary to the article of the league of amitie, receiued and enterteigned suche rebelles, as were of the chiefe and principle, in stirryng the insurreccion in the North against vs with refusall before tyme, vpon request made to restore thesame: yet neuerthelesse vpon offer made thesayd ambassadors, to sende comission to the bordures, to determyne the debates of the confinies in thesame, with so great a pretence of amitie and so fayre woordes, as could be in speche desired: we were content for the tyme to forbeare to presse them ouer extremely in the matter of rebelles. Albeit we neuer remitted thesame, but desyrous to make triall of our sayd Nephieu in some correspondence of dedes, condescended to the sendyng of commissioners to the borders, whiche to our great charge we did, and the kyng of Scottes our sayd Nephieu the semblable. Where after great trauaile made by our commissioners, this fruit ensued, that beyng for our part chalenged a piece of our grounde, plainely vsurped by the Scottes, and of no great value, beyng also for thesame shewed suche euidence, as more substancial, more autentique, more plaine & euident, can not be brought furth for any part of grounde within our realme. Thesame was neuerthelesse by theim denyed, refused, and the euidence onely for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alleged) by Englishemen. And yet it was soo auncient, as it could not be counterfaite nowe, and the value of the grounde so lytle, and of so small wayte, as no manne would haue attempted to falsifie for suche a matter. And yet this denial beyng in this wyse made vnto our commissioners, they neuerthelesse by our cõmaundement departed as frendes fro the commissioners of Scotland, takyng order as hath been accustomed for good rule vpon the borders in the meane tyme.

After whiche their recesse, the lorde Maxwell, Warden of the West Marches of Scotlãd, made proclamacion for good rule, but yet added therwith, ỹ the borderers of Scotland should withdrawe

withdrawe their gooodes from the borderers of England: And incontinently after the Scottishe men borderers, the fowerth of Iuly, entred into our realme sodainly, & spoyled our subiectes, contrarye to our leagues, euen after suche extremitie, as it had been in tyme of open warre. Wherat we muche mernuiled, and were compelled therfore to furnishe our border with a garison for defence of thesame. Wherevpon the kyng of Scottes sent vnto vs Iames Leyrmouth, Master of his houshold, with letters deuised in the moste pleasaunt maner, offerynge redresse and reformacion of all attemtates. And yet neuerthelesse at the entry of the sayd Leyrmouth into England, a great nombre of the Scottes, than not looked for, made a forrey into our borders, to the great annoyaunce of our subiectes, and to their extreme detrinent, wherewith and with that vnsemely dissimulacion, we were not a litle moued, as reason would we should. And yet did we not finally so extremely persecute and cõtinue our sayd displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to thesayd Leyrmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altred by his woordes and fayre promises, tendyng to the persuasion that we euer desired, to fynde the kyng of Scottes suche a Nephieu vnto vs, as our proximitie of bloud, with our gratuitie vnto him did require.

In the meane tyme of these fayre wordes, ỹ dedes of the borders were as extreme as might be, and our subiectes spoyled: and in a roade made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge therof, thesame sir Robert Bowes with many other taken prisoners, & yet detcined in Scotland, without puttyng them to fyne and raunsome, as hath be euer accustomed. And beyng at the same tyme a surceaunce made on both sides at the suite of thesayd Leyrmouth for a season: the Scottes ceassed not to make sundry inuasion into our realme in such wise, as we were compelled to forget fayre woordes and onely to consider the kyng of Scottes dedes, whiche appered vnto vs of that sorte, as they ought not for our dutie in defece of our subiectes, ne could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therfore put in a readynesse our armye, as a due meane wherby we might attaigne suche a peace, as for the safegard of our subiectes we be bound to procure.

After whiche preparacion made, and knowlege had therof, the kyng of Scottes ceassed not to vse his accustomed meane of fayre woordes, whiche in our naturall inclinacion wrought eftsones their accustomed effect, euermore desirous to find in the kyng of Scottes suche a regard and respect to be declared in dedes as the correspondence of naturall loue in the Nephieu to suche an Vncle, as we haue shewed our self towardes him doth require. Wherfore vpõ newe request and suite made vnto vs we determined to staye our armye at Yorke, appointyng the duke of Norffolke our Lieutenaunt, the lorde Priuyseale, the bishop of Durcham, and the Master of our horses, there to commen, treate and conclude with the Ambassadors of Scotland, for an amitie and peace vpon suche condicions, as by reason & equitie were indifferent, wherby the warre might be exchued, beyng by sundry inuasion of the Scottes then open and manyfest.

In this communicacion betwene our and theyr commissioners, after dyuers degrees of cõmissions, shewed by the Scottes, and finally one, that was by our commissioners allowed, matiers wer proponed for cõclusion of amitie, nothyng difficile or hard on our part, but so agreable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland sayd, they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe, that the kyng of Scottes our Nephieu might haue a metyng with vs, all matters should easily be componed and determined. Whereupon they left speakyng of any articles of amitie, and the ambassadors of Scotland made much outward ioy in communicacion of metyng, they shewed theimselfe in wordes, facion & behauour muche to delight in it, to reioyce in it, & therewith thought it easy and facile to be cõcluded and accomplished, and for their part they toke it then for a thyng passed, a thyng concluded, and moste certain to take effect, and onely desired vi. dayes to obteigne aunswere from their Master, and our armye for that tyme to stay and go no further: Whervnto our commissioners then agreed.

After these vi. dayes was sent a Commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a metyng precisely at suche a place, as they knewe well we would not, ne could not in wyn-

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ter obserue and kepe, wherwith when our commissioners were miscontent, the Ambassadors of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to tempre the matter, whereby to wynne more tyme, shewed forth their instruccions, wherin libertie was geuen to the ambassadors to excede their cõmission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to any other by our commissioners thought conuenient, whiche maner of procedyng, when our commissioners refused, allegyng that they would not conclude a metyng with men, hauyng no commission therynto: the ambassadors of Scotland vpon pretence to send for a more ample and large cõmission agreable to their instruccions for appointment of the place, obteined a delay of other vi. dayes, to send for thesayd ample commission without restraint of place. And after those vi. dayes they brought forth a newe commission, made in a good fourme, and without excepcion: But therewith they shewed also newe instruccions, cõteinyng suche a restraynte as the former cõmission did conteine, so as the libertie geuen to the Commissioners in the commission was nowe at the last remoued and taken away by the instruccions, with addicion of a special charge to the Ambassadors not to excede thesame.

And thus first the Ambassadors of Scotlãd semed to haue wyll and desire to conclude a place semely and conuenient, whiche for want of cõmission they might not do, & at the last might haue concluded a metyng by vertue of their commission, and then for feare of the cõmaundement in their secõd instruccions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instruccions partly to excuse their kyng, who should seme secretly to wyll more than in the commission he did openly professe.

And than with an ample commission frõ the kyng, they shewed their secrete instruccions for defence of theimselfe, why they proceded not according to their commission, not caryng how muche they charged therin their kyng, whose faulte they disclosed to discharge theim selfe, trustyng that by benefite of the Wynter approchyng, and the tyme lost in their cõmunicacion their Master should be defẽded against our power for this vere, without doyng for their part that by honor, right, lawe, & leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane tyme our subiectes taken prisoners in Scotland could not be deliuered vpon any raũsome cõtrary to all custõme and vsage of the borders in the tyme of peace and warre, and in this meane tyme stayed a great part of our armye allready prested, and in our wages to go forward. In this tyme Ambassadours (as ye haue heard) assembled to talke of an amitie and conclude it not. The treatyng of amitie was put ouer by communicacion of a metyng.

The cõmunicacion of metyng was so handled by alteracion of commission and instruccions on their behalfe, as it appereth a plaine deuise onely excogitate for a delay, whiche hath geuen vs light, wherevpon more certainly to iudge the kyng of Scottes inwarde affeccion towarde vs, whose dedes and woordes well wayed and considered, doeth vs plainely to vnderstande, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with swete and pleasaunt woordes, and to satisfy the appetites of other at home and abrode with his vnkynde and displeasaunt dedes. In his wordes he professeth an insoluble amitie, he allegeth kynred, he knowlegeth benefites, onely the faulte is that he speaketh another language to all the worlde in dedes, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegacion of iustice, as we be inforced and compelled to vse the sworde, whiche God hath put in our hand as an extreme remedy, wherby to obteigne both quietnes for our subiectes, and also that is due vnto vs by right, pactes, and leagues.

We haue paciẽtly suffered many delusions, and notably the last yere when we made preparacion at Yorke for his repaire to vs: But should we suffre our people and subiectes to be so oft spoyled without remedy: This is done by the Scottes whatsoeuer their wordes be. Should we suffer our rebelles to be deteigned contrary to the leagues without remedy: This is also done by theim whatsoeuer their wordes be. Should we suffre our land to be vsurped contrary to our most plaine euidence, onely vpon a wille, pryde, and arrogancie of the other partie: This is done by thẽ whatsoeuer their wordes be. And all these be ouer presumptuously done against vs, & geue suche significaciõ of their arrogãcie, as it is necessary

sary for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, lest thei should gather further courage to ỹ greater displeasure of vs & our posteritie hereafter. And yet in ỹ intreatyng of this matter, if we had not euidently perceiued the lacke of suche affeccion as proximitie of bloud should require, we would much rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximitie of bloud to our Nephieu, than we did heretofore ỹ inuasion of his father. But considerynge we be so surely ascertained of ỹ lacke therof, & that our bloud is there frorne ẅ the colde ayre of Scotland, ther was neuer prince more violently compelled to warre then we be, by the vnkynde dealyng, vniust behauor, vnprincely demeanour of him that yet in nature is our Nephieu, and in his actes and dedes declareth himselfe not to be moued therẅ, ne to haue suche ernest regarde to the obseruacion to his pactes and leagues, ne suche respect to the intertainement of the administracion of iustice, as naturall equitie byndeth, and cõseruacion of amitie doeth require: whiche we muche lament and be sorỹ for, and vse nowe our force and puissaunce against him, not for reuengeance of our priuate displeasure (beyng so often deluded as we haue been) but for recouery of our right, the preseruaciõ of our subiectes frõ iniuries, & the obseruacion of suche leagues as haue passed betwene vs, firmely trustyng, that almightie God vnder whom we reigne, woll assist and ayde our iust procedynges herein to the furtheraunce and aduauncement of the right, whiche we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falsehead, deceipte and dissimulacion.

Hitherto it appeareth how this present warre hath not proceded of any demaunde of our right of superioritie, whiche the kyng of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged by homage and fealtie to our progenitours euen from the beginnyng: But this warre hath been prouoked & occasioned vpõ present matter of displeasure, present iniury, present wrong ministred by the Nephieu to the Vncle moste vnnaturally, and supported cõtrary to the desertes of our benefites moste vnkyndly. If we had mynded the possession of Scotland, & by the mocion of warre to attain thesame, there was neuer kyng of this realme had more ỏportunitie in the minoritie of our nephieu. Ne in any other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certain title, to any realme that he can clayme, then we haue to Scotland, not deuised by pretence of mariage, not imagined by couenaunt, or contriued by inuencion of argument, but lineally descended from the beginning of that astate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuely of the kynges of Scotland by dedes, woordes, actes and writynges continually almost without interrupcion, or at the leest intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor Henry the vi. in whose tyme the Scottes abused the ciuile warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnes, in omitting of their duitie: whiche for ỹ proximitie of bloud betwene vs, we haue been slacke to require of them, beyng also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer been alwayes glad, rather without preiudice to omitte to demaunde our right, if it might cõserue peace, than by demaundyng therof to be seen to moue warre, specially against our neighbor, against our Nephieu, against him, whom we haue preserued from daungier, and in suche a tyme as it were expedient for all Christendome to be vnite in peace, wherby to be the more able to resist the cõmon enemy the Turke.

But for whatsoeuer cõsideracions we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheles true, that ỹ kynges of Scottes haue alwayes knowleged the kynges of England superior lordes of the realme of Scotland, and haue done homage and fealtie for the same.

This appeareth fyrst by history, written by suche as for confirmacion of the trueth in memory, haue truely noted and signified thesame. Secondly it appeareth by instrumentes of homage made by the kynges of Scottes, and diuers notable personages of Scotlãd, at diuers and sũdry tymes sealed with their seales, & remainyng in our treasory. Thirdly it appeareth by Regesters and Recordes iudicially and autentiquely made, yet preserued for confirmacion of the same. So as the matter of title beyng moste plaine, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaracion therof.

Fyrst as concernyng histories, whiche be called witnesses of tymes, the light of trueth,

and the life of memory, & finally the conuenient way and meane, whereby thynges of antiquitie may be brought to mennes knowlege, they shewe as plainly this matter as could be wyshed or required, with suche a consent of writers, as could not so agree vppon an vntrueth, conteignyng declaracion of suche matter as hath moste euident probabilitie & apparaunce. For as it is probable and likely, that for the better administracion of iustice amonges rude people, two or mo of one estate might be rulers in one countrey vnite as this Isle is: so is it probable and likely, that in the beginnynge it was so ordred for auoydyng discencion, that there should be one superior in right, of whom the sayd estates should depend. Accordyng whervnto we rede how Brute, of whom the realme than called Brytain tooke fyrst that name (beyng before that tyme inhabited with Gyauntes, people without order or ciuilitie) had thre sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, & determinyng to haue the whole Isle within the Occean sea to be after gouerned by theim thre, appointed Albanact to rule that nowe is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that nowe is called England: vnto whō as beyng the elder sonne, the other two brothers should do homage recognisyng and knowlegyng him as their superior. Now consider if Brutus cōquered all this Iland, as the history sayeth he did, and then in his own tyme made this order of superioritie as afore: how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginnyng, a more iust beginnyng, a more conuenient beginnyng for the order of this Iland, at that tyme specially when the people were rude, whiche cannot without continual strife and variaunce cōteine two or thre rulers in all pointes equal without any maner of superioritie, the inward conscience and remorse of whiche superioritie should in some part dul and diminishe the peruerse courage of resistence and rebellion. The fyrst diuision of this Isle we fynde it written after this sort without cause of suspeccion why they should write amysse. And accordyng herevnto we fynde also in history set forth by diuers, how for transgression against this superioritie, our predecessors haue chastised the kynges of Scottes, and some deposed, and put other in their places.

We will here omit to speake of the rudenes of the antiquitie in particularitie, whiche they cared not distinctly to commit to writyng, but some authors, as Anthonius Sabellicus amonges other diligently enserchyng, what he might truely write of all Europe, and the Ilandes adioynyng, ouer and besydes that whiche he writeth of the nature, maners, and condicions of the Scottes, whiche who so lyst to rede, shall fynde to haue been the very same in tymes paste, that we fynde theim now at this present, he calleth Scotland part of England, whiche is agreable to the diuision aforesayd, beyng in dede as in the land continuall without separacion of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnite vnto thesame, as by particuler declaracions shal most manifestly appere by the testimony of suche as haue left writyng for profe and confirmacion therof. In whiche matter passyng ouer the death of kyng Humber, the actes of Dunwald kyng of this realme, the deuision of Belin and Brene, the victories of kyng Arthur, we shall begynne at the yere of oure Lorde DCCCC. whiche is DCxiii. yeres past, a tyme of sufficient auncientie, from which we shall make special declaracion and euident of the execucion of our right and title of superioritie euermore continued and preserued hitherto.

Edward the first before the conquest, sonne to Alured kyng of England had vnder his dominion and obedience the kyng of Scottes. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Maryon a Scot writyng that story in those dayes, graunteth, confesseth, and testifieth thesame, and this dominion continued in that state xxiii. yere: At whiche tyme Athelstaine succeded in the croune of England, and hauyng by battaile conquered Scotland, he made one Constantyne kyng of that partie, to rule and gouerne the coūtrey of Scotland vnder him. addyng this princely worde, That it was more honor to him to make a kyng, than to be a kyng.

Xxiiii. yeres after that, whiche was the yere of our lorde, Dccccxlvii. Eldred kyng our progenitor, Athelstaines brother, tooke homage of Irise then kyng of Scottes.

Xxx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde Dccccl xxvii. kyng Edgar our predecessor

decessor toke homage of Kinald kyng of Scottes. Here was a litle trouble in England by the death of S. Edward kyng and martyr, destroyed by the deceite of his mother in lawe: but yet within memory.

Xl. yeres after the homage done by Kynald to Kyng Edgare, that is to say in the yere of our lorde M. xvii. Malcolme kyng of Scottes did homage to Knute our predecessor. After this homage done the Scottes vttered some piece of their naturall disposicion, wherevpon by warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the Confessor xxxix. yere after that homage done, that is to say, the yere of our lord M. lvi. Malcolme kyng of Scottes was vanquished, and the realme of Scotland geuen to Malcolme his sonne by our sayd progenitor sainct Edward: vnto whom the sayd Malcolme made homage and fealtie.

Within xi. yeres after that Wylliam Conqueror entred this realme whereof he accoumpted no perfect conquest, vntill he had likewise subdued the Scottes, and therfore in the sayd yere, whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde M.lxviii. the sayd Malcolme kyng of Scottes did homage to the sayd Wyllyam Conqueror, as his superior by conquest kyng of England.

Xxv. yeres after that, which was in the yere of our Lord M.xciii. the sayd Malcolme did homage and fealtie to Wyllyam Rufus, sonne to the sayd Wyllyam Conqueror: and yet after that was for his offences and demerites deposed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who likewise fayled of his dutie, and therfore was ordained in that estate by the sayd Wyllyam Rufus, Edgare brother to the last Malcolme, & sonne to the fyrst, who did his homage and fealtie accordyngly.

Seuen yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde M.C. the sayd Edgar kyng of Scottes, did homage to Henry the fyrst, our progenitour.

Xxxvii. yere after that Dauid kyng of Scottes did homage to Matilde the Emperatrice, as daughter and heyre to Hēry the first. Wherfore beyng after required by Stephyn, then obteignyng possession of the realme, to make his homage, he refused so to do, because he had before made it to the sayd Matilde, and therypon forbare. After whiche Dauids death, whiche ensued shortly after, the sōne of the sayd Dauid made homage to the sayd kyng Stephyn.

Xiiii. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of oure Lorde, M.Cl. Wyllyam kyng of Scottes, & Dauid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland made homage to Henry the secondes sonne, with a reseruacion of their dutie to Henry the second his father.

Xxv. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lorde, M.Clxxv. Wyllyam kyng of Scotland, after muche rebellion and resistence, accordyng to their natural inclinacion, kyng Henry thes econde, than beyng in Normandy, Wyllyā then kyng of Scottes knowleged finally his errour, and made his peace and composicion, confirmed with his great seale, and the seales of the nobilitie of Scotlande, makyng therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within xv. yeres after that, which was ỹ yere of our lord M.C.lxxxx. the sayd Wyllyā kyng of Scottes, came to our citie of Cauntorbury, & there did homage to our noble progenitour kyng Richard the fyrst.

Xiiii. yeres after that, thesayd Wyllyam did homage to oure progenitor kyng Ihon, vpon a hyll besides Lyncolne, makyng his othe vpō the crosse of Hubert then archebishop of Cauntorbury, beyng there present a meruailous multitude assembled for that purpose.

Xxvi. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our lord M.CCxvi. Alexander kyng of Scottes maryed Margarete, the daughter of our progenitor Henry the third, at our citie of Yorke, in the feast of Christmas: at whiche tyme ỹ sayd Alexander did his homage to our sayd pragenitor: who reigned in this realme, lvi. yeres. And therfore betwene the homage made by the sayd Alexander kyng of Scottes, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to ỹ sayd kyng of Scottes, to Edward the first at his coronacion at Westminster, there was about fifty yeres at whiche tyme the sayd Alexander kyng of Scottes repayred to the sayd feast of coronacion, and there did his duetie as is aforesayd.

Within xxviii. yeresafter that, whiche was the yere of our lorde M.CClxxxii. Ihon Baliol kyng

kyng of Scottes, made his homage and fealtie to the sayd kyng Edward the first, our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruse to vsurpe the croune of Scotland, and to moue sedicion therefore, against theim of the house of Baliol, whiche made for a season some interrupcion in thesayd homage: but yet no intermission without the termes of memory. For within xliiii. yeare after, whiche was the yere of our lorde, M.CCCxxvi. Edward Baliol, after a great victory had in Scotlād against the other factiō, & enioying the croune of Scotlande, made homage to our progenitour Edwarde the third.

And xx. yeres after that, whiche was in the yere of our Lorde M.CCCxlvi. David Bruse, who was euer in the contrary faction, did neuerthelesse in the title of the croune of Scotland, whereof he was then in possession, make homage to our sayd progenitor Edward the third.

Within ix. yeres after this, Edward the third, to chastise the infidelitie of the Scottes, made warre against theim: where after great victories. Edwarde Balliol hauyng the iust and right title to the realme of Scotlande, surrendred clerely thesame to our sayd progenitour at the toune of Rokysbrough in Scotlande: where our sayd progenitour accepted thesame, and than caused himselfe to be crouned kyng of Scotland, and for a tyme enterteigned it, and enioyed it, as very proprietary and owner of the realme, as on thone partie by confiscacion acquired, & on the other part by free will surrendred vnto him.

And then after the death of our sayd progenitour Edward the third, begānne sedicions and insurreccions in this our realme, in the tyme of our progenitour Richard the second, whiche was augmented by the alteracion of the state of thesayd Richard, and the deuolucion of thesame, to Henry the fowerth, so as the Scottes had some leysure to play their vagues, and folowe their accustomed manier. And yet Henry the v. for recouery of his right in Fraunce, commaunded the kyng of Scottes to attende vpō him in that iourney. And in this tyme the realme of Scotland beyng descended to the house of the Stewardes, of whiche our Nephieu directly commeth, Iames Stewarde kyng of Scottes in the yere of oure Lorde M.CCCC.xxiii. made homage to Henry the vi. at Wyndsore, Whiche homage was distaunt from the tyme of the other homage made by Dauid Bruse lx. yeres and more, but farre within the freshe memory of man.

All whiche homages and fealties as they appeare by storye to haue been made and done at tymes and season as afore, so do there remayne instrumentes made therypon and sealed with the seales of the kynges of Scotland testifiyng thesame. And yet doeth it appere by story, how the Scottes practised to steale out of our treasurye dyuers of these instrumentes, whiche neuerthelesse were after recouered againe. And to the intent ye may knowe of what fourme and tenour the sayd instrumētes be, here is inserted the effecte in worde and sentēnce as they be made, whiche we do, to mete with the cauellacion and contriued euasion of the Scottes, allegyng the homage to haue been made for the Erledome of Huntyngdon, which is as trew as the allegatiō of him that is burnt in the hande, to saye he was cut with a sikle. And therfore the tenour of the homage is this.

" I Ihon. N. kyng of Scottes shall be trew and faithfull vnto you lorde Edward by the grace of God kyng of England, the noble and superior lorde of the kyngdome of Scotland, and vnto you I make my fidelitie of thesame kyngdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to holde of you: and I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life & lymme and worldly honour against all men, & faithfully I shall knowlege, and shal do to you seruice due vnto you of the kyngdome of Scotland aforesaied, as God so helpe and these holy euangelies."

Now for the third parte touchyng recordes and registres, wee haue them so formall, so autentiquall, so seriously handeled, and with such circumstaunces declaryng the matiers, as they be & ought to be a great corroboracion of that hath ben in stories writen & reported in this matter. For amonges other thynges we haue the solempne act, and iudicial processe of

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our progenitour Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by twelue competitours: That is to say,

Forentinus comes Holandie.	Patritius Galightly.
Patricius de Dūbar comes de Merchia.	Rogerus de Mundeville.
Willielmus de Vesty.	Ioannes de Comyn.
Willielmus de Ros.	D. Ioannes de Hastinges,
Robertus de Pinbeny.	Ioannes de Balliolo.
Nicholaus de Soules.	Robertus de Bruse.
	Ercius rex Norwegie.

And finally, after a great consultacion and mature deliberacion, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parties, sentence was geuen for the title of Balliol, accordyng wher vnto he enioyed the realme. But for confirmaciō of the dutie of the homage before that tyme obserued by the kynges of Scottes, it appereth in those recordes, how when those competitours of the Realme of Scotlande repaired to oure saied progenitour, as to the chief lorde for discussion of the same, in as muche as the auctoritie of the iudgement to be geuen dependet ther vpon: It was than ordered, that the whole parliament of Scotlande spirituall temporall and of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and cōsidering vpon what ground and foundation the Kynges of Scotlande had in tymes past made the saied homages and recognition of superioritie, the saied parliament fyndyng the same good and trew, should if thei so demed it, yeld and geue place, and by expresse consent recognise thesame. At whiche parliament was alledged vnto them, as appereth in the same recordes, not only these actes of the princes before those daies, & before rehersed: but also besides the testimonye of stories, the writynges and letters of forein princes, at that tyme recityng and rehersyng thesame: Wherevppon thesaied parliament did ther agree to this our superiorie, and ensuyng their determination did particularly and seuerally make homage and fealtie with Proclamacion, that whosoeuer withdrue himselfe from doyng his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebell. And so all made homage and fealtie to oure progenitour Edward the first. This Realme was in the tyme of the discussion of the title ruled by Gardians deputed by hym, al castels and holdes were surrendered to him as to the superior lord in the tyme of vacation, benefises, offices, fees, promotiōs passed in that tyme from the mere gift of our saied progenitour, as in the right of this croune of England, Shirifes named and appointed, writtes and preceptes made, obeied, and executed: and finally all that wee do nowe in the Duchie of Lancaster, the same dyd our progenitour for the tyme of our contencion for that title in the realme of Scotlande, by the consent of an argument of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At whiche tyme the bishopes of saint Andrewes and Glascoo wer not as thei now be arche byshopes, but recognised the archebishop of Yorke, whiche extended ouer all that countrey.

Now if the Scottes wil take exception to the homage of ther princes as made in warr and by force whiche is not true: what will thei say or can thei for shame allege against ther awne parliament, not of some but of all confirmed and testefied by there writynges and seales: wherevnto nothyng enforced them, but right and reason, beyng passed in peace & quiet without armoure or compulsion. If thei say thei did it not, they speake like themselfes, If thei say thei did it, then do they now like themself, to withdraw ther duetie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amēded.

Thus apereth vnto you the begynnyng of the right of superioritie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie, certayne omission and forbearyng vpon the groundes and occasions before specified we deny not. Wherby thei haue many times sought and taken there oportunities, to withdraw the doyng of ther dutie in knowlege of our superioritie ouer them, which to auoyde, thei haue not cared what thei saied or alleged, though it wer neuer so vntrue: lyeng alwaies in a wait whan they might annoy this Realme, not without there awne great daunger, peril, & extreme detryment. But as thei detracted the

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doyng of their dutie, so God euer graunted vnto this realme force to compell them thervnto within memorie, notwithstandyng any their interruptiō by resistaunce, which vnto the tyme of our progenitor Hēry the sixt neuer indured so long as it made intermission within tyme of mynd wherby the possession might seme to be enpaired, from the tyme of Henry the sixte vnto the seuenth yere of oure reigne, oure Realme hath bene for a season lacerate and torne by diuersitie of titles tyll oure tyme and sithence by war outwardly vexed & troubled: The storye is so lamentable for some parte therof, as were tedious to reherse.

Sythen the death of our progenitor, Henry the. vi. our Graundfather Edward the. iiii. reigned, who after great trauelys to attayne quietnes in his Realme, finally in the tyme of preparacion of warr against Scotland, dyed.

Rycharde the. iii. then vsurped for a small tyme in yeres, whom the Kyng our father by the strength of Gods hand ouerthrew in battayll, and most iustly attayned the possession of this Realme, who neuerthelesse after the great tempestious stormes, fyndynge all matters not yet brought to a perfecte quyet and rest, ceassed and forbare to requyre of the Scottes to do their duty, thynkyng it policy rather for that tyme to assay to tame their nature by the pleasaunt coniunction & conuersation of affinitie, then to charge them with their faulte, and requyre dutye of them, when opportunitie serued not, by force and feare to constrayne & compell them.

And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father, without demaunde of this homage. And beyng our reigne nowe. xxxiiii. yeres, we were. xxi. yeres letted by our Nephieu his minoritie, being then more careful how to bryng him out of daūger, to the place of a king, then to receiue of him homage when he had full possession of the same. Wherfore beyng now passed sithens the last homage made by the king of Scottes to our progenitor Henry the. vi. C. xxii. yere, at which tyme the homage was done at Wyndesore by Iames Stuard, then kyng of Scottes, as afore, lvi. of these yeres the crowne of this Realme was in contencion, the trouble wherof engendred also some busynesse in the tyme of the kyng our father, which was xxiiii. yere: And in our tyme. xxi. yere hath passed in the minoritie of our Nephieu. So as finally the Scottes resortynge to their only defence of discontinuance of possession, can only alledge iustli but. xiii. yere of sylence in the tyme of our reygne, beynge all the other tymes sythens the homage done by Iames Steward, suche as the sylence in them had thei ben neuer so long, could not haue engendred preiudice to the losse of any ryght, that may yet be declared & proued due. For what can be imputed to Kyng Edward for not demaundyng homage beynge in stryfe for that estate, whervnto the homage was due: What should Rychard the. iii. serch for homage in Scotland that had neither ryght ne leasure to haue homage done vnto hym in Englande: Who can blame our father, knowyng the Scottes nature, neuer to do their dutie but for feare, if he demaunded not that of them, whych they woulde excheue if thei might, beyng his Realme not clerely then purged from yll seede of sediciō, sparkled & scattered in the cruell ciuile warres before.

Lawe and reason serueth, that the passyng ouer of tyme not commodious & the purpose, is not allegeable in prescriptiō for the losse of any ryght. And the minoritie of the kyng of Scottes hath endured. xxi. yeres of our reigne, whiche beynge an impediment on their parte, the whole prescription of the Scottes, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidently to. xiii. yere, which. xiii. yere without excuse we haue ceassed and forborne to demaunde our dutie, lyke as the Scottes haue lykewyse ceassed to offer and tender the same. For which cause neuerthelesse we doo not enter this warre, ne mynded to demaunde anye suche matter, nowe beyng rather desirous to reioyce and take comfort in the frendship of our Nephieu, as our neyboure, then to moue matter vnto hym of displeasure, wherby to alienate suche naturall inclinacion of loue, as he should haue toward vs. But such be the workes of God, superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, wherby due superioritie maye be knowen, demaunded and requyred, to the entent that accordyng thervnto all thynges gouerned in due ordre here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this lyfe

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to his honor & glorye: which he graunt vs to doo, in suche rest, peace and tranquilitie, as shalbe mete and conuenient for vs.

When the Kyng had setfurth the Declaracion of the cause of his war as is aboue mencioned. Then sent he furth the duke of Norffolke Lieutenaunt generall, accõpanyed with the Erles of Shrewisbury, Darby, Comberland, Surrey, Hertford, Anguysh, Rutland, and the Lordes of the North parties, and syr Anthony Browne Master of the Kynges horsse, syr Ihon Gage Comptroller of the Kynges house, and xx. M. men well appoynted, whych entered Scotland the. xxi. day of October, and taryed there. viii. dayes without battell, and brent the townes of Paxton, Ramrige, Styne, Gradyn, Shylles, Lang Ednem, Newton, Skytshell, Newthorne, Smellem Spyttle, the two Mordens, Slederyke, and the two Broxlawes, Florys and the Fayre Crofte, Eduem Spyttle, Roxborough, Kelsey & the Abbey, Lang Spronstow, Ryden, and Hadenston. And whyle the Duke was at Farneton in Scotlande the. iiii. day, there came to speke with him half a myle from the Hoste, from the kyng of Scottes, the Bisshop of Orkeney and Iames Leiremouth Maister of the houshold, to entreate peace, but they agreed not. And the Armye laye so long in Scotlande, as they might for hongre & colde without anye countynaunce of harme, and so for necessytie returned to Barwycke. And all this iourney the Standarde of the Erle of Hampton which dyed at New Castell, was borne in the forwarde, because he was appoynted Capitayne of the same.

The kyng of Scottes hearyng that the Army was returned, reysed an army of. xv. thousand chosen men of all partes of his Realme vnder the guydyng of the Lorde Maxwell Wardeyn of his west Marches, bostyng to tary as long in England as the Duke dyd in Scotlãd. And so on Fridai beyng s. Katheryns euen, thei passed ouer the water of Eske & brent certayne houses of the Greues on the very border. Thomas bastard Dacres with Iacke of Musgraue sẽt word to sir Thomas wharton Wardein for the king on the west Marches, to come on to succour them: but the sayd. ii. valiaũt Captayns, although the Scottes entered fiersly, yet thei manfully and coragiously set on theim, with an. C. light horsse, and left a stale on the side of a hill where withall the Scottes wer wonderfully dismaide, either thynkyng that the duke of Norffolke, had been come to the west Marches, with his great army: or els thei thought that some greater armie came, when they espied sir Thomas Wharton, commyng with. iii. C. men onely. But at that tyme so God ordeined it to be, that thei at the first bront fled, and thenglishemen folowed, and there were taken prisoners therles of Casselles, and Glancarne, the lorde Maxwell, Admirall and Wardein, the lorde Flemmyng, the lorde Somerwell, the lorde Oliphant, the lorde Gray, sir Oliuer Senclere, the kynges mnio, Ihon Rosse lorde of Orugy, Robert Eskyn sonne to the lord Eskyn, Carre Larde of Gredon, the Lorde Maxwelles two brethren, Ihon Lesly Bastard to the Erle of Rothus, and twoo hundred gentlemenne more, and aboue eight hundred common people, in somuche that some one man, yea, and women had three or foure prisoners. They toke also twentie and foure gonnes foure cartes with speares and ten pauiliõs. This was only the handstroke of God, for the Cardinal of Scotlande promised them heauen, for destruccion of Englande.

The Victorie at the Water of Eske.

The kyng of Scottes tooke a great thought, for this discomfiture, and also because that an Englishe Herauld called Somerset was slain at Dunbarre, whiche thynges together he tooke so vnpaciently that he died in a Frenesy. Although many reported that the kyng hymself was at this bickeryng, and there receiued his deathes wounde and fled therwith into Scotlande. But howsoeuer it was, true it is as is aforesaied he died, and the Quene his wife was deliuered of a daughter, on our lady Euen before Christmas, called Mary. Of the prisoners aforesaied twentie and foure of the chief of theim, were brought vp to the Tower of London, and there were twoo daies. And on saincte Thomas daie the Apostle before Christmas, they were solemply conueighed through London to Westminster, where the Kynges counsaill sat, and there the Lorde Chauncellor, declared to theim their vntruthe, vnkyndenes, and false dissimulacion, declaryng farther how the kyng had cause of warre against them, bothe for the deniyng of their homages, and also for their traiterous inuasions without defiaunce, and also for kepyng his subiectes prisoners without redempcion, contrary to the olde Lawes of

The death of the Scottishe Kyng.

the Marches, for whiche doynges, God as they might perceiue had skourged theim: Howbeit the kyng more regardyng his honor, then his princely power, was content to shewe to theim kyndenes, for vnkyndenes, and right for wrong. And although he might haue kept theim in straite prison, by iuste lawe of Armes, yet he was content that thei should haue libertie, to bee with the nobles of his Realme, in their houses. And so accordyng to their estates, thei wer appoynted to Dukes, Erles, Bishoppes, Knightes, and other Gentlemen, whiche so enterteigned theim, that thei confessed theimselfes, neuer to bee better enterteigned, nor to haue had greater chere.

But after their newe gladnes, tidynges came to theim, of the death of their Kyng, whiche thei sore lamented, and hearyng that he had lefte an onely daughter his heire, thei wisshed her in Englande, to bee maried to the Prince the kynges sonne. The kyng and his Counsaill, perceiuyng the ouerture nowe to bee made, whiche waie without warre these twoo realmes might bee brought into one, sent for all the prisoners fewe lackyng, to his Manor of Hāpton Court, on sainct Stephens daie, where thei wer so well enterteigned, bothe of the kyng and his nobles, that thei saied, thei neuer sawe kyng but hym, and saied that God was better serued here, then in their countrey: howbeit their Kirkmen preached, that in Englande was neither Masse, nor any seruice of God. And thei promised the kyng to doo all that in theim laie with their frendes to performe asmuche as he required. Whereupon not without greate rewardes, thei departed towarde Scotlande, on Newe Yeres daie, and by the waie thei sawe the Prince, and came to Newe Castle to the Duke of Suffolke, who vpon hostages deliuered theim, and so thei entered Scotland and wer well and gladly welcomed.

Likewise therle of Angus, which was banished Scotlande, and had of the kynges Fee, yerely a thousande marke, and sir George Douglas his brother had fiue hundred marke. These wer accepted into Scotlād, and restored by the last kynges will and therle of Angus and diuerse of the Lordes that were prisoners, were made of the priuie counsaill of the realme, by the Erle of Arrein, Gouernour of the young Quene, and the realme, as next heire apparaunt: notwithstandyng that the Archebishop of Sainct Androwes and Cardinall, enemie mortall to the Kyng and realme of Englande, for the Bishoppe of Romes auctboritie (and partly set on by the Frenche kyng for the same cause) had forged a will, that the kyng had made hym Gouernour, associate with twoo Erles of his affinitie, bothe of the Realme, and of the young Quene, contrary to the Lawes of Scotlande. Whereupon the saied Erle of Arrain, accordyng to his right, with the helpe of his frendes, tooke vpon hym the rule of Gouernour, and put the saied false Cardinal in prison, and deliuered sir Robert Bowes and other prisoners, by their bandes, accordyng to the custom of the Marches. And so in Marche next folowyng, the Scottes beganne their Parliament.

All this yere there was neither perfite peace, nor open warre, betwene Englande and Fraunce, but Shippes were taken on bothe sides, and Merchantes robbed. And at the laste the Merchantes goodes on bothe parties were seazed, and likewise the Ambassadours of bothe Realmes were staied: howbeit shortly after the Ambassadours wer deliuered, but yet the Merchauntes wer robbed, and no warre proclaimed.

In the ende of this yere, came from the Gouernour of Scotlande as Ambassadours, sir William Hambleton, Iames Leyremouthe, and the Secretory of Scotland, whose message was so meanely liked that thei were faine to sende an Herauld into Scotlande, for other Ambassadors, and so hether came the erle of Glancarn, and sir George Douglash and whatsoeuer their answere was, sir George returned in Poste and within twentie daies, came again with an honest answere, but that honestie endured a small tyme.

¶ THE. XXXV. YERE.

IN the beginnyng of this yere on Trinitie Sondaie, was a newe League sworne, betwene the Kyng and the Emperour, at Hampton Courte, to bee frendes to their frendes, and enemies to their enemies.

The thirde daie of Iune came to the Courte, from the Realme of Irelande, the Lorde Obryn, the Lorde Macke Willyam Brough, the Lorde Macke Gilpatricke. And in Iuly the saied Obryn was created Erle of Towmon, and Lorde Macke Willyam, was created Erle of Clantrikard, and sir Dunon Obryn was made Baron of Ebranky, and so with rewardes they tooke their leaue, and returned. Also the same Monethe, the Scottishe Ambassadours returned with greate rewardes.

At this season the kyng and the Emperoure, sent Garter and Toyson Kynges at Armes, to demaunde certaine thynges of the Frenche Kyng whiche if he did deny then to defie hym, but he would not suffer theim to come within his lande, and so they returned. Whereupon the saied demaundes, were shewed to the Ambassadoure at Westminster. And in Iuly the Kyng sent ouer sixe thousande tall menne, whereof was Capitain generall, sir Ihon Wallop, and sir Thomas Seymour Marshall, and Sir Richarde Cromewell Capitain of the horsse menne, whiche assaulted a Toune called Laundersey, vnto the whiche assaulte came the Emperoure in proper person. And shortely after came doune the Frenche Kyng in proper per-
Laundersey. sone, with a greate armie, and offered the Emperoure battaill, by reason whereof the siege was reysed, and streight the Frenchemenne victayled the Toune, whiche was the onely cause of their commyng. For the nexte daie, the Emperoure beeyng ready, at the houre appoynted to geue battaill, and the Frenchemenne made greate shewe, as though thei would haue come forwarde, but they dalied of all that Daie, and in the Night they ranne a waie, and trusted some to their Horsses, and some to their legges like tall felowes.

In this yere, the Kyng maryed Ladye Katherin par wydow, late wyfe to the Lorde Latytymer, at Hampton Court.

Foure persõ condempned. In this Monethe were Indited, arraigned and condempned at new Wynsore, foure menne that is to saie, Anthony Persone Prieste, Robert Testwood a Syngyng manne, Henry Filmer a Taylor, and Ihon Marbeck a Syngyng manne. All these menne were at one tyme, as is aforesaid, arreigned and condempned of Heresie, by force of the sixe Articles. The Heresies, that thei were condempned for these as thei are alleged in their Inditementes: Firste, that Anthony Persone should Preache twoo yere before he was arreigned, in a place called Wynkefelde, and there should saie. That like as Christe was hanged betwene two Thefes, euen so when the Prieste is at Masse, and hath consecrated, and lifteth hym vp ouer his hedde, then he hangeth betwene twoo Thefes, excepte he Preache the woorde of God truly, as he hath taken vpon hym to do.

Antony Person.

1. Also that he saied to the people in the Pulpet, ye shall not eate the body of Christe, as he did hang vpon the Crosse, gnawyng it with youre teethe, that the bloud ronne about your lippes, but you shall eate it this daie, as ye eate it tomorow, the next daie and euery daie, for it refresheth not the body, but the spirite.

2. Also after he had preached and commended the Scripture, callyng it the woorde of God, saied as foloweth. This is the woorde, this is the bread, this is the body of Christ.

3. Also, he saied that Christe sittyng with his disciples, tooke bread and blessed it, and brake it, and gaue it to his Disciples saiyng. This is my fleshe, take it and eate it: and like wise tooke the Wyne and blessed it, and gaue to his Disciples saiyng, take it and dryuke it: This is my bloudde: what is this to vs, but to take the Scripture of God, and to breake it to the people.

4.

Henry Filmer. Item, Henry Filmer the Taylour arraigned of this Article, that he should saie. That the sacrament of the Aultare is nothyng but a similitude and a Ceremony. And also if God be in the Sacrament of the aultare, I haue eaten twentie Goddes in my life.

Robert Testwoode. Robert Testwoode arreigned of this Article, that he should saie in the tyme that the Prieste was liftyng vp the Sacrament, what, wilte thou lifte hym vp so high, what yet higher, take hede, let hym not fall.

Ihon Marbecke. Ihon Marbecke arreigned, for that he had with his awne hande, gathered out of diuerse mennes writynges, certain thynges that were expresly against bothe the Masse, and the Sacrament of the Aultar.

These

These foure persones, were arraigned, condempned, and burned for the articles aboue saied, except Ihon Marbecke, whose honestie and innocencie, purchased hym the Kynges Pardon, the other thre were burned at Wynsore aforesaied.

Beside these menne, were a greate nomber of Gentle menne, aswell of the kynges priuie Chamber, as other indited, by the procurement of one Doctor London, a Prebendary of Wynsore, and one Wyllyam Symones a Vaunt Parler: whiche Gentlemenne made suyte to the Kynges Maiestie, declaryng in what case they stoode. Whereupon Doctor London was examined, and so was the saied Symones, whiche vpon their Othe of allegeaunce, denied their Trayterous purposes, as after it was proued to their faces. Wherefore they were adiudged as Periured persones, to weare Papers in Wynsore, and so thei did, and were after committed to the Flete, where the saied Doctour London died. And here haue I an occasion, because of doctor Londons periury, to tell you howe he was also the occasyon that another commytted wylfull periury. The matter was that a certayne robbery was commytted in Oxford in a College whereof the sayd Doctor London was Master, and certain plate by one of the said College was taken away & brought to London to sell, and it was solde to a Goldsmyth in London named Willyam Calaway. This Goldsmyth had before bought muche plate of the partye (which now solde the sayde stolien plate) beynge a man of credyte, and therfore suspected nothynge. But this matter was so folowed, that the partye that stole it was taken, and so was dyuers accessaries. At the last, Doctor London knowyng to whom it was solde, and that the Goldsmyth was a man of the Newe Learuynge (as they called hym) sware a great othe that he would hang hym or elles it shoulde coste hym fyue hundreth pounde: wherevpon he caused also the sayde Goldsmyth to be attached as accessarye, and arreigned hym at the Sessyons holden at Newgate in London: where it was alleged that they ought not by the lawe to enquyre of the accessarye before the principall: and there for the dispatche of the sayde Goldsmyth it was alleged that the principall was hanged, whiche was nothynge so, for he was set at his libertye and lyueth styll. But to be shorte, the Goldsmyth (which vndoubtedly is a knowen, tryed and proued honest man and euer was of honest name and fame) was founde gyltye, and no remedy but he must declare what he coulde say why he should not dye accordyng to the law: he prayed to haue his booke: whiche was answered that he coulde not haue it, for he was Bigamus. And now cometh the Periury that I promised to tell you of: His wyfe, which of all persõs that knoweth her, is certainly knowen to be an honest woman, and frõ he byrth hathe euer ben of as muche honesty as any woman maye be: And this woman had had two husbands before, which also were honest men, and she had children by them, and therefore was it alleged against this Goldsmyth that he was Bigamus: This good woman perceyuyng that her former mariages shoulde shorten her husbands dayes, came into the open Courte before the Iudges and affyrmed by her othe contrary to the truthe, that she was neuer maryed to mo men then to the sayde Goldsmyth, althoughe she had chyldren by her other husbandes and contynued dyuers yeres with theim, yet she sware she was Whore to them bothe and not maryed. And so by defamyng of her selfe, to her great prayse, she delyuered her innocent husband.

Doctor London. Wyllyam Symons

Willyam Calaway.

In this yeare was in London a great death of the Pestilence, and therfore Myghelmas Tearme was adiourned to Saynct Albons, and there was kepte to the ende.

In the weke of Christmas, came to the Kyng to Hampton Courte Ferdinando de Gonzaga Viceroy of Cicile Prince of Malfeta Duke of Iuano, Capitayne generall of the chyualrye and Army of the Emperour Charles, whyche came to the Kyng to appoynte what tyme the Army and the Emperour shoulde be readye to inuade Fraunce, and the appoyntment taken he departed, & had for his reward a C. liii. ouces in golden plate, &. iiii. M. iii. oz. in gylte plate, which al was very curiously wrought. And all the tyme that he lay here, he lay at the Kynges cost.

The sonday before Christmas was Lorde Willyam Parre, brother to the Quene, which had maryed the Doughter & heyre of Lord Henry Burchier Erle of Essex, at Hampton Courte, created Erle of Essex. And syr Willyam Parre Knyght vncle to them bothe, was made

Lord Par of Horton & chaumberleyne to the Queene. And on Newyeres day was Syr Thomas Wriothesley the Kynges Secretary made Lorde Wriothesley of Tychefelde.

Also this yere was open warre proclamed with Fraunce, and lycence geuen to the Kynges subiectes to seaze vpon the Frenchemen and their goodes as in lyke cases before had ben accustomed.

THE. XXXVI. YERE.

THIS YERE the Kyng sent a gret army into Scotlande by sea, and he made the Erle of Hertfford Lieutenaunt Generall of the same. And the Vicount Lisle hygh Admirall, whiche valyaunt Capitaynes so sped them that the thyrd day of Maie the Lorde Admirall arryued with all his Fleete which was two hundreth sayle in the Fryth, where he landed dyuers of his men and there tooke dyuers vesselles whiche after dyd hyghe seruyce. And shortly they approched vnto the towne of Lyth where they landed their men and marched forwarde, in three great batteyles, wherof my Lorde Admyrall led the vawarde, the Erle of Shrewesbury the arrerewarde, and the noble Earle of Hertforde beyng Lieutenaunt, the battayle: Where they founde the Scottes assembled to the nombre of syxe thousande horsemen beside footemen to stop the passage of the army. And at the fyrst the Scottes made towarde the Englyshmen as thoughe they would haue set on the vaward, but when thei perceiued the Englyshmē so willynge to encountre with theym, namely the Cardinall who was there present, which perceyued the deuocion the Englyshmen had to see his holynesse, after certayne shot on bothe sydes, they made a sodayne retreate, and leauyng their artillary behynde them fled towarde Edenborough. The fyrst man that fled was the Cardinall lyke a valyaunt Champion, and with hym the Gouernour, the Erle of Huntley, Murrey and Bothwell, with manye other great men of the Realme. And shortly after the Englishmen mauger al the Scottes might do, entered the towne of Lith wher that night the army encamped them, & there thei found such richesse as they thought not to haue founde in any towne of Scotland.

Lyth taken.

The next day the Armie went towardes Edenborough toune, and whē thei approched nere, the prouost of the toune accōpanied with one or two Burgesses, and two or thre officers at armes desired to speake with the kynges liuetenaunt, and in the name of al the toune saied, that the keies of the toune shoulde be deliuered vnto his lordship condicionally, that they might go with bag & baggage & the toune to be saued from fire: Wherunto aunswer was made by the said lorde lieutenaunte, that wher as the Scottes had so manifestly broken there promises confirmed by othes and Seales and certefied by the whole parliament as is euidētly knowen to the whole worlde, he was sent thether by the kynges highnes to take vengeaunce of there detestable falshed, to declare and shewe the force of his highnes swerde to all suche as shoulde make any resistence vnto his graces power sent thether for that purpose: And therefore he tolde them resolutely that onlesse thei woulde yelde vp the toune frankly without condicion, and cause man, woman and chylde, to issue into the feldes, submittyng theim to his will and pleasure, he would put them to the sword and ther toune to the fire. The prouost answered that it wer better for them to stād to their defēce. Whereupon cōmandement was geuen to thesaied prouost and officers at armes vpon there perill to depart. And forthwith the lord lieutenaunt sent to the vaward that thei shoulde marche towardes the toune whiche courageously set forwarde, and the English gonners manfully set on the gates, specially sir Christopher Morice, that they did beat the Skottes from there ordinaunce, and so entred the gate called Cany gate by fine force, and ther slew a great nombre of the Skottes: and finally it was determined by the saied lorde lieutenaunt vtterly to ruinate and destroy thesaied toune with fire, which thyng immēdiately was attempted, but because night was come, the armie withdrue to their campe, and thē a fresh the next day set fire where none was before, which continued that day & two dayes after burnyng. And shortly after came vnto this Army by land foure thousande light horsmen sent by the kyng, whiche after thei were come, the army forsoke there shippes and sent theim home laden with spoyle and goneshot whiche thei founde there, and dislodged their

Edenborough burnt.

camp

camp out of the toue of Lith, and set fire in euery house, and brent it to the grounde: and so returned home by land, through all the mayn contry of Scotlande, burnyng and destroiyng euery pile, fortresse and village that was in their walke, and so with great honour to the great reioysyng aswel of the kynges maiestie as of all his faithful and louyng subiectes, they returned a gayn into Englād with the losse skant of fortie persones: and because their great exployt may be better knowen, here shal folowe the names of the chief boroughes, castelles and tounes brent and desolated by this royall armie.

The borough and toune of Edēborough with the Abbey called holy roode house, and the kynges palace adioynyng to the same.

The Abbey of newe botle: parte of Muskleborough toune, with the chappell of our lady of Lawret.

Hadingtō toune with the Friers and Nonry. Laurestō with ỹ graūge.

The toune of Lith brent, and the hauen and pier destroyed.

The Castell & village of Cragmiller. Preston toune and the Castell. A Castell of Oliuer Sancklers, The toune of Dumbarre.

Drilawe.	Chester Felles.	Crawnend.
Broughton.	Stanhouse.	The Ficket.
Dudistone.	Trauent.	Shenstone.
Beuerton.	Trapren.	Kirkland hill.
Markle.	Belton.	East Barnes.
Hatherwike.	Butterden.	Quickwood.
Bowland.	Raunto.	Bildy and the tower.
Blackborne.	Enderleigh the pile & toune.	
Wester Crag.		

Also tounes & vilages brent vpon the sea by the English flete, which I cannot name the halfe.

Kynkone.	S. Minetes.	The quenes Fery.

parte of petynwaynes. The brent Isląd, with many other whose names I could not come by.

In this yere also the kynges maiestie prepared two great armies to Fraunce, the one was conducted and led by the duke of Norffolke and the gentle lorde Russell lorde preuy seale, which encamped at Muttrell and beseged the toune, where they lay a long tyme, and left the toune as they found yt: The other army was led by the valiante duke of Suffolk which was the kynges liuetenaunt of that armie, and beyng accōpanyed with the lorde chambreleyn, the Erle of Arondell Marshall of the felde, and sir Ihon Gage comptrollor of the kynges house, and sir Anthony Browne master of the kynges horsses, with diuerse and many other capitaynes: the ninetene day of Iuly encamped before Bulleyn on the Est syde of the same vpon the hill, where after many sharpe skyrmishes they gayned first the oldman, & shortly after basse Boleyn. Boleyn beseged.

The fourtene day of Iuly the kynges maiestie in his royall persone passed the ses from Douer to Calis, and the six and twentie day encamped him selfe before Bolleyn, on the north syde within lesse then halfe a myle of the toune where his grace remayned tyll the toune was surrendered vnto his maiestie: the which toune he so sore assauted & so beseged with suche aboundance of greate ordinaunce that neuer was there a more valiaūter assaute made, for besyde the vndermyning of the castel, tower and walles, the toune was so beaten withe ordinaunce that there was not left one house whole therein: & so sore was laied to the charge of the Frechmen that after the kyng had assauted theim by the space of a moneth, thei sent furth of the toune to the kyng two of their chief captaynes, called Mounsire Sembiemound, & Mounsire de Haies, whiche declared that the chief capitayne of the toune with his retinew was contēted to delyuer the toune vnto his grace, so that they might passe withe

with bag and baggage, which request the kynges maiestie, mercifully graūted theim. And so on the next day, the duke of Suffolke rode into Bullein, to whō in the kynges name, they deliuered the keyes of the toune. And at after none departed out of Bulleyn al the Frenchmen. The nōber of the men of warre, that wer strong and galaunt, that came out of the toune, were of horsemen, lxvii. of footmen. xv. C.lxiii. of Gonners viii.C. of hurte menne. lxxxvii. of women and chyldren. xix.C.xxvii. So there was in al that came oute of the toune, foure thousand, foure hundred, fiftie and foure, beside a great nomber of aged, sicke and hurt persones, that was not able to go furth of the toune. The last person ỹ came furth, was Monsire de Veruine, grand capitaine of the Toune, which when he approched nere the place, wher the king stode, he alighted from his horse, and came to the king. And after he had talked with hym a space, the kyng toke him by the hand, and he reuerently kneling vpon his knees, kyssed his hande, and afterwarde mounted vpon hys horse and so departed.

The kinges entraūce into Bulleis.

The. xviii. day, the kinges highnes hauyng the sworde borne naked before him, by the Lorde Marques Dorset, like a noble and valyaunt conqueror rode into Bulleyn, and the Trompetters standyng on the walles of the toune, sounded their Trompettes, at the time of his entring, to the great comfort of al the kynges true subiectes, thesame beholdyng. And in the enteryng there met him the duke of Suffolk, and deliuered vnto him the keyes of the toune, and so he roade toward his lodgyng, which was prepared for him, on the South side of the toune. And within two dayes after, the kyng rode about al the toune, within the walles, and then commaunded that our Lady Church of Bullein, should be defaced and plucked doune, where he appoynted a Moūt to be made, for the greate force and strength of the toune.

When the kyng had set all thinges ther in suche ordre, as to hys wisdom was thought best, he returned into England, to the great reioysynge of al hys louyng subiectes.

In the meane ceason, that the kyng laye before Bulleyn, & was like to haue cōquered thesame, as at the last he did, as before you haue hard the Emperor toke a peace with the French kyng, to the no litle grefe and displeasure of the kinges maiestie, and that was the cause that the kyng so sodainly brake vp his army, aswel at Bulleyn as also at Muttrell.

Shortly after besyde diuerse and many sharpe skirmishes, made by the Frenchmen at Bulleyn, aswel by the Dolphyn with a great power which in the night season, stale vpon Base Bullein, taking ther a great sort of sicke persones, and women in their beddes, whō without mercy they slew. How beit so māfully the Englyshmen, which escaped out of Base Bulleyn, behaued themselfes, gettyng weapons out of the hygh toune, that they bet the Frenchmen agayn out of ỹ Base toune, and after wyth the helpe of the high toune, they slewe a great nōber of them, and so agayn possessed quietly, thesayed Base toune: Besyde I say this skirmishe and many mo, Monsire de Bees came with. xv.M. men, and encamped ryght agaynst the toune, on the other side of the water, entēdyng there to haue buylded a Forte. But the fourth daye of February, he was set vpon his owne campe, by the moste valiaunt and fortunate Erle of Hertford and Lord Lisle, the Lord Gray and other: at whose comming thesayde Monsire de Bees, wyth al his puyssaunce fled, leauynge behinde them al their ordinaunce, Tentes and plate.

¶ THE. XXXVII. YERE.

The. vii. day of Iune, a great armye of Frenchemen, came nere to the hauen of Bulleyn, and skirmished wyth thenglyshemen to the no great gayne of the Frenchmen: but this army which was accōpted to the nomber of. xx.M. ther encamped & begā again to buyld a Fort, which before they departed, accōplished thesame.

In Iune the lord Lisle Admirall of Englande, wyth thenglyshe flete entered the mouthe of the riuer of Sain, and came before Newehauen, where the great army of Fraunce laie, which

which were. CC. sayl of shippes and. xxvi. Galies of Force, wherof the bishop of Rome had sent. xx. wel furnished wyth men and money, to ayde the French kyng. Thenglyshemen beyng but an. C.lx. sayle, & all great shyppes, did not determine to set on the whole nauie, but shot certayn peces of ordinaunce at theim, whiche caused the Galies to come abroade, and shot at the Englyshmen whiche Galies had greate aduauntage, by reason of the calme wether: twyse eche part assauted other with ordinaunce, but sodainly the wynd rose so greate, that the Galies could not indure the rage of the seas: and thenglyshmen were compelled to entre the main seas, for feare of flattes and so sayled vnto Portesmouth, where the kyng theu laye, for he had knowelage by his espyalles, that the French army, entended to laude in ỹ Isle of Wyght, wherfore he repaired to ỹ cost, to se his realm defēded.

After the departyng of thenglyshe nauy, from Newhauen, the Admyrall of Fraunce, called the Lorde Dombalt, a man of greate experyence, halsed vp hys sayles, and with hys whole nauie, came to the point of the Isle of Wyght, called. S. Helenes poynt, and there in good ordre cast their Ankers, and sent. xvi. Galies dayly, to the very hauen of Portesmouthe. Thenglyshe nauye liyng in the hauen, made them prest and set out towardes thē, and styl the one shot at the other. But one day aboue all other, the whole nauie of the Englishmen made out, and purposed to set on the Frenchmen: but in their settyng forward, a goodly ship of Englande called the Mary Rose, was by to much foly, drouned in the middest of the hauen, for she was laden wyth much ordinaunce, and the portes left open, which were very lowe, and the great ordinaunce, vnbreched, so that when the ship should turne, the water entred, and sodainly she sanke. In her was sir George Carewe knight, Capitain of thesaid shyppe, and foure hundreth men, and much ordinaunce.

At the same tyme certayn of the French menne, landed in the Isle of Wyght, where their capitayne was slayne and many other, and were to their great losse and payn, driuen agaiu to their Galies.

The kyng perceyuing the great nauie of the Frenchmen to approch sent letters for men into Hampshire, Somersetshire, Wilshire, and dyuerse other places adioyning: which repaired to his presence in greate nombers, welfurnished wyth armure and victayl, and all thynges necessary, so that the Isle was garnished, and all the Frontiers on the sea coast, furnished wyth men in great nomber.

The French capitaines hauing knowlege, by certain Fysher menne which they toke, that the kyng was present, and also of the great power that he had in readines, they disancred and sayled along the coastes of Sussex, and a smal nomber of them landed in Sussex, whiche neuer returned to their shyppes, for they were taken vp by the waye.

Whē they had searched al ỹ coastes, & saw men euer redy to receiue them, thei turned the sterne and returned home again, without any act worthy to be wrytten, done or enterpryse: sauing ỹ in this mean tyme their newe Fort against Bulleiu, was strongly furnished and tynyshed.

The nōber of the Frenchmen, as diuerse prisoners that wer takē in the isle of Wyght, & in Sussex did report, wer. lx.M. And at this time the French kyng wrote to the Emperor, and declared to him, that hys army had gotten the isle of Wight, the Portes of Hampton and Portesmouth, & diuerse other places, which writyng was as true, as ỹ French kyng hath in al his leagues & promyses, bene to the kynge of England.

In August folowyng, the noble erle of Hertford entered into Scotland, wyth. xii. M. men, and destroied al the tounes in the midle Marches, and passed to the West marches, to the great detriment and losse of Scotlande, and destroyd Coldingham Abbey: & yet the Frenchmen and Scottes, whiche lay at Kelsey, durst not once encountre w hym.

In thys moneth died Charles, the noble and valiaunt duke of Suffolke a hardye gentleman, and yet not so hardy, as almoste of all estates and degrees of menne hygh and lowe, rych and poore, hartely beloued and hys death of them muche lamented, he was buryed at Wyndsore. The death of charles duke of Suffolke.

The. xxiiii. day of Nouember, a Parliament began at Westmynster by auctheritie whereof, was graunted to the kyng a Subsedy, of. ii.s. viii.d. of the pound, of moueable goodes, and. iiii.s. the pounde in lande to be paied in two yere. And all Colleges, Chaunteries, and Hospitalles wer committed to the kynges ordre, duryng hys life, to alter & trãspose, whych hys grace at the Prorogacion of the Parliament, promised to do to the glory of God, and the common profite of the realme.

A litle before this tyme, the noble and valiaunt lord Lisle, lord Admiral landed in Normandy, and brent the subbarbes of Treiport, and diuerse villages alonge the sea cost, and destroyed and toke almooste all the shyppes in the hauen, which was a ryche and a goodly pray, and so returned wythout any dammage.

The French kyng sore moued wyth these doynges, sent Mõsire de Bees with. xii.M. men, which entered into thenglish pale, beside Grauelyn, and brent Marke and diuerse smal villages, and then returned.

Euer in maner wer skirmishes & Alarmes betwene high Bullein & the new builded fortresse, but the losse ran euer on the Frenchmẽs side.

This wynter was meanes made by thẽperor, that certain Ambassadors of England & Fraunce might mete, to cõmon of a peace, wherevpon the king of Englãd sent to Guisnes, Cutbert bishop of Duresme sir William Paget his secretary, & doctor Tregonel. And the French kyng sent to Arde a bishop, the chief President of Roan, and a Notary, but no conclusion came to effect. Wherfore the kyng hauynge perfyte knowlege, how the Frenchmen intended to buyld a new fortresse on s. Ihones rode, betwene Bullein and Calice: whiche thing had not onely sore distrussed Calice, but daily had put Bullein in trouble. Wherefore he meaning to preuent so great a mischief, sent ouer the noble Earle of Hertford, and the valiaunt lord Lisle Admiral, and many valiaunt capitaines with. vii.M. good souldiers, which gat the rode but. ii. daies before the Frenchmen appointed to haue bene ther, & in that place encãped themselfes. Monsire de Bees leader & conducter, of all the French affaires, encãped himself beside Hardelow, & durst not once come furth to set on our men, notwithstandinge his former preparacion & deuyce.

These thinges thus hangyng, many great skirmishes were daylye betwene the Bullenoys, and the French Bastiliõ: & one day thone part lost, & the other gayned, & likewise the losers regained: but in one skirmishe wer lost. xvi. Englysh gentlemen, and. lxxx. other, although ther were slayne three rascal Frenchmen, and in this skirmish was slain, sir George Pollard. And in a like iorney was slayn sir Raufe Elderkare Capitain of the light horsemen, wyth a fewe other Englyshemen, but yet a great multitude of the Frenchmen, at that time lay on the groũd.

The. xxiiii. day of December, the kinges maiestie came into the parliament house, to geue his royal assent, to suche actes as there had passed, where was made vnto him by the Speaker, an eloquent oratiõ, to the which it hath euer ben accustomed, that the lord Chauncellor made answere, but at this time it was the kynges pleasure, that it should be otherwyse, for the kyng himself made him answer, as foloweth worde for worde, as nere as I was able to report it.

Kyng Henry the VIII. answere to the speaker of ye Parliament.

"Although my Chauncelor for the time beyng, hath before this time vsed, very eloquently and substancially, to make answer to suche oracions, as hath bene set furth in this high court of Parliamente, yet is he not so able to open and set furth my myud and meanyng, and the secretes of my hart, in so plain and ample maner, as I my selfe am and ca do: wherfore I taking vpon me, to answer your eloquent oracion maister Speaker, say, that wher you, in the name of our welbeloued commons hath both praysed & extolled me, for ỹ notable qualities, that you haue conceiued to be in me, I most hartely thanke you all, that you haue put me in remembraũce of my dutye, whiche is to endeuor my self to obtein and get suche excellent qualities, and necessary vertues, as a Prince or gouernor, should or ought to haue, of which giftes I recognise myself, pothe bare and barrein: but of suche small qualities, as God hathe endued me withal, I rendre to his goodnes my most humble thãkes,

entendyng with all my witte and diligence, to get and acquire to me suche notable vertues, and princely qualities, as you haue alleged to be incorporate in my persone: These thankes for your louyng admonicion and good counsaill firste remembred, I eftsones thanke you again, because that you consideryng our greate charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defence, not for our gain, but to our great cost) whiche we haue lately susteined, aswell in defence of our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortresse, which was to this realme, moste displeasaunt and noysome, & shalbe by Goddes grace hereafter, to our nacion moste profitable and pleasaunt, haue frely of youre awne mynde, graunted to vs a certain subsedy, here in an act specified, whiche verely we take in good part, regarding more your kindnes, then the proffite thereof, as he that setteth more by your louing hartes, then by your substaũce. Beside this hartie kindnes, I cannot a litle reioyse whē I consider, the perfite trust and sure cōfidence, whiche you haue put in me, as men hauing vndoubted hope, and vnfeined belefe in my good doynges, and iust procedinges for you, without my desire or request, haue committed to myne ordre and disposicion, all Chauntryes, Colleges, Hospitalles, and other places specefied in a certain act, firmely trustyng that I wil ordre them to the glory of God, and the profite of the common wealth. Surely if I contrary to your expectacion, shuld suffre the ministres of the Church to decaie, or learnyng (whiche is so great a iuell) to be minished, or pore and miserable people, to be vnrelieued, you might say that I beyng put in so speciall a trust, as I am in this cace, were no trustie frende to you, nor charitable man to mine euen christian, neither a louer of the publyk wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom accompt must be rēdered of all our doynges. Doubt not I praye you, but your expectacion shalbe serued, more Godly and goodly then you wil wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceiue.

Now, sithence I find suche kyndenes, on your part towarde me, I can not chose, but loue and fauor you, affirmyng that no prince in the world, more fauoreth his subiectes, then I do you, nor no subiectes or commōs more, loue and obaye, their souereigne lord, then I perceiue you do me, for whose defēce my treasure shal not be hiddē, nor yf necessitye requyre my persone shall not bee vnaduentured: yet although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect loue and concord, this frendly amity can not continue, except bothe you my lordes temporal, and you my lordes spiritual, and you my louyng subiectes, studie and take paine to amend one thing, which surely is amisse, and farre out of ordre, to the which I most hartely require you, whiche is, that charity and concord is not emongest you, but discord and dissenciō, beareth rule in euery place. S. Paule esaieth to the Corinthians, in the. xiij. Chapiter, Charitie is gētle, Charitie is not enuious, Charitie is not proude and so furth in thesaid Chapiter: Beholde then what loue and Charitie is emongest you, whē the one calleth the other, Hereticke and Anabaptist, and he calleth hym again Papist, Ypocrite, and Pharisey. Be these tokens of charitie emōgest you: Are these the signes of fraternal loue betwen you: No, no, I assure you, that this lacke of Charitie emongest your selfes, will bee the hinderaunce and asswagyng, of the feruent loue betwene vs, as I said before, except this woūd be salued, and clerely made whole. I must nedes iudge the faut and occasion of this discorde, to bee partly by negligence of you the fathers & preachers of the spiritualtie. For if I know a man whyche liueth in adultery, I muste iudge hym a lecherous and a carnall persone: If I se a man boast and bragg hymself, I cannot but deme hym a proude manne. I se and here daily that you of the Clergy preache one against another, teache one cōtrary to another, inueigh one against another without Charity or discreciō. Some be to styff in their old Mumpsimus, other be to busy and curious, in their newe Sumpsimus. Thus all men almoste be in variety and discord, and fewe or none preache truly and sincerely the worde of God, accordyng as thei ought to do. Shal I now iudge you charitable persones doing this: No, no, I cannot so do: alas how can the pore soules liue in concord when you preachers sow emonges them in your sermons, debate & discord: Of you thei loke for light, and you bryng thē to darckenes. Amende these crymes I exhorte you, & set sueth Goddes worde, bothe by true preaching, and good example geuyng, or

els I whom God hath appoynted his Vicare, and high mynyster here, wyll se these dyuisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duety, or els I am an vnprofitable seruaunte, and vntrue officer.

Although as I saie, the spirituall men be in some faute, that charytie is not kept emongest you, yet you of the temporaltie, bee not cleane and vnspotted of malice and enuie, for you rayle on Bishoppes speake slaūderously of Priestes, and rebuke and taunt Preachers, bothe contrary to good ordre, and Christiā fraternity. If you knowe surely that a bishop or preacher, erreth or teacheth peruerse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our Counsayl or to vs, to whom is committed by God the high auchtority to reforme and ordre such causes and behauiours: and bee not Iudges your selfes, of your awne phantasticall opinions, and vain exposicions, for in suche high causes ye maie lightly erre. And although you be permitted to reade holy scripture, and to haue the word of God in your mother tongue, you must vnderstande that it is licensed you so to do, onely to informe your awne conscience, and to instruct your childrē and famely, & not to dispute and make scripture, a railyng and a tauntyng stocke, against Priestes and Preachers (as many light persones do.) I am very sory to knowe & here, how vnreuerently that moste precious iuel the worde of God is disputed, rymed, song and iangeled in euery Alehouse and Tauerne, cōtrary to the true meaninge & doctrine of thesame. And yet I am euen asmuch sory, that the readers of thesame, folowe it in doynge so fayntlye and coldly: for of thys I am sure, that Charitie was neuer so faint emongest you, and verteous and Godly liuyng was neuer lesse vsed, nor God him self emongest Christians, was neuer lesse reuerenced, honored or serued. Therfore as I said before, bee in Charitie one with another, lyke brother and brother, loue dread and serue God (to the which I as your supreme heade, and souereigne lord, exhort and require you) & thē I doubt not, but that loue & league, that I spake of in the beginning, shall neuer be dissolued or broken betwene vs. And the makynge of lawes, whiche be now made and concluded, I exhort you the makers, to bee as diligēt in puttyng them in execuciyn, as you wer in making and furthering thesame, or els your labor shalbe in vain, and your commonwealth nothing releued. Now to your peticion, concerning our royal assent, to be geuen to such actes as hath passed both the houses. They shalbe read openly, that ye maye hear them. Then they were openly read, and to many hys grace assented, and diuerse he assented not vnto. Thys the kinges oracion was to his subiectes there present suche comfort, that the lyke ioye could no be vnto them in this world. And thus the actes read, as the maner is, and his assent geuen, his grace rose and departed.

In this time, there was by the Frenchmen, a voyage made towarde the Ile of Brasile, Barck Ager. wyth a shyp called the Barck Ager, whiche thei had taken from the Englysh men before. And in their way they fortuned to mete sodainly wyth a litle Craer, of whom was Maister one Golding, which Golding was a fearce and an hardy man. The barck perceiuing this small Craer to be an Englyshman, shott at hym and bouged hym, wherfore the Craer drew strayght to the great ship, and six or seuen of the man lept into the Barke. The Frenchmen lookyng ouer the boord at the sinkyng of the Craer, nothyng mystrustyng any thyng, ỳ myght be done by the Englyshmen. And so it fortuned that those Englyshmen whyche clymed into the shyp, founde in the ende thereof, a great nōber of lime pottes, which thei with water quenched, or rather as the natur thereof is set them a fyre, and threw them at the Frenchmen that wer aborde, and so blynded them, that those fewe Englyshmen that entred the shippe, vanquished al that were therein, and dryue them vnder batches, and brought the Barck clerely awaye agayn into Englande.

¶ THE. XXXVIIJ. YERE.

A peace cōcluded betwene Englād and Fraunce.

IN the monethe of Aprill, by meanes of diuers Prynces, an assemble was had, betwene both the Realmes, of Englande and Fraunce, at Guysnes and Arde. There were for the

Kynge

of Englande, the Erle of Hertforde, the Lorde Lysle Admyrall, Syr Wyllyam Paget Secretarye, and Doctor Wotton Dean of Cauntorbury. And for the Frenche kynge, the lorde Clado Doneball Admirall, and Marshall of Fraunce: the byshoppe of Eureux, a president and a Secretary. After long debating, and diuerse breches, a peace was concluded, and proclaymed in the kynges Court, and in the citie of London on Whitsonday, with sound of Trompettes. And likewyse was it done at Paris and Roan. For the performaunce whereof, the Viscount Lisle Admiral, wyth the bishoppe of Duresme, and dyuerse lordes, and aboue an hundred gentlemē, all in Veluet coates and cheynes of golde, went to Paris, and were there solempiye receyued and feasted, and shortly returned.

After whose returne, the Admirall of Fraunce, accompanyed wyth the bishoppe of Eureux, the Erles of Naunteuile, and Villiers, and diuerse great Lordes, besyde two hundreth Gentlemen well appointed, tooke his Galey at Depe, and hauinge in hys compaignie twelue fayre Galies wel trimmed and decked, sayled into Englande, and neuer toke lande, till he came to Grenewiche, where he was receiued by the Erles of Essex and Darby, the. xix. day of August. And the next day, he wyth al hys Galies, landed at the Tower Wharfe, and on al the bankes, by ŷ water syde, laye peces of ordinaunce which shot of, but especially ŷ Tower of London, where was shot a terrible peale of ordinaunce. And frō thence he rode through London, in greate triumphe, the Maior & the craftes standing in the stretes in good ordre, to the Bishoppes Palaice of London, wher he lodged, tyl Bartholomew euen, on whyche day he was conueighed toward Hampton Court, where in the way the prince hauyng wyth hym the Archebyshoppe of Yorke, the Erles of Hertford and Huntyngdon, and about two thousande horse, mette hym and enbraced hym, in such lowly and honorable maner, that all the beholders gretely reioysed, and much marueyled at his wyt and audacitie, and so he came to the Court, geuyng the Prynce the vpper hand as he roade. And at the vtter gate of the Courte, the Lord Chauncellor, and al the Kynges counsayll receiued him, and brought him to his lodgynge.

On Bartholemew daye, the kyng rychly appareled, welcomed hym and in great triumph went to the chapel, wher the league was sworne and signed. To tel you of the costlye banquet houses, that were built, & of the great banquettes, the costly Maskes, the liberal huntynges that were shewed to hym, you woulde much marueil, and skant beleue. But on Friday folowyng, he beyng rewarded with a Cupborde of plate, to the valure of twelue hundred pound, returned to Londō, and on Sonday tooke his Galies and departed. Beside this diuerse of his cōpayny had much plate, and manye horsses, and Greyhoundes geuen them. Also the Admiral had geuen to hym, of the citie of London, twoo Flagons gylte, and twoo parcel gylt, to the somme of an hundred and syxe and thirtie pounde, beside Wine, Waxe, and Torches: and thus thei laden wyth more ryches then they brought, returned into Fraunce.

Althoughe this peace pleased, both the Englysh and the French nacions, yet surely both mistrusted, the continuaunce of thesame, considering the old Prouerbe, that the iye seeth, the harte rueth, for the Frēch men styll longed for Bulleyn, and the Englyshmen minded not to geue it ouer: in so much as duryng the Admiralles of Fraūce beynge in England, the captayn of the newe fortresse, began to make a Pile, euen at the very hauen mouth of Bulleyn: but the Lorde Gray capitain there put awaye the worke men, and toke awaye their tooles, and filled the trenches, to the Frenchmennes great displeasure. And after the Frenche kynge caused vpon a great payn, that al the trenches, and newe inuencions should be cast doune, and fylled by hys owne people, leaste he should seme to be the breaker of the peace.

In this yere was arreigned, cōdempned and burned, for affirming opinions, contrary to the syxe artycles, foure persones, that is to saye, Anne Askew Gentlewoman, Ihon Lacelles a Gentleman, Nicholas Otterden Prieste, and Ihon Adlam a Taylor: all these were burned in Smithfelde, the. xvi. day of Iuly: and because the whole processe of their matters is by diuerse wryters set furth, therfore I passe it ouer. In Ianuary were attaynted of hygh trea- Anne Askew Gentlewoman, Ihon Lacelles Nicholas Otterden, Ihon Adlā, Thomas duke of Norffolke, Henry Erle of Surrey,

son, Thomas duke of Norffolke, and Henry his sonne erle of Surrey which erle was beheadded at the Tower Hill.

The death of Kyng Hery the viij.

Now approched to thys noble kyng, that whych is by God decreed, and appoynted to all menne, for at thys ceason in the monethe of Ianuary, he yelded hys spirite to almightie God, and departed thys worlde, and lyeth buryed at Wyndsore. And the laste daye of Ianuary was hys true, lawful and onely sonne Prynce Edwarde Proclaymed kyng, of all his fathers dominions, and the. xix. daye of February, was crouned and anoynted Kynge of thys realme, whome Iesu preserue, longe to reygne ouer vs.

Kyng Edward the vjst crouned.

FINIS.

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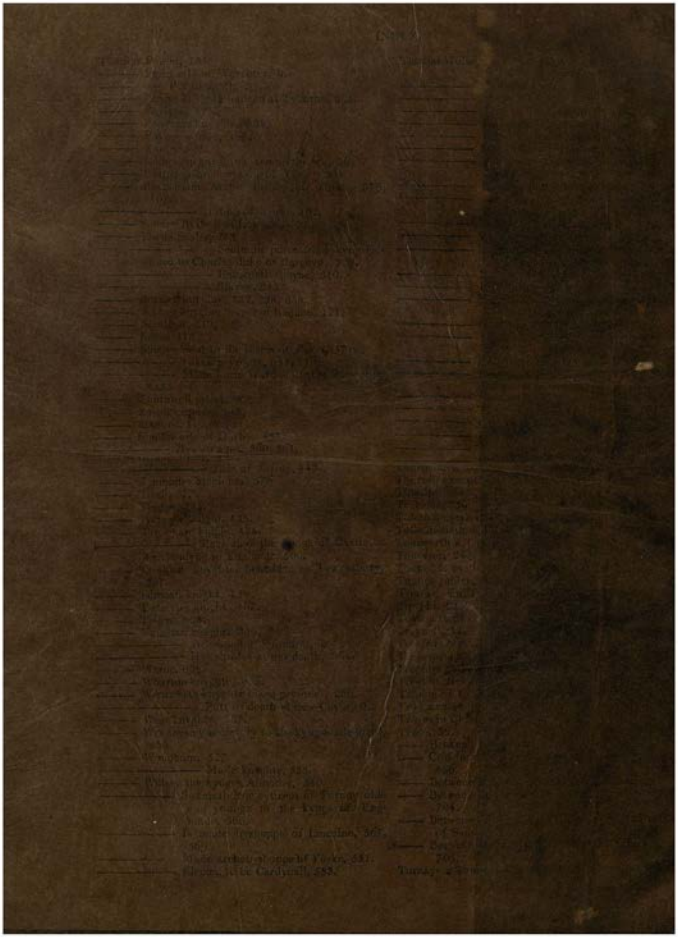

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